A GRAMMAR OF ENXET SUR

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAIʻI AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

May 2021

by
John A. Elliott

Dissertation Committee:

Lyle Campbell, Chairperson
Patience Epps
Gary Holton
William O'Grady
Alexander Mawyer

Acknowledgements

Completing a project like this involves a huge amount collaboration and support, and there are many people and institutions to thank. First, I would like express my gratitude for being able to live and learn on the mokupuni of Oʻahu. My work and my life have benefited not just from the mountains and forests and waters here but also from having opportunities to learn about them from Indigenous perspectives.

I would like to thank the Endangered Language Documentation Project (ELDP), the National Science Foundation (NSF), and the Bilinski Foundation for funding this research. Funding for research on underdocumented and endangered languages is not exactly abundant, and I am grateful for the support this work has received thus far.

As an academic work, this dissertation has been made possible through lots of help and support from my dissertation committee and the faculty at the UH Mnoa linguistics department. Many thanks are in order to my advisor, Lyle Campbell, for all of the information he has shared and advice he has given me over the years, but also for his encouragement and faith in my ability to succeed in completing a project like this. I am also grateful to the other linguists on my dissertation committee, Gary Holton and Patience Epps for their commentary and helpful, insightful suggestions on my own data and on language description in general, and especially to William O'Grady who has been of great assistance in helping me turn this description from a tool for my own understanding to something of greater use and interest to other linguists. The remaining shortcomings of this dissertation are entirely my own fault, and any successes are the product of the training and support I have received from the committee and the linguistics department faculty. I must also thank Alex Mawyer for his participation in this process as the university representative, and for being so delightful to interact with. Many thanks to Jen Kanda and John Kawahara for all of their administrative help. Thanks as well to my fellow enlhetologxs, Raina Heaton and Jens van Gysel, for sharing data and providing insights from other Enlhet-Enenlhet languages — there's so much more to learn.

Most importantly, I must thank all of the Enxet Sur people of El Estribo who I've worked and lived with over several visits since 2015. More than anyone, I must thank Aníbal López, who is a passionate ambassador for his culture, extremely funny, and a role model of leadership I hope to emulate some day. His wife Lydia has been incredibly hospitable and kind to me, as has the rest of Aníbal's family, Lina, Derlis, Majora, Nilda, Wilma, Delio, and Nico. I am grateful for Teófilo Gomez's endless stories, and his companionship on long hot days when the most logical thing to do was sit under a tree and do nothing with him. Cirilo Benítez is an excellent historian and his amicable attitude is what brought me back to El Estribo in the first place. Asunción Rojas has been critical

to this work, and I think this would be a very different language description without his expertise and patience with the difficult and sometimes mind-melting art of translation. Among many people in El Estribo who have helped me out, taught me their language, and shown me hospitality and companionship, I must especially thank Nenito Rojas, Ceferino Sosa, Cirila Benítez, Mario Benítez, Mendoza Gomez, and Fidel Gomez. I look forward to returning to El Estribo soon, and in finding more ways to make the linguistic insights developed during this project useful for the community and its language planning goals.

Along with the lovely people of El Estribo, this work was made possible by a network of support from other folks I have had the pleasure of knowing and working with in Paraguay. I am grateful to Hannes Kalisch and Timothy Curtis, not only because their work as community-oriented linguists and language documentarians have been a major contribution to this dissertation, but also because both have been incredibly hospitable and welcoming to me over several years of trips to the Chaco. I thank them both for their insights and riveting discussions of the linguistics of Enlhet-Enenlhet languages based on their decades of lived experience in these communities. I don't know that any of this work would have gotten started without the help of Rodrigo Villagra Carron and the folks at Tierraviva who first took me to Makxawaya and El Estribo, and similarly I thank Lone Scheck and Oleg Visokólan for helping me make connections in Asunción, and for their lovely respite in Lambaré. I had numerous insightful and helpful conversations with Nieves Montiel at the Directora General de Documentación y Promoción de Lenguas Indígenas, and am impressed and hopeful about the work that they do. I am also grateful for Nicolas Gynan and his effervescent texts of positivity while I was in deep in imposter syndrome during my first long fieldwork trip.

On a personal level, I must thank my family for their endless support. I thank my dad for encouraging my intellectual curiosity, my mom for teaching me to be comfortable around people who are different from me, and my grandmother Norma for teaching me to be patient and not worry too much. Thanks to my brother Zach for picking a more lucrative career, and my grandmother Ruth for tolerating me living six time zones away. Thanks to all my friends here in Hawai'i and around the US who've encouraged me along the way and made my time in this degree more enjoyable: Jangel, Kavon, Catherine, Brad, Mihoko, Amber, Colleen, Sam, Ryan(s), Andrew, Anna, Amanda, Dannii, Thomas, Jacob, and Michelle.

I also want to thank all of the great language teachers I've had the good fortune of having over my life: Fidencio Briceño Chel, Brigette Woloszyn, Ismael May May, Priza Marendraputra and Irma Nurkimah, Philip Kezorifa Waisen, Kaliko Baker, Lalepa Koga, and Yoko Brandt, among others. Thank you to David Mora-Marín for telling me to go to Yucatán, that was a good idea. And thanks to all of the 100-level students here at UH Mānoa and the kids I've tutored at Elite School over the last many years who remind me that your great ideas don't mean much if no one understands you. To Minjun, yes, I finished my bedtime story.

Finally, to Zoë, whose support and love has been more important to getting this damn thing done than anything else, I love you. I promise to never do another PhD again. Let's go get in the water.

To Teófilo, for remembering
and to Norma, for walking with me

Abstract

This is a reference grammar of Enxet Sur, an indigenous language of the Paraguayan Gran Chaco, and one of six recognized languages in the Enlhet-Enenlhet (EE, or Mascoyan) language family. This is the first comprehensive grammatical description of a language in the Enlhet-Enenlhet family, and is based on novel fieldwork by the author with Enxet Sur speakers, both in Paraguay and remotely, over a period from 2015 to 2020. This grammar also includes primary data from a number of other original Enxet Sur texts and audio recordings, translations of Spanish documents, an Enxet Sur/Spanish bilingual dictionary project, and historical descriptions and records of Enxet Sur.

The grammatical topics in this description include the phonology of the language, descriptions of all major and minor word classes and their morphological structure, the tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality (TAME) complex associated with predicates, the typologically interesting topical demonstratives, the structure of the clause, non-verbal predicates, the creation of complex structures through deverbal nominalization, and negation. This dissertation also includes two glossed interlinear texts, although much of the data are linked to open-access annotated recordings in the Endangered Languages Archive.

Enxet Sur is a predicate-initial language with an otherwise pragmatically determined word order. Nominal predicates play an important role in the basic grammar of the language, as nominal expressions which reference the semantic arguments of verbs are often realized syntactically as the nominal predicates of independent clauses, instead of as nominal dependents of the verb. Furthemore, a highly productive process of grammatical deverbal nominalization is used for most complex sentence types. Thus, Enxet Sur presents some interesting deviations from cross-linguistic tendencies regarding the syntactic and functional behaviors of noun and verb word classes.

The verbal morphology can be complex with extensive stem-forming morphology, which includes several verbal pluralizers in place of inflectional number agreement with arguments, a highly productive directional and associated motion system, and some typologically unusual valency manipulating morphology. Despite some degree of morphological complexity, Enxet Sur verbs only overtly indicate or cross-reference a single participant, typically with a nominative distribution, but with a very strong first person > non-first person selection hierarchy whose simplicity is a by-product of the fact that Enxet Sur pronominal morphology does not distinguish second and third persons. Along with the morphological complexity of verbs, Enxet Sur also displays a complex system of predicate TAME clitics which can attach to words of almost any word class.

Resumen

Esta disertación es una descripción gramatical de enxet sur, un idioma indígena del Gran Chaco paraguayo, una de las seis lenguas reconocidas de la familia lingüística enlhet-enenlhet (EE o mascoy). Ésta es la primera descripción gramatical completa de un idioma de la familia enlhet-enenlhet, y se basa en trabajo original del autor con hablantes de enxet sur, tanto en Paraguay como de forma remota, durante el período de 2015 a 2020. Esta gramática también incluye datos primarios de otros textos y grabaciones originales de enxet sur, traducciones de documentos en español, un proyecto diccionario bilingüe enxet sur/español, y descripciones históricas y otros registros de la lengua enxet sur.

Los temas gramaticales tratados en esta descripción incluyen la fonológica, descripciones de todas las clases de palabras mayores y menores y su estructura morfológica, el complejo de tiempo-aspecto-modo-evidencialidad (TAME) que se asocian con predicados, los identificadores demostrativos tipológicamente interesantes, la estructura de cláusula, los predicados no verbales, la creación de estructuras complejas a través de la nominalización deverbal y la negación. Esta tesis también incluye dos textos glosados interlinealmente, y muchos de los datos están vinculados a grabaciones anotadas de acceso abierto en el Archivo de Lenguas en Peligro (ELAR).

Enxet sur es una lengua de predicado inicial con el orden de palabras determinado pragmáticamente. Los predicados nominales juegan un papel importante en la gramática básica de esta lengua, ya que las expresiones nominales que hacen referencia a los argumentos semánticos de los verbos a menudo se realizan sintácticamente como predicados nominales de cláusulas independientes, en lugar de como nominales dependientes del verbo. Además, para la mayoría de los tipos de oraciones complejas se utiliza un proceso productivo de nominalización deverbal gramatical. Así, enxet sur presenta algunas desviaciones interesantes de las tendencias translingüísticas con respecto al comportamiento sintáctico y funcional de los sustantivo y verbo.

La morfología verbal es compleja; incluye morfología extensiva de formación de tema, que incluye varios pluralizadores verbales en lugar de concordancia de números flexivos de argumentos, un sistema de movimiento asociado y direccional muy productivo, y morfología que manipula la valencia tipológicamente nada común. Sin embargo, los verbos de Enxet Sur solo indexan abiertamente a un solo participante, con distribución nominativa, pero con una jerarquía de selección de primera persona > no-primera persona cuya simplicidad es un producto del hecho de que la morfología pronominal no distingue las segundas y terceras personas. Junto con la complejidad morfológica de los verbos, enxet sur también muestra un sistema complejo de clíticos TAME de predicados que pueden unirse a palabras de casi cualquier categoría gramatical de palabra.

Ektémakxa s'e sektáxesso nak

Ko'o sekwesey John Elliott, hetnesseshok chá'a sekwesey Juan neyseksa comunidad Enxet Sur. Keso weykcha'áhak ekteme sektáxesso ekyawe yaqwayam awagkasek néxa sekteme estudiante neyseksa Universidad de Hawai. Keso weykcha'áhak xénchek ma'a ektémakxa gramatica Enxet Sur appeywa.

2015 axta ko'o sekxok sekwaya comunidad Enxet Sur El Estribo. Ekxegamchek axta ko'o xamok Tierraviva nempáxaqweykekxo énxet'ák tén han kelan'ák. Nélmaheykegkek axta Makxawé, Jerusalen, La Armonía, Buena Vista, tén han El Estribo yaqwayam ól-paqhetchesaxkohok kelan'ák, hakte keláneyak axta Tierraviva ektamheykha salud ma'a kelán'ák. Xama axta nélweykekxo San Carlos/Palo Santo nennaqteyenmeyk axta escuela. Xámok sélpaqhetchasamaxkoho Cirílo Benítez tén han Aníbal López.

Axta aptahak seyáneya Aníbal emenyeyk agkok ay'ásegkok ektémakxa appeywa Enxet Sur, tásek amyekxak m'a yaqwayam hexekmosek Aníbal. Keñe axta sekxega Filadelfia yaqwayam amok moto, keñe sekmeyakxo makham Palo Santo yaqwayam axek Aníbal apxagkok. Élyetsetchek axta xama weykch'áhak aptáxesso axta Aníbal, xámok agko' axta ektémakxa. Tásek nahan apwáxok Aníbal tén han apnamakkok, xámok sepasmo tén han sehanchesso aptáwa' Lydia.

Ántanxo axta sekweykekxa' Paraguay yaqwayam ay'ásegwomok ektémakxa appeywa Enxet Sur neyseksa El Estribo. 2016 axta apqántanxo pelten sekha. 2017 axta anhan apqántanxo pelten sekha, keñe xama pelten sekha El Estribo 2018. Xámok axta sélane xamo' Aníbal grabacion 2016. Nenláneyak axta ekxamokma video sexekmosa aqsok naxma. 2017 axta sekxó' seyeynawo sélpaqhetchasamaxkoho Asunción Rojas apha Santa Fe. Xámok axta néltamheykha yaqwayam hetnesásekxak castellano m'a grabaciones sélane axta. Átsek chá'a ko'o ewáxok sekha enxoho El Estribo, tásek apkelwáxok énxet'ak El Estribo. Ekmaheyók axta eyke awakxak 2020, mowanchek axta eyke hakte negmasse axta teyapmak (coronavirus). Emenyeyk ahagko' axegkesek sektamheykha Enxet Sur appeywa. Emenyeyk awatak Chaco Paraguay cham'a El Estribo.

Ekméssek ko'o ekxeyenma ewáxok apyókxoho énxet tén han kelán'ák communidad Enxet Sur. Ekmessek han ekxeyenma ewáxok apyókxoho énxet tén han kelán'ák sélaneyo xamo' nak keso sektamheykha: Aníbal López, Cirilo Benítez, Asunción Rojas, Lydia López, Lina López, Teofilo Gomez, Derlis López, Delio López, Nico López, Nenito Rojas, Cirila Benítez, Mario Benítez, Ceferino Sosa, Mendoza Gomez, Fidel Gomez. Yetneyk pók énxet tén han mók kelán'a sepasmo axta, élwagqeykmeyk eyke élwesey.

Wánxa xa.

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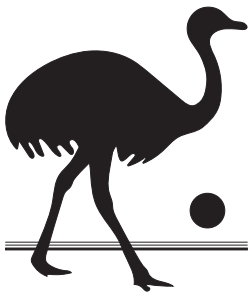
Abbreviations

**	ungrammatical utterance
*	historical or reconstructed form
1	first person
2	second person
AMB	ambulative
AND	conjunction 'and'
ARR	incorporated "arrive" verb; associated motion
CFD	counterfactual desiderative
CISL	cislocative ('hither', 'toward speaker')
COMPL	complexive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjectural
DECL	declarative
DEON	deontic modality
DEG	degree (intensity)
DIST	distributive (*el-*)
DIST	distal demonstrative (*á*, *aha*)
DUB	dubitative
DUP	duplicative
EDN	event denoting nominalization
EE	Enlhet-Enenlhet language family
EXIST	existential
F	feminine non-first person
FRUS	frustrative
FUT	future
HOD	hodiernal
IMPR	impersonal
INTS	intensive
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
M	masculine non-first person
MID	middle voice
NEG	negative
NM:IP	imperfective nominalization
NM:OB	oblique nominalization

NM:PO	potential nominalization
NM:PV	perfective nominalization
PART	participial
PAT	patient
PDN	participant denoting nominalization
PL	plural
PLZ	polite request
POSS	possessive
PRHB	prohibitative
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PST	past tense (pre-hodiernal)
Q	question marker
REP	reportative
RPST	remote past
SAP	speech act participant (1st, 2nd person)
SCND	second position declarative
SIM	simulative
SN	standard negation
STAT	stative
TC	TAME clitic
TI	temporal indefinite
TERM	terminative
VAL	valency increaser
VBLZ	verbalizer
VIS	visual evidential
//	pause, intonational or orthographic boundary



Part I

Starting Points

Chapter 1

Introduction

This introductory chapter has two distinct purposes. First, it provides introductory information about the Enxet Sur people of the Paraguayan Chaco and their language, including relevant historical and ethnographic information, information about their linguistic classification, and a review of the available literature on Enxet Sur and other languages of the Enlhet-Enenlhet language family. Second, it acts as an introduction to this grammatical description of the Enxet Sur language, including the methodology of data collection used, organizational and descriptive principles which have informed the writing of the grammatical description, and a brief general overview of the grammar of the language.

§1.1 presents the relevant history of the Enxet Sur people, the classification of the language, its current vitality, and some information about variation within the Enxet Sur language and information about the variety described in this dissertation. §1.2 reviews the previous literature on Enxet Sur and related Enlhet-Enenlhet languages. §1.3 describes data in use for this description, and §1.4 describes the basic word classes and fundamental syntax of the Enxet Sur language.

1.1 The Enxet Sur and their language

Enxet Sur (or just Enxet) is a language spoken in a number of majority-indigenous communities and in some urban centers in the Gran Chaco region of Paraguay, by people who identify as belonging to an Enxet Sur ethnolinguistic identity. The Enxet Sur language belongs to the small, tight-knit Enlhet-Enenlhet (EE) family, and all EE languages are spoken in a contiguous territory in the Paraguayan Chaco.

Until around the turn of the 20th century, the ancestors[1] of today's Enxet Sur lived in small seminomadic bands with an economy based on hunting, gathering, and small scale horticulture. The late 19th and early 20th century saw the acquisition and control of their lands by arms of the Paraguayan state, facilitated by the missionization of the Enxet by Anglican missionaries. This resulted in major socio-political changes, including the con-

[1] Because the boundaries between different EE languages and between different EE ethnolinguistic and political identities are synchronically a bit fuzzy and diachronically rather fluid, I do not refer to the ancestors of the modern Enxet Sur as themselves being "Enxet Sur", since the evidence points to this ethnic identity being emergent within the 20th century.

solidation of the Enxet population into the permanent and semipermanent communities in which they now live.

This section provides information about the Enxet Sur language, and the relevant history of the Enxet Sur people which might provide for a better understanding of the historical context and linguistic ecology of their language. It begins with a review of the geographic, historical, and ethnographic background (§1.1.1), followed by information about the classification and nomenclature for the language (§1.1.2), an assessment of the contemporary vitality of the language (§1.1.3), and a discussion of variation (§1.1.4).

1.1.1 Geography, History, Ethnography

Enxet Sur is a language spoken in a number of majority-indigenous communities and in urban centers in the Gran Chaco region of Paraguay, by people who identify as belonging to an Enxet Sur ethnolinguistic identity. The federal department of Presidente Hayes, the triangle of land between the Paraguay and Pilcomayo rivers, is historically the homeland of all Enxet Sur people and their ancestors, and is home to all present majority-indigenous communities in which there are Enxet Sur speakers. Although there are some speakers and small communities of Enxet Sur people living in Filidelfia or Loma Plata (the urban centers of the Chaco in Boquerón department) and in Asunción (the national capitol of Paraguay on the east bank of the Paraguay River), they represent a small minority of the almost 8,000 person ethnic Enxet Sur population, which mostly live in indigenous communities in which the majority of the population identifies as Enxet Sur.

This modern living situation is the product of over a century of expansion of the Paraguayan state into the low-to-central Chaco region where Enxet Sur speakers live, and Indigenous social organization and spatial geographies have undergone significant changes in that time period. Prior to early 20th century, the ancestors of the Enxet Sur lived in semi-nomadic groups who subsisted on hunting, fishing, gathering of wild foods, and small scale horticulture, often moving substantial distances over the course of the year. The acquisition of their lands by western agriculturalists, which was essentially complete by the mid-20th century, has led to the settling of the Enxet Sur population into their modern communities, and has placed them on the fringes of the Paraguayan market economy. Understanding the major social, economic, and political changes to Enxet communities within the historical period provides crucial context for an understanding of the modern linguistic ecology that Enxet Sur speakers exist in, the classification of the language, and the nature of variation.

Enxet Sur in the Gran Chaco

According to the 2012 Paraguayan census, there are 15 majority-Enxet Sur communities in Presidente Hayes, many of which are subsequently composed of a number of smaller villages or *aldeas* with their own names and political structures. Generally speaking, a *comunidad indígena* 'Indigenous community' in the modern Paraguayan Chaco context is defined by a legal title to the community lands, which may be held communally by the residents of the community, by church organizations, or by private individuals, depending on the community in question. While the smaller villages within a community

Community	2012 Population	No. of villages
El Estribo	1,931	10
La Herencia	1,651	9
Makxawaya	833	3
La Esperanza	491	5
Sawhoyamaxa	480	2
La Armonía	423	5
Yanekyaha Espinillo	398	3
Kem Ha Yat Sepo	275	2
Kelyenmagategma	198	1
Yakye Axa	195	1
San Fernando	169	3
Naranja Ty	149	1
Buena Vista	87	1
Rodolfito/Alborada	76	1

Table 1.1: Majority Enxet Sur Indigenous communities in order of population

have official or unofficial leaders, there is typically no formalized or hierarchical power structure at the community level for multi-village communities. The majority Enxet Sur communities and their populations, as of the 2012 census, are listed in table 1.1, and a map of these communities is given in figure 1.1 below.

These communities spread over an area from 57°20 to 59°31 east to west, 24°16 to 22°57 north to south, spanning most of the department of Presidente Hayes from east to west. This census count of communities does not, however, include the smaller and semi-permanent communities which exist on privately owned cattle ranches or *estancias*, nor does it account for the substantial portion of the Enxet Sur population which lives in Indigenous communities that are not majority Enxet Sur. The Enxet Sur population in some non-majority Enxet Sur communities may exceed ten percent, especially in majority Enlhet Norte communities near the western Enxet Sur communities.

The fieldwork for this dissertation was carried out primarily in the largest Enxet Sur community, El Estribo, seen in figure 1.2. El Estribo contains 10 villages, and the primary participants in the fieldwork were residents of the San Carlos/Palo Santo joint villages and the village of Santa Fe to the north. As described below, El Estribo was not founded until the 1980's and most of the founding populations of the villages of San Carlos, Palo Santo, and Santa Fe came from in and around the Makxawaya community.

Figure 1.1: A map of majority Enxet Sur communities in the department of Presidente Hayes, Paraguay, along with a general outline of the historical territory of the ancestors of the Enxet Sur

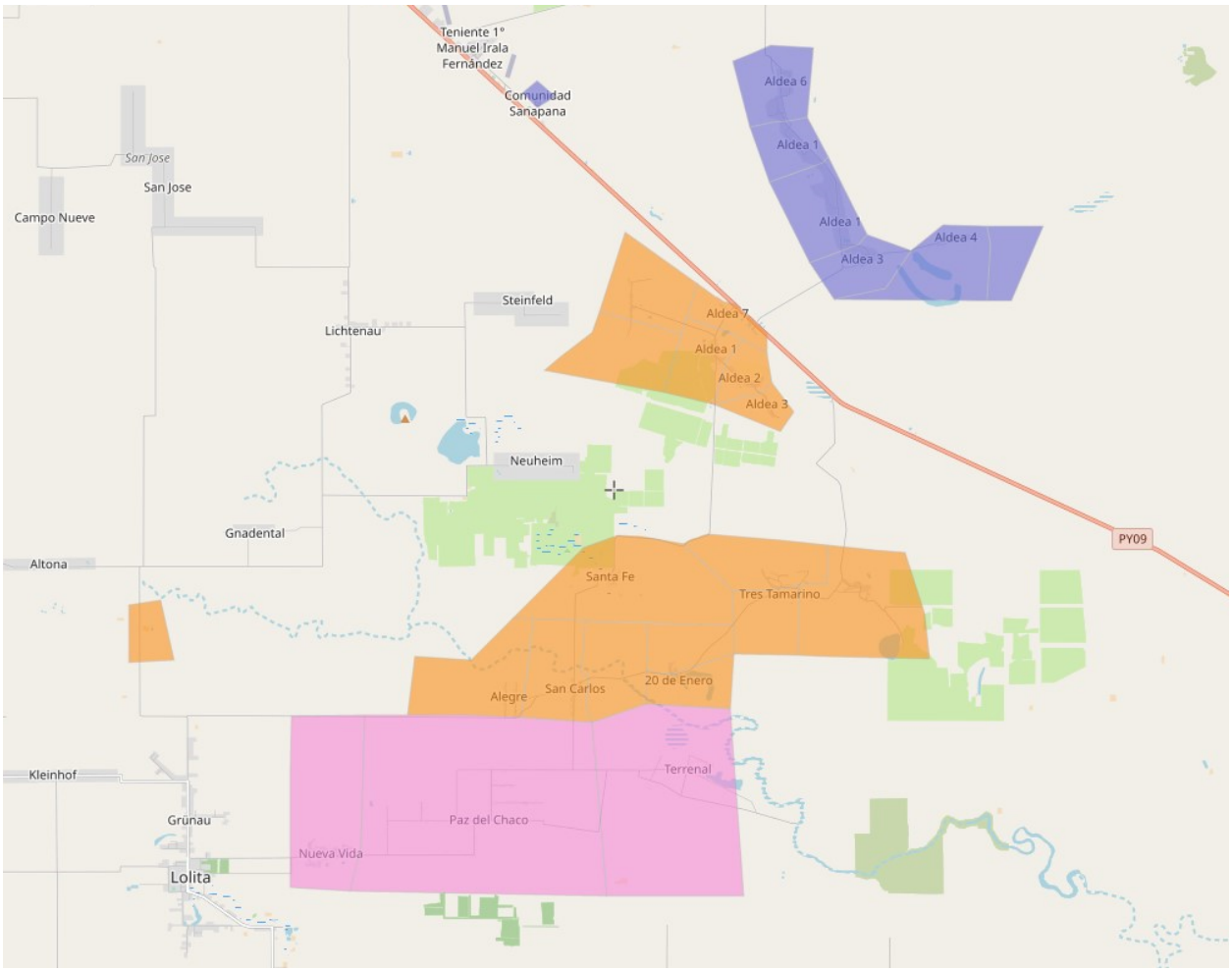


Figure 1.2: The El Estribo community (orange, Nebraska-shaped), with the Enxet Sur community of La Armonía (orange) and the Sanapaná community of Nueva Promesa (violet) to north, and the Enlhet Norte communities of Nueva Vida and Paz del Chaco (pink) to the immediate south (Map credit: Tierras Indígenas 2020)

Geographically, the Chaco is an alluvial plane of very thick silt deposits, the remnants of an ancient lake that once separated the Andes from the Brazilian Shield. Other than a handful of isolated rocky hills, the whole region is exceptionally flat, rising consistently but imperceptibly from east to west. Rainfall varies quite signficantly between the Eastern border of the Chaco, with about 1300-1400 mm annually, and the western extent of Enxet Sur communities in the central Chaco closer to Filadelfia, where rainfall is between 700-800 mm annually (Renshaw, 2002). Thus, most of the lower Eastern Chaco near the Paraguay River is characterized by palm swamps dotted by dry islands, as is found in the old mission lands of Makxawaya, giving way to a drier, often impenatrably dense shrub-land broken by tracts of wooded forests as one moves west towards El Estribo.

Straddling the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate can be extreme with summer temperatures consistently around 105F/40C and winter tempartures often below freezing.

Daily temperature shifts of up to 68F/20C are not uncommon, and given the flat, featureless landscape, the weather is often controlled by the movements of the hot, dry north wind moving in from the Brazilian equator (Enxet *éxchahayam*), and the cold, wet south wind (*apyeyam*) blowing up from Patagonia. The region is prone to cycles of months-long drought followed by months-long flooding. Thus, it can be a fairly extreme environment at times.

The low to central Chaco region where Enxet Sur speakers live contains a range of different habitats, ranging from dense forests of hardwoods like quebracho blanco (*naw'a*) and palo borracho (*námok*), to expansive groves of Caranda'y palms (*áxa*), to sandy-soiled savannahs covered in espartilla grass (*pápeyaw*), to seasonal lagoon environments (*ságe*) (cf. Polini, Romero López, López Ramirez, Recalde, and Villamayor 2015, p. 30–33). The broader Gran Chaco is the largest environmental region in South America after the Amazon rainforest, and is notable for its biodiversity (Janišová, Mucina, Júnior, Durigan, Pavan, Sabino, Acosta, Hédl, Peet, and Guarino, 2016). However, deforestation and rapid environmental degradation, have quickly changed the landscape of the Chaco region in recent decades, with ever more detrimental effects on the economies and livelihoods of the indigenous peoples of the region (Caldas, Goodin, Sherwood, Campos Krauer, and Wisely, 2015, Glauser, 2019, Mereles and Rodas, 2014).

Much of the anthropological literature on the Gran Chaco region describes the region as a "crossroads", and Chaco cultures are often described as being "transitional" between the Amazonian region to the north and the Pampas region to the south, while also being accessible to influence from the Andes to the west. Genetic studies of Chaco indigenous populations (Demarchi and Ministro, 2008) have shown that the Chaco has the highest intragroup diversity and lowest intergroup diversity of any region in South America, and the data suggest a high rate of gene flow both among Chaco groups and between Chaco groups and groups outside of the Chaco. These data suggest an extensive pattern of exogamy and intermixing of populations, despite the extensive linguistic diversity of the region, and such a situation would tend to produce structural contact effects between the languages of the region. Attempts to define the Chaco as linguistic area, however, have been somewhat inconclusive, and it is not so clear that the languages of the region are more like each other than they are like languages outside of the Chaco (Campbell, Chacon, and Elliott, 2002, Campbell and Grondona, 2012, Comrie, Golluscio, González, and Vidal, 2010).

Early historical records

It is ironic that the ethnographers, naturalists, and missionary writers of the 19th and early 20th century so consistently referred to the Chaco as "unknown land" or "terra incognita", given that reconnaissance in the Chaco region was a very early goal for the Spanish colonists of the 16th century and establishing trade routes from the Rio de la Plata basin to the Andes through the Chaco was an important goal. Missionization of Chaco tribes had begun as early as the latter half of the early 17th century, with Jesuits and later Fransciscans establishing short-lived mission stations across the Chaco , attracting groups representing of each of the major Chaco languages families (Metraux, 1946, p. 201–2), including the 40-year Zamucos mission in Ayoreo territory in the early-mid 18th

century, the longest lasting of any of the Catholic Chaco missions (Chesterton, 2013, p. 81).

The first of these missions to have interactions with speakers of Enlhet-Enenlhet languages was the Melodía mission, which lasted from 1786 until around 1805. Located near modern-day Villa Hayes, just north of Asunción on the west bank of the Paraguay River, the Melodía mission had generally very hostile relations with various Indigenous groups in the area, especially the Guaycuruan-speaking group the Paraguayans and Argentinians called 'Toba' (who now go by the endonym Qom). At the time, most of the area immediately west of the Paraguay river north of Asunción was controlled by the equestrian Enimagá (ancestors of the modern Maká) and Cochaboth groups, and the Payaguas, 'river pirates' who traded and raided along the Paraguay river for most of the 17th and 18th centuries (Metraux, 1946, p. 224). The resources flowing through Melodía attracted the attention of many Indigenous Chaco groups, all of whom were nomadic to some degree or another, including a group of Enlhet-Enenlhet speaking peoples known to the Paraguayans at Melodía as the Machicui (also spelled Machicuy).

The name Machicui is most likely the name that the Guaycuruan Toba-Qom had for this group (Koch, 1902, p. 136), although some have suggested the name is Matacoan in origin and comes from the Matacoan-speaking Enimagá (later Maká) group (Fabre, 2005, p. 13). According to (Sušnik, 1981, p. 47–8), however, the Melodía mission was a major center of interethnic interaction, and the Toba-Qom and the Machicui were closely linked, even at one point developing a mixed group she referred to as *Emók Toba* composed mostly of Machicui women and Toba-Qom men. She also suggests extensive mixing of the Machicui with the Enimagá and Cochaboth as well. The name Machicui over time became Mascoy (or Maskoy, Maskoi, Mascoi), which is still a common exonym for Enlhet-Enenlhet peoples and their languages up until the present day.

Although the complex history of endonyms for the ancestors of the Enxet Sur is discussed in the following section, it is worth noting at this point that the Paraguayans and other westerners who interacted with Chaco Indigenous peoples during the 18th and 19th century did not do a very good job of keeping them straight. With the exception of the Payaguas, who were settled in a neighborhood of Asunción by the early 1800s, interaction with Chaco Indigenous groups was mostly antagonistic until the late 19th century, and so throughout the 18th and 19th centuries there were very few meaningful interactions between Paraguayans and the Indigenous chaqueños that led to any substantial understanding of the latter on the part of the former. For this reason, generic Spanish exonyms like 'Toba' and 'Lengua' were used for whoever happened to be on the other side of the Paraguay River at the time, despite the fact that there was actually a lot of movement and shifting territorial control throughout this time period in the Bajo Chaco. The name 'Lengua' was applied first to the Enimagá, the Cochaboth, and another group known as the Juiádge (none of which appear to have had EE linguistic affiliations). Because of intermixing of the Machicui with some of these groups and the eventual shift in territorial control from these groups to later EE-speaking peoples in the 19th century, the name Lengua was also applied to many different EE-speaking groups.

Despite this general ignorance of the Chaco's indigenous people, westerners did gain some information about them through the publication of journals from military expeditions, the most notable for documentation of EE-speakers being Aguirre (1793) and

de Azara (1809)[2]. For example, de Azara (1809) provides the list shown in table 1.2 of 16 group/band names that he contends comprise the entirety of the "Lengua" people, all reported to speak a dialect of the same language. None of these band names corresponds to those which where documented 100 years later by Anglican missionaries — most of those are still in use today, at least as an identifier for older Enxet Sur. However, de Azara's band names do mostly have the *Ke-*/*Ko-*/*Cha-* element that is very common to the names of bands and sub-ethnic groups across EE-speaking peoples which have been documented since the late 19th century. At least some of these names, without doubt, are endonyms of EE-speaking groups.

Quiomoguigmon	Cabanataith	Quiesmanapon
Quiabanalaba	Cobayte	Cobastigel
Emegsepop	Quioaeyeé	Quiomomcomél
Quiaoguaina	Quiaimmanagua	Quiabanaelmayesma
Quiguailyeguaypon	Siquietiya	Quiabanapuacsie
Ycteaguayenene	Painuhunguié	Sanguotaiyamoctac
Apieguhem		

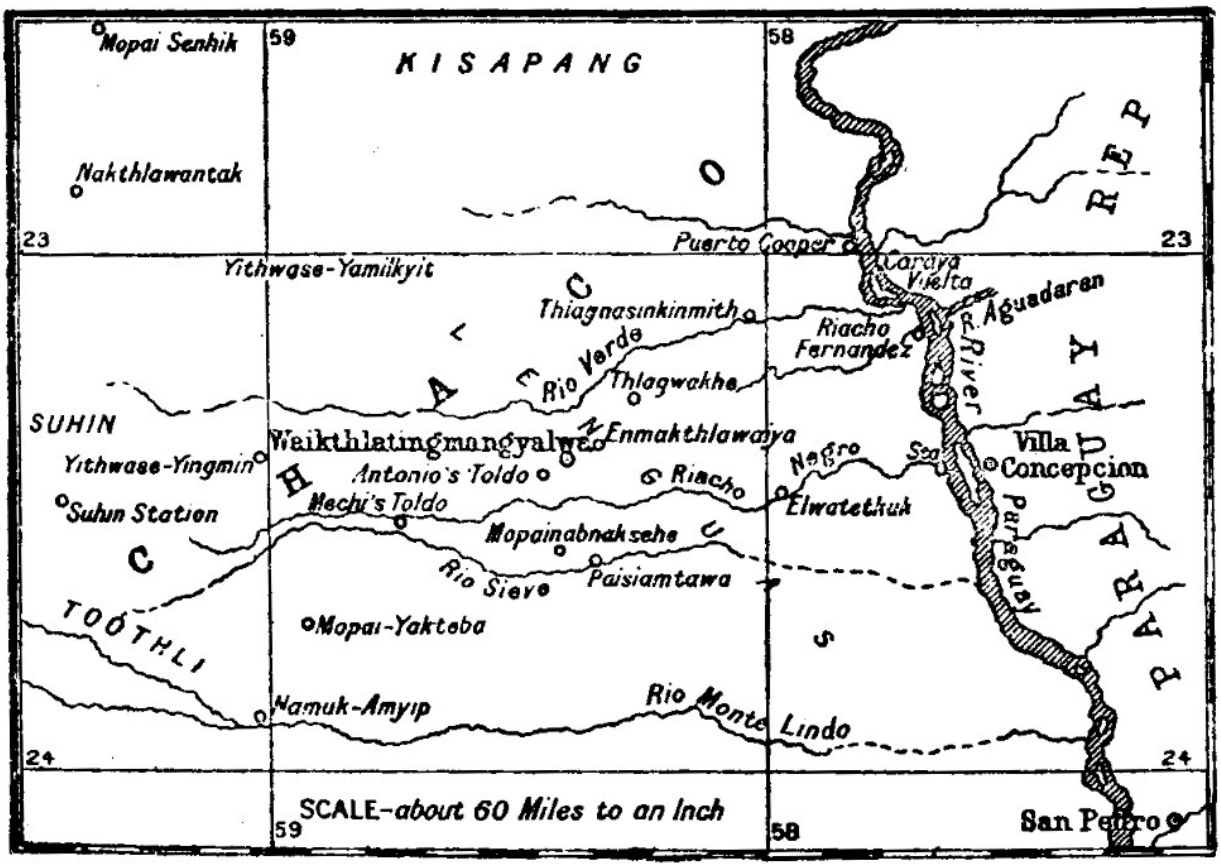
Table 1.2: List of band/group names for "Lengua" peoples, from de Azara (1809, p. 154)

Culture and politics prior to Paraguayan expansion

At the time of Azara's expedition and for most of the 19th century, the EE-speaking ancestors of today's Enxet Sur were politically independent, and their lands had not yet been conquered and controlled by the Paraguayan state. Interaction with the westerners, either directly or through trade with other Chaco groups, had led to the introduction of horses, sheep, metal knives, and some other important trade goods (Metraux, 1946, p. 263), and the colonization of lands on the periphery of the Chaco had some significant effects on EE populations, especially in the form of disease. However, while western colonial projects in southeast South America surely had some impacts on Enxet culture and social organization since their inception, at least by diffusion, there is no real sense in which the ancestors of the Enxet Sur were deeply affected by relationships with colonial projects or the Paraguayan state until the late 19th century.

As a short hand, I refer to this period prior to the late 19th century as the pre-missionization period, since the founding of the Anglican missions to the Enxet were the major turning point in their interactions with the west and they were part of a historical process that led to the subjugation of the Enxet to the Paraguayan state. A full account of what is known or assumed or claimed about the pre-missionization life and culture of EE-speaking peoples is beyond the scope of this short introduction, and there are limits to how far back we can project these assumptions in time. We can view the late 19th and early 20th centuries

[2]Based on most of the later sources, it appears that these sources were mostly buried in archives until the early 20th century. Grubb (1914) even remarks that it would have been useful to have known about these sources prior to beginning their missionary efforts in the late 19th century, but they simply did not know they existed.



EL GRAN CHACO.

Figure 1.3: An early 20th century map of the Anglican Zone in Grubb 1914, p. viii), showing the locations of mission stations including *Enmakthlawaiya*, present day Makxawaya; it also marks territories of the *Kisapang* (modern *Sáp'ag*, Sanapaná) to the north, the *Suhin* (modern *Sewhen*, Nivaclé) to the west, and the *Toóthli* (modern *Tawóxay*, Maká) to the southwest

as a time of major change for the Enxet because such changes are well documented. However, the 17th and 18th centuries, which also brought major changes to Indigenous Chaco populations more broadly, may have been just as radical for the Enxet — in the absence of historical or archeological evidence, we cannot really know. Nonetheless, some points about pre-missionization Enxet culture, most of which comes from 19th century missionaries, can provide some useful insight into the earlier linguistic ecology of EE speakers and the ancestors of the Enxet Sur, and it is reasonable to extrapolate from this what the more long-term linguistic ecology of the EE-speaking world was like, potentially even into the pre-colonial era.

The ancestors of the Enxet Sur, as far as we know, have always been roughly where they are today in the central to low Chaco, in the mesopotamian region between the Paraguay and Pilcomayo rivers — they have never held territory along the Pilcomayo

and their movement to the banks of the Paraguay river north of the Río Negro only happened in the mid 19th century after the dissolution of the river tribes (see below). Related EE-speaking peoples all live in a contiguous are with similar recent histories, and therefore the upper Chaco tributaries of the Paraguay River are the probable homeland of EE speakers. There is no significant evidence that they migrated from another region, although Grubb (1911) claims the Enxet Sur had fled from the Andes or perhaps the Andean foothills, and (Sušnik, 1977) also provides some unsubstantiated claims that they come from the west as well.

Metraux (1946, p. 226), apparently repeating de Azara (1809), claims that the Mascoi of the 18th and 19th centuries had a range that extended from the central Chaco all the way to Chiquitos, which sits on the northern edge of the Chaco in Bolivia, something on the order of a few hundred miles north of the core EE-territory in the central Chaco and on the other side of the historical range of the Ayoreo. This is possible, but should be viewed with some skepticism given how regularly the historical sources confused different groups of Indigenous people in this region. As described in the next section, EE languages are not particularly diversified (some have understandably though incorrectly thought they were all a single language), and are not known to be related to any other language family, so there is no linguistic evidence to suggest that they came from somewhere else prior to the 18th century.

Within their territory, the ancestors of the Enxet lived in bands which ranged in size from 20 to 100, although the average size was around 40 or 50 (Kidd, 1992, p. 36). These bands were semi-nomadic and moved around based on the changing seasonal availability of resources (Grubb, 1911, p. 60), especially for the lakes and wetlands which cyclically drain and reappear with the rains. Bands would set up temporary shelters and camp in an area for anywhere from a few weeks to a few months, and would move not only for resources, but also in response to a death to avoid the wandering soul of the deceased (López Ramírez, 1996), or for festivals and feasts that could draw hundreds of people to camp together and last for several months at a time (Grubb, 1911, p. 177).

A number of sources in the literature on Chaco Indigenous groups assert that social and political organization traditionally has been centered around "common residence or association with a particular territory", and that socio-political units, as such, "did not enjoy much permanence over time" and were in a "continual state of flux"(Renshaw, 2002, p. 223). Personal affiliation with a group identity is not something inherited by descent, and can be quite fluid even for an individual over the course of their lifetime if they move to a different community[3].

Sušnik (1981) describes the traditional political organization of the Enxet as being based on *centros* — centers with regular resources — and non-hereditary, impermanent "leaders" (Enxet *wesse'*) who can successfully politic and make decisions such that these

[3]Kidd (2000b) makes a similar argument at the level of familial relations, arguing that for the Enxet, core familial relationships like *méme* 'my mother' are not established by the circumstances of one's birth but are established on an ongoing basis by patterns of day-to-day relationships. Personally, I've known Enxet Sur children who live in households where both their mother and grandmother live, and if the grandmother is the family matriarch and does most of the caretaking, the child calls the grandmother and not the mother *méme*. That such an attitude to social relationships extends to the level of socio-political identity is therefore unsurprising.

Peyseyapto	'black his food', named for the wild, black *antáwa* beans (*Capparis retusa*), or possibly for the black lungfish (*Lepidosiren paradoxa sp.*)
Mássepto	'bitter his food', named for tradition of cooking food in bile
Yexwasepto	'red his food', name origin unclear
Mópeyapto	'white his food', named for white meat of the caiman
Chánáwatsam	'those by the Paraguay river', lived on bank of Río Paraguay opposite Concepión

Table 1.3: Mid-to-late 19th century EE bands constituting the modern-day Enxet Sur

resources can be successfully exploited and maintained. This is reflected in many of the band names that EE-speakers used for their social units — names like *Peyseyapto* 'his food is black' or *Chátewes* 'those of the black algorrobo' or *Chánawatsam* 'those by the Paraguay River' are not simply designations of group customs or geographical locations, but instead indicate ties to a centralizing economic resource, the exploitation of which helps to define the group identity. The *Peyseyapto*[4] maintained areas rich in black *antáwa* beans (Sušnik, 1981, p. 149), the *Chátewes* maintained access to groves of black algorrobo (another major food staple in the region), and the *Chánawatsam* relied on the trade and industry on the banks of the Paraguay River.

What this social organization amounts to is the fact that nobody identified as or thought of themselves as "Enxet Sur" until the mid-20th century at the earliest, and the names that westerners used to group various EE-speaking peoples together, like "Lengua" or "Maskoy", do not appear to have corresponded to a discrete authochthonous category among the people such terms were being used to refer to. The word *énxet* simply means 'man' or 'person', and it can be used to refer to men/people in different ethnolinguistic groups[5]. The assemblage of different bands that de Azara (1809) defined as constituting the Lengua people do not appear to have existed in the same configurations as little as half a century later. The four which begin to enter into the historical record by the mid-to-late 19th century are those listed in table 1.3, with the exception of the *Chánawatsam*, which appear a little later.

These are the primary bands of EE speakers whose descendants make up the modern Enxet Sur population — many speakers still identify with one of these groups. Figure 1.4 provides a map of the rough territories of these groups around the late 19th century, along with the identities of their indigenous neighbors, based on Enxet Sur names. The territories shown are rough approximations based historically documented ranges of groups, and there is not much evidence to suggest that these EE groups had any highly

[4]Modern Enxet Sur believe that the black food referenced by the name *Peyseyapto* refers to the black lungfish *lólaq*, although based on the historical sources this appears to be a reinterpretation, probably based on the fact that modern *Peyseyapto*, especially in El Estribo, catch and eat a lot more *lólaq* than they collect *antáwa* beans.

[5]Not necessarily to just anyone, and when contrasted with some other kind of person, like *waley* 'Paraguayan' or *enles* 'Englishman', it denotes someone who is indigenous and maybe specifically Enxet Sur. The point stands, however, that this term does not definitively refer to a particular ethnic group.

salient notion of delineated geographic borders between their territories.

Figure 1.4: A map of mesopotamia between the Pilcomayo and Paraguay rivers, with the major Enxet Sur bands, their territory, and their immediate neighbors around the late 19th and early 20th centuries, based on maps and other geographic data found in Sušnik (1981), Grubb (1914), Unruh et al. (2003), and (Villagra Carron, 2014)

What is not clear is the degree to which these bands historically thought of themselves as groups who were more closely related to each other than they were to some other groups, especially the groups which now identify as Enlhet Norte, one of the other modern EE ethnolinguistic identities[6]. Sušnik (1977, 1981) refers to a distinction made by the primarily Peyseyapto and Mássepto consultants she worked with in the mid-20th century between *kyátaxnegwanxekhem* 'those of the west' and *kyánepyeyam* 'those of the south' which corresponds to the Enlhet Norte/Enxet Sur distinction in contemporary EE communities. She says people attributed linguistic and cultural distinctions to these two different macro-groups. However, by the time of her research, the EE region had already been carved up by colonization into an Anglican zone of influence in the east and a Mennonite zone of influence in the west. The Enxet Sur were entirely in the Anglican zone and the Enlhet Norte entirely in the Mennonite zone, and it appears likely that it was in fact these two distinct zones of economic influence themselves which led the fluid, premodern EE bands in the region to align as either Enlhet Norte or Enxet Sur by the late 20th century.

This historical situation — that the modern ethnolinguistic identity is a composite of a number of smaller historical group identities — is the norm in the EE family. Angaité, Sanapaná, Toba-Enenlhet, and Enlhet Norte peoples are also historically composed of a number of smaller groups, many of which are politically salient into the present. There are no indications in the literature that this is true of the Guaná, although this phenomenon is not well documented, and they may have had a similar history to other modern EE groups. The historical, political, cultural, and linguistic factors which contributed to the formation of the modern group identities and languages are generally only a matter of speculation (cf. Villagra Carron 2014), although rigorous sociolinguistic investigation coupled with a deeper knowledge of the comparative linguistics of the EE family may one day provide a more explicit understanding of these changes.

The traditional enemies of the Peyseyapto and the Mássepto were the Toba-Qom (Enxet Sur *Á'ey*), while the Mópeyapto and the Yexwásepto had ongoing conflicts with the Nivaclé (Enxet Sur *Sewhen*). All groups had ongoing skirmishes with the Sanapaná, formerly known to the Enxet Sur as Kesáp'ag or Kelyakmok, modern Sáp'ag (López Ramírez, 1996). These historical relationships between groups are important linguistically, since one of the apparent goals of such intertribal conflicts was the capture of women and children who could be integrated into the tribe and thus increase and diversify its population (Sušnik, 1981, p. 151). This would have been a mechanism for language contact effects.

Missionization and settlement

By the mid-19th century, the various equestrian and canoe tribes who had dominated the eastern edge of the Chaco on the west banks of the Paraguay River collapsed, a product of devastating epidemics in the case of the Enimagá and Cochaboth, and integration into Paraguayan society on the part of the Payaguá. With this territory now opened up, the Peyseyapto and Mássepto bands had free access to the Paraguay River for the first time, and began to establish fairly regular trade relations with Paraguayans at Villa Concepción

[6]Enlhet and Enxet are just two different spellings of what are basically the same word in different orthographic conventions.

and later on at Carayá Vuelta farther north. The Enxet would cross the Río Paraguay in small canoes with deer hides, wool blankets, and rhea feathers, which thy would trade for tobacco, knives, and machetes. The Mássepto would set up camp on the Paraguayan side of the river or in the river island adjacent to Villa Concepción, and occasionally, during the era of the Paraguayan war in the 1860's and 70's, engage in raids and skirmishes with Paraguayan soldiers (Sušnik, 1981, p. 145–47).

The Paraguayan war, fought from 1864 to 1870 with the Paraguayans against the triple alliance of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina, was a horrific conflict that by some estimates lead to the deaths of more than half of the Paraguayan population. The decisions made by the Paraguayan state in its aftermath led to the advent of true expansion into and territorial control of the Paraguayan Chaco, which up until the late 19th century had been Paraguayan territory only as a cartographic fiction. After Paraguay regained full independence in 1876, the Paraguayan state was massively in debt. Lands in the Chaco had been granted to Paraguay as part of the post-war negotiations (aided by US President Rutherford B. Hayes, for whom the modern department of Presidente Hayes is named), and in 1885 they sold off large parcels of land in their Chaco territories, much of it to British investors who at the time controlled much of the Paraguayan economy more broadly (Kidd, 1992, p. 58). Much of this land bought by British investors was land occupied by the Peyseyapto and Mássepto groups, as well other EE-speaking Indigenous groups.

The British and other foreign investors in the Paraguayan Chaco had two primary economic interests: cattle ranching and the production of tannins (for leather production) from quebracho trees (Enxet Sur *máset*, *yátamáset*, *teyneg*) which are abundant in the region. Initially, the primary interest was tannin production, which led to the creation of tannin factories on the Chaco banks of the Paraguay river at Puerto Casado, Puerto Pinasco, and Puerto Cooper. These drew indigenous labor from various EE speaking groups, including the Sanapaná, groups who would later be known as Angaité, the Guaná, and groups of southern Enxet who would eventually become known as Chánáwatsam 'those by the Paraguay River'. The Chánáwatsam emerged as a distinct band identity in these work camps in the late 19th and early 20th century, and their descendants now identify generally as Enxet Sur, although they have a rather distinct dialect of the language and their ethnolinguistic affiliations are historically complex.

While this initial expansion of western economic interests was mostly restricted to the banks of the Paraguay River, expansion into the Chaco's interior began in 1888 with the first arrival of Anglican missionaries from the South American Missionary Society (SAMS). That missionization of the Indigenous peoples of the Chaco was in service of economic exploitation of the land was clear from the beginning of the English mission in the Paraguayan Chaco. The missionaries hoped that "by fair dealing and preparation of hearts and minds they [the Indigenous] may be led to welcome future settlers, and to share with them the advantages of civilization in return for land surrendered to its service" (SAMS Magazine, 1889). The SAMS missionaries were in close coordination with the British business leaders who had bought land in the Chaco, and they hoped that missionization of the Indigenous people, the ancestors of the Enxet Sur who these missionaries knew as the Lengua, would lead to a cooperative workforce for their business ventures. SAMS missionaries also believed that unless they were Christianized, the Indigenous peoples of the Paraguayan Chaco would be the victims of genocidal campaigns,

as had happened recently in the neighboring Argentinian Chaco.

Figure 1.5: Photo of a young Enxet man c. 1900, taken by SAMS photographer Andrew Pride in a studio in Villa Concepción: Pitt Rivers Museum

The missionaries had many early attempts and failures in trying to establish permanent mission stations in the interior of the Chaco (Grubb, 1911), but found their greatest success with the founding of the Makxawaya mission (from Enxet *Émhakxawaye* 'Where the Waye tree grows') near the Rio Verde in the middle of the Peyseyapto and Mássepto territories. Many Enxet people were attracted to the economic opportunities presented by the missions, and they attracted both permanent residents and bands and families who would come and go periodically, in keeping with their seminomadic culture. Initially, residence and labor at Makxawaya or other mission stations was not coerced, but this dynamic changed as western colonial interests began to claim more land in the Chaco interior.

Through the first three decades of the twentieth century, there was a slow procession of economic activity as more and more cattle ranches popped up across the Enxet territory. As infrastructure to support the ranch economy was developed and British landowners sold or rented parcels to investors in the region, the growth of cattle ranching accelerated, but the Paraguayan state itself was largely uninterested in the real control of the Chaco until the 1920s. At that time, in response to Bolivian incursions into the Chaco from the west, the Paraguayan military established military outposts in the Chaco, including at one of the SAMS missions at a western site called Nanaw'a. The Paraguayans began to

invest heavily in staking their claims to the Chaco region, expanding the development of infrastructure and permitting the settlement of the Central Chaco by German-speaking Mennonite refugees from Russia in the late 1920's under the Paraguayan flag.

In the 1930's Paraguay and Bolivia went to war for control of the Chaco region, resulting in a Paraguayan victory. Although the Indigenous people of the region, including Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte, played a critical role in the Paraguayan victory by helping Paraguayan soldiers locate sources of drinking water in the arid region (something generally ignored in the national narrative about the Chaco War), the aftermath of the war led to a greater expansion of the economic and physical infrastructure of the Chaco that pushed Indigenous people to the margins of society. By the mid-20th century, domination of Enxet lands by foreigners was complete, and the ability of the Enxet to survive was at the will of the foreign landowners, who greatly restricted their ability to hunt, fish, garden, or maintain livestock. The Enxet population lived either on one of the English Missions, primarily Makxawaya, or on the margins of the fenced-off ranch lands. Some communities, like those at Yakye Axa or Sawhoyamaxa, quite literally lived on the side of the road for decades, being almost entirely shut out of their land.

What might be thought of as the modern period of Enxet history began in the late 1970's with the beginning of land campaigns to get Enxet people their own communally held properties. This land campaign included the purchase and granting of lands by the Mennonite and Anglican churches, including the lands at La Armonía and El Estribo, which are now two of the largest Enxet Sur communities and which lie outside of the traditional territory of the Enxet Sur. Both were originally settled by Enxet Sur from Makxawaya, which by the 1980's was extremely overcrowded as the only remaining original mission land. Settlers from other Enxet Sur communities living near the Paraguay river or on land held by ranch owners founded more villages in these communities later on, and new villages are still being founded in the communities to this day (Polini et al., 2015). Other communities, especially those at Yakye Axa and Sawhoyamaxa, have fought extensive legal battles to reclaim the land taken from them by ranchers in the 20th century. These communities have won several of these legal contests and there has been demand for some of their lands to be returned to them, but the actual process of regaining control and access to these properties has been slow and challenging (Correia, 2018, 2019).

1.1.2 Names and Classification

A core piece of metadata for any linguistic description is an identifier for the language being described — a name. Of course, establishing a consistent identifier is often an onerous or at least non-finite task for many reasons, and this is somewhat the case for Enxet Sur. As with many small and understudied languages and language families, the representation of Enxet Sur and Enlhet-Enenlhet languages in the linguistic literature suffers from inconsistent and confusing nomenclature, and ethnolinguistic identity within the EE family can at times be a bit fuzzy. This section, therefore, provides a history of the naming and linguistic classification schemes used for Enxet Sur and related languages

or languoids[7] in order to make it easier to understand how the version of Enxet Sur described here — the doculect described in this dissertation — relates to other languoids and doculects in the EE family.

At present, there are a few "official" identifiers of the Enxet Sur. The language known as Enxet Sur has the ISO 639-3 code [enx]. Previously, it was included with Enlhet Norte as [leg] for 'Lengua', but this marker has been made obsolete and replaced with 'enx' for Enxet Sur specifically, after a request of change made by Hannes Kalisch, an Enlhet Norte researcher, in 2013. It is still not uncommon to see ISO code 'leg' in reference to Enxet Sur, but this is ambiguous in reference between Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte. Enxet Sur was also listed as an indigenous language of Paraguay in the last two Paraguayan national censuses (DGEEC, 2002, 2012). It is not uncommon, even in up-to-date modern materials, to see the name 'Lengua Sur' instead of Enxet Sur, or its anglicized counterpart 'Southern Lengua'.

The languages of the EE family show relatively little lexical or phonological diversification, and the whole family, at least historically, likely constitutes something of a non-linear dialect continuum — distinguishing one language from another in historical sources is not so easy. Even in the modern literature, Unruh and Kalisch (2003) refer to the six EE languages they identify as constituting the family as "linguistic nuclei" rather than clearly defined and distinct languages. Furthermore, as described in the previous section, ethnolinguistic identities among Indigenous groups in the Chaco appear to have undergone major changes as the result of the massive social, economic, demographic, and political changes brought about by colonization, meaning that even endonyms have been in flux within the historical period. In short, it can be a little tricky to establish clearly the relationship between the modern Enxet Sur language and labels which may correspond to its historical antecedents, and the boundaries between the modern languages are synchronically a bit fuzzy.

The recognition of the Enlhet-Enenlhet (EE) language family as a discrete group of closely related languages, under names like "Lengua" or "Maskoy", has been consistent since the nineteenth century, while the identification of the languages or varieties or languoids therein has been somewhat shifty and inconclusive, owing to 1) the lack of reputable and ethnographically sound reporting of information and the lack of endonyms in identifying politically salient groups on the part of non-indigenous researchers and academics and 2) the shifting identities and affiliations within EE commmunities and the relationship between languoids and socio-political identities being largely unidirectional from the latter to the former. Although there likely are some concrete divisions or subbranches within the family, described more below, primarily that between Enlhet Norte/Enxet Sur and the rest of the family, the geographic continuity of EE-speaking pop-

[7] I use the terms languoid, doculect, and glossonym in the senses defined by Good and Cysouw (2013). Languoid refers to some recognized distinct variety of speech, regardless of its status relative to other languoids (thus avoiding the often inconclusive language vs. dialect debate). Doculect refers to a the variety of a languoid as represented in a given documentation or description of a language, such that different doculects can be referred to when there is debate about whether they constitute the same languoid or not. Glossonym refers strictly to a name for a languoid, and not the languoid itself, such that a given languoid may have multiple glossonyms, or so that we may discuss whether a given glossonym is being used to refer to one or multiple languoids.

ulations and their extensive degree of integration over time means that direct inheritance and contact effects are likely quite difficult to separate from one another and distinctions between languoids in the family are highly variable and fluid over time. Different languoids within the family have emerged and consolidated with the emergence and consolidation of different bands and extended family units over time, only to reconfigure and reconform as the communities themselves have.

Brinton (1891, p. 308), the first major classification of South American language families, claimed four major linguistic "stocks" endemic to the Gran Chaco region: Guaycuru, Mataco, Lule, and Payagua, and as a side note he included Lengua as a distinct stock but provided no real discussion of them relative to his discussion of the other four groups. The earliest noted attempt to classify the "Lengua" comes in D'orbigny (1839), who described the "Lengua" as a nation of the "Pampean" branch living 27 degrees south and 62 degrees west (from Paris). However, this is well south of the Bermejo River, and about seventy miles of west of Corrientes in Argentina, much farther south than any other historical texts or ethnohistory in the Enlhet-Enenlhet nation suggest the ancestors of the modern EE peoples lived. As described in §1.1.1, the name "Lengua" was assigned by westerners to numerous unrelated indigenous groups in the Chaco. Koch (1902) was likely the first attempt to address the confusion in the literature surrounding the use of the terms *Lengua* and *Maskoy*/*Machicuy*, and at least from this point on, it becomes generally clear whether or not a given document is talking about EE speakers or some other group.

Loukotka (1968) lists the "Lengua" stock as one of six extant Chaco stocks; his other Chaco stocks are Guaicuru, Vilela, Mataco, Zamuco, Chiquito, and Gorgotoqui. He recognizes eight languages/dialects, including one with the name "Lengua or Enslet or Paisepto or Gekoinhalaák or Einslet or Cocoloth". The most helpful of these is the glossonym Loukotka spells as <paisepto>, modern *Peyseyapto*, the endonym used for one of the bands which were settled at the Makxawaya Anglican mission and whose descendants now identify as Enxet Sur. Loukotka says (pg. 57) that the language is spoken "between the Verde and Araguay-Guazú rivers", which definitively identifies the Enxet Sur, but the other names associated with the "Paisepto", like "Gekoinhalaák" are generally unrecognizeable. This is true of other contemporary sources from a similar time period, which include apparently legitimate group names along with other glossonyms of unknown provenance which cannot be corroborated or identified.

The internal composition of the "Mascoi" family in Klein and Stark (1977) approaches what is generally accepted today, but lists a single "Lengua" language with two dialects, North and South. It appears to be consistent from this point on that some variation on the name "Mascoi" is used to refer the language family of which "Lengua" is a single member, although, as described above, both names at various points in times were used to refer to individual groups. This naming convention, as well as the consolidation of Enlhet Norte and Enxet Sur as a single "Lengua" language is consistent in most references to either the language or the language family until the first decade of the 21st century.

To date, the most adequate description of the language family and its constituent languages comes from Unruh and Kalisch (2003). The authors, Unruh and Kalisch, are members of Enlhet Norte communities in Boquerón department. Because the existing names in use in the literature were all exonyms, many viewed as unsavory by community

Enlhet (Norte)	[enɬet apajwa:m]
Enxet (Sur)	[e:nɬet appe:wa]
Angaité	[aŋkajte paʔajwoma]
Sanapaná	[Sanapaná pajwoma]
Guaná	[vana pe:ma]
Toba-Enenlhet	[enenɬet apajwoma]

Table 1.4: Languages of the Enlhet-Enenlhet family and the endonyms for each language, according to Unruh and Kalisch (2003)

members, Unruh and Kalisch re-named the family the Enlhet-Enenlhet family, using two variations of the basic endonym that in Enxet Sur is *énxet* 'man, person', and this name for the family has generally been adopted in works on the languages of the family since then (see Fabre 2005, Gomes 2013, van Gysel 2017), despite the occasional difficulty in pronunciation it presents to outside linguists[8]. Unruh and Kalisch (2003) describe the EE family as consisting of six languages, or, as they describe them,"linguistic nuclei", listed in table 1.4 along with the endonym for the language. These six languages generally correspond to the modern ethnic identities of EE-speakers, but as described above, ethnic identities are as fuzzy around the edges as the linguistic distinctions within the family.

To date there has been no large scale comparative analysis, no phonological reconstruction of proto-EE, nor any thorough investigation of subgrouping. Unruh and Kalisch (2003) does suggest that Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte constitute a distinct branch of the family, and some preliminary data in (van Gysel, 2017) show support for a subgrouping of Angaité-Sanapaná-Enenlhet together and distinct from Enlhet Norte. Both sources refer to Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte as constituting a Western branch of the family and the other languages as making up an Eastern branch, further grouping together Angaité and Sanapaná together into a Southeastern branch and proposing that Enenlhet and Guaná constitute a Northeastern group, as represented in the upper model in figure 1.6. Enlhet Norte and Enxet Sur clearly constitute some kind of close genetic unit within the family, displaying significant shared distinctions in lexicon and morphology, but there has been no real evidence presented that the remaining languages also constitute a single subbranch with a shared ancestor. Similarly, some shared features of Sanapaná and Angaité are presented in Unruh and Kalisch (2003), and the to languages are spoken in a contiguous territory, but there has not really been any indication of shared innovations between Guaná and Enenlhet.

Given the historical linguistic ecology described above, in which social groups and therefore speech communities within the EE-speaking world were quite fluid and intertwined, understanding relationships within the family may be better understood, or at least represented, with something more like a wave model of feature diffusion, as van Gysel (2017) advocates based on some initial data. The lower model in figure 1.6 presents a prospective model of the EE-family based on the relative geographic location of speakers

[8]While it is common to hear non-Enxet people pronounce the name as [ensnet], [enʃet], [enslet], [eksnet], or [eŋkset], for English speakers I recommend reference to the original orthographic convention used by Anglican missionaries 'enthlit'.

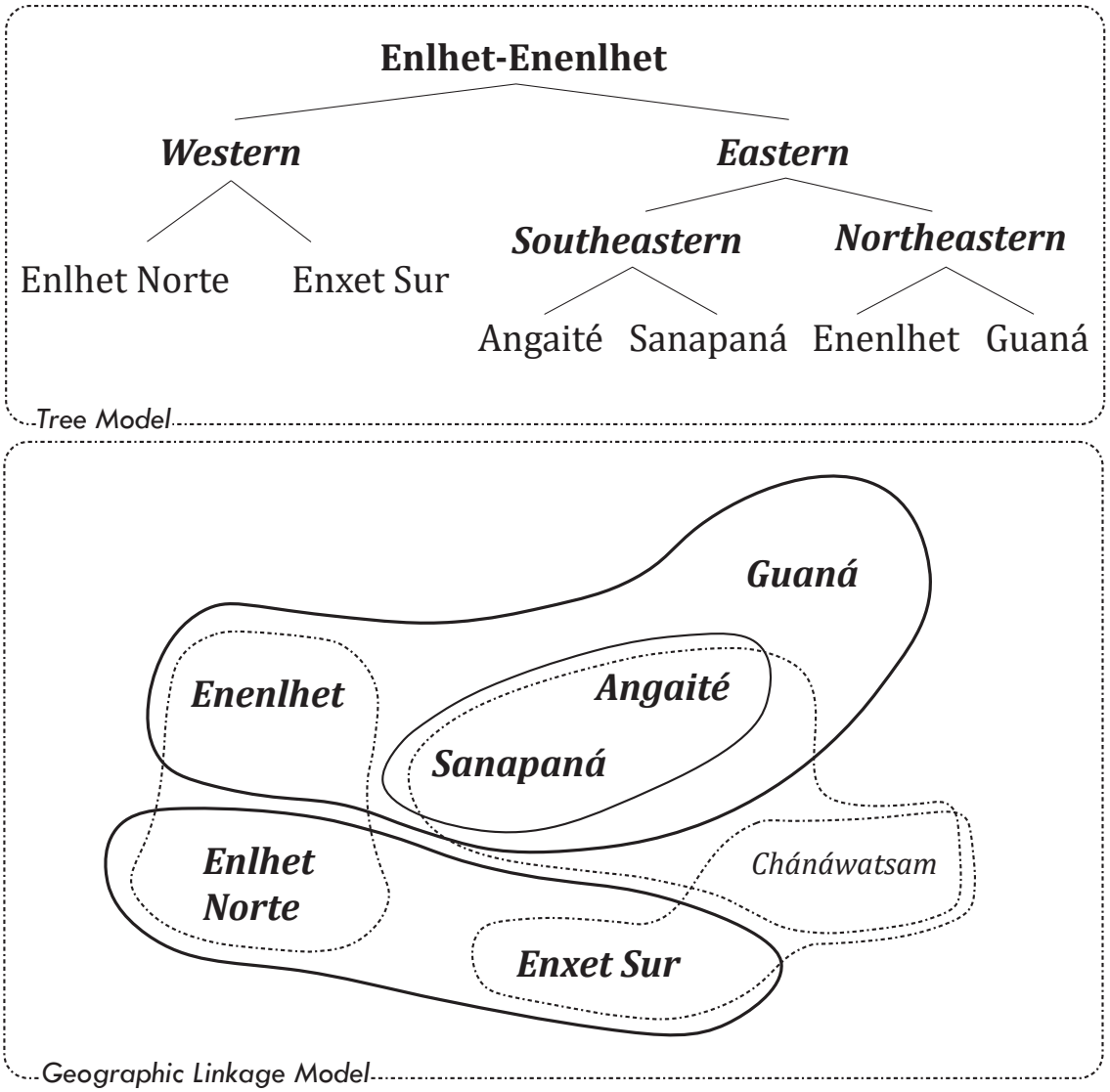


Figure 1.6: Two models of the family-internal relationships of Enlhet-Enenlhet languages

of the various languages and ties based both in shared, inherited innovations and features shared through diffusion. I include the Chánáwatsam variety of Enxet Sur as an example of an EE languoid that we know to have formed in a situation of contact between Enxet Sur speakers and Sanapaná and Angaité speakers. Neither of these models should be considered definitive, and I look forward to forthcoming comparative work on the EE family which can resolve some of these issues.

Mutual intelligibility

Mutual intelligibility between Enxet Sur and other EE languages, especially Enlhet Norte, is a complicated topic, and without any more formal mechanism of determining mutual intelligibility (many of which are suspect), I can provide only anecdotal evidence from my own fieldwork carried out over several years. For example, in El Estribo, the village of Dos Palmas has a number of Sanapaná families, in which the middle aged and older members are fluent L1 speakers of Sanapaná. I went to visit one of my Enxet Sur consultants one day, and he was hosting an elderly Sanapaná visitor from Dos Palmas, and the two were speaking in Guaraní to each other. When I walked over to say hello, I introduced myself in Enxet Sur, and my consultant informed me that his Sanapaná guest did not speak Enxet Sur, only Sanapaná. I confirmed this in Spanish with the guest, and we continued talking in Spanish. Presumably, the two could not have had a conversation using their own EE languages.

This lack of conversational operationality does not seem to apply to the interaction between Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte speakers, at least in El Estribo where I did fieldwork. During one of my stays in Palo Santo, El Estribo, a visiting group of evangelical preachers from the Enlhet-Norte community of Ya'alve Saanga[9] was putting on a multi-night program, something of a revival meeting. I sat in on several conversations over tereré between the Enlhet Norte guests and their Enxet Sur hosts. Although both Enlhet Norte and Enxet Sur speakers were speaking slowly and loudly[10] and enunciating very clearly[11], and occasionally having to repeat themselves or find other ways to say things, the speakers of the two languages were able to chat fairly fluently.

Furthermore, during this church service with a panel of Enlhet Norte pastors delivering sermons and messages, most of the residents of the twin villages of Palo Santo/San Carlos were present and responsive to the Enlhet Norte sermons. The audience laughed and gave nods and grunts of approval — women, men, and children of all ages. Although church language is fairly formulaic, the fact that a village of Enxet Sur speakers could sit and listen to several hours of Enlhet Norte monologue is the strongest direct evidence I have seen to suggest that many of the Enxet Sur of El Estribo can at least passively understand Enlhet Norte.

[9]Enlhet Norte *ya'alve saanga* 'armadillo lake' would be *yálwa ságe* in Enxet Sur, but speakers do not convert location names from other EE languages into their own when talking about them.

[10]Several of the visiting pastors were elderly, and this may account for some of this excessive clarity, but at least impressionistically, it exceeded the linguistic accomodation typically afforded to other elderly Enxet Sur speakers.

[11]By this I mean that these speakers did not make the kinds of reductions typical of rapid speech, especially the devoicing or deletion of final syllables.

Neither of these anecdotes, however, allows us to distinguish between some kind of inherent mutual intelligibility of the two languages on the one hand and simple passive bilingualism on the other. Important to note here is that the Enxet Sur community of El Estribo is considerably farther west than most other Enxet Sur communities, is in traditionally Enlhet Norte territory, sits adjacent to the Enlhet Norte community of Paz del Chaco to the south, and a large portion of the community has regular interaction with Enlhet Norte speakers in the neighboring Mennonite economic centers of Lolita and Campo Aceval, and in the larger towns of Loma Plata and Filadelfia. In other words, without more substantial evidence from Enxet Sur speakers in other communities (e.g. La Herencia, Makxawaya, Jerusalem), it is hard to discern whether or not the high intelligibility of Enlhet Norte for the Enxet Sur of El Estribo might be more due to significant contact and familiarity.

At least one recorded comment, part of the corpus for this dissertation, suggests that this might be the case. In EDP enx028, Cirilo Benitez describes the hardships of migrating from Makxawaya to help found the El Estribo colony. He says:

> *"Mogwanchek axta negko'o Lengua Norte appeywa, hakte háwe axta neghóxama negko'o Lengua Norte, kaxwo eyke egketchek keltámeyagke ektémakxa apkelpeywa Lengua Norte"*
>
> "We couldn't speak Lengua Norte, because the Lengua Norte weren't our neighbors, but now our children are accustomed to speaking Lengua Norte."

In other words, Enlhet Norte may be the most similar of the EE languages to Enxet Sur, and therefore it is easy for Enxet Sur speakers to learn in a way that the other EE languages are not, but the two languages do not have a high degree of inherent mutual intelligibility. A number of easily observable differences between the two languages also make it quite plausible that they are not easily mutually intelligible:

- *Sound differences*: substantial differences in application of assimilatory processes, including vowel assimilation (§2.4.5), oral stop assimilation (), and nasal stop assimilation () leads to significantly different forms of cognate items; EN lacks uvular stops but has a velar fricative; Where EN allows adjacent vowels, ES requires the presence of a consonantal glide between them
- *Lexical differences*: numerous verb stem lexemes and function words, including negators and content question words (cf. EN *paej* vs. ES *méko* for existential negation), are unique to one language or the other, as are a number of common, high frequency nouns (cf. ES *pánaqte* vs. EN *manten* for '(medicinal) herb')
- *Grammatical differences*: several ES constructions not available in EN, including the zero-negative negation focus construction; differences in inventories of important grammatical formatives, like TAME clitics and topical demonstratives
- *Morphophonological differences*: fusional phenomena at the boundaries of verb stems operate quite differently in the two languages

1.1.3 Language vitality and linguistic ecology

This section provides data and observations relevant to an assessment of the language vitality of Enxet Sur, including information about the linguistic ecology and dynamics of language shift. The subsections below each describe a major indicator of vitality, but I begin with some overall assessment based on existing scales.

The Language Endangerment Index used by the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages*[12] lists Enxet Sur as "threatened", which suggests that a majority of the population speaks the language and it is still the dominant home language, but that the number of speakers is gradually decreasing and it is slowly loosing ground. This, based on the information provided below, is fairly accurate, although it does not account for differences between communities.

Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, 2021), on the other hand, lists the language in its "6a Vigorous" category, which suggests that "the language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable". This is generally inaccurate, since the speaking percentage of the population is declining rapidly and in many small communities only the oldest generation has competence in the language. This description may adequately capture the vitality of the language in some communities, but does not take into account major differences in intergenerational transmission patterns between communities.

Overall, depending on which classificatory scheme or scale is used, Enxet Sur ought to be considered an endangered but not highly endangered language, with intergenerational transmission having been lost or being lost in some communities in favor of Guaraní monolingualism, while intergenerational transmission remains strong in many other communities.

Speaker number statistics

To date, the most useful statistics regarding speaker numbers come from the Paraguayan national census. The indigenous people of the Chaco were not recognized as full citizens of Paraguay until after the fall of the regime of Alfredo Stroessner and the subsequent enactment of the new 1992 constitution. The first national census to take place after the legal recognition of indigenous peoples in 2002 was also the first census to ask about identity with an indigenous parciality or ethnolinguistic group, and to ask what indigenous languages people spoke. The choices for ethnicity and languages spoken were predetermined, although the choices were created in consultation with indigenous groups. A second census containing questions about indigenous identity and languages was conducted in 2012. The Enxet Sur data from these two most recent censuses (DGEEC, 2002, 2012) is presented in table 1.5.

These numbers, if taken at face value, suggest a rapid and precipitous decline in intergenerational transmission. The population over this period increased rapidly (a 25 percent increase), but the percentage of the population who say they speak the language dropped from over three quarters to less than one half. If those numbers are completely

[12] www.endangeredlanguages.com

Census year	Population	Speaker Percentage	Number of Speakers
2002	5,844	77.0%	4,499
2012	7,284	49.8%	3,627
Difference	+1,440 (+25.6%)	-27.2%	-872 (-19.3%)

Table 1.5: Enxet Sur ethnic population and speaker numbers for the 2002 and 2012 censuses

accurate, that would suggest that there was both a very high birth rate and death rate, and that children born in the period had not grown up speaking Enxet Sur.

In reality, there are lots of reasons to be skeptical of these numbers or at least to not take them at face value. Despite an increase in population of almost 1500, the absolute number of speakers dropped by almost 900, which would mean that something like 15 percent of the 2002 population died between 2002 and 2012. This would require an average death rate exceeding 15 per 1,000, while the average death rate for Paraguay over a 20 year period has been around 5.5 (World Bank, 2018). The highest national crude death rate in the world is in Lesotho, with 15 per 1,000. Poverty and poor health outcomes in indigenous communities surely leads to higher mortality rates, but a 200 percent increase above the national average seems unlikely — in the U.S., by comparison, indigenous populations have on average a 30 percent higher overall mortality rate (Indian Health Service, 2019). In other words it is very likely that differences in the numbers between the 2002 and 2012 censuses were the result of more than just actual demographic changes, since the only real way to "lose" speakers is for them to die, and the death rate here to make the numbers work is improbable.

There are a number of other factors which could be contributing to the changes in the demographic data. There was a difference in ethnic and linguistic affiliation options between the two censuses: the 2002 census had a category Lengua/Toba Maskoy which was removed in the 2012 census. Although only 756 respondents identified with this ethnic affiliation, it is not clear which groups these 756 respondents identified with in the 2012 census, which could have some impact on speaker percentage numbers. Ethnic affiliation and speakership is also quite fluid around the edges, as is discussed below, which may lead respondents to respond differently to these questions between different census years.

Furthermore, there is no major data on speaker attitudes (see below), and it is entirely possible that people who said they spoke Enxet Sur in 2002 said they did not in 2012 because their attitudes towards the language had changed, and perhaps their own linguistic behaviors had changed as well. It is also not entirely clear to me how the language data was collected for these censuses. In the summary reports, it appears as though there was not much of an effort made to account for multilingualism, and the per-community speakership percentages all add up to 100 percent, suggesting that people were only asked what their primary spoken language was and answers are exclusive of one another. If this is the case, the changes in speaker numbers may reflect attitudes and domains of use far more than the actual competence of speakers.

Despite a need to approach these figures with some caution and skepticism, there is no doubt that the percentage of speakers of the language is in decline while the overall

population is increasing quite rapidly. These changes are not evenly distributed either. Many of the Enxet Sur villages in the west retain quite high percentages of speakership, while communities in the east are much more likely to be mostly Guaraní speaking. For example, in El Estribo, the largest Enxet Sur community and the one where I conducted most of the fieldwork for this dissertation, the population of the community is 95.3% Enxet Sur, and 88.3% of the population speaks the Enxet Sur language. Compare that to the community of La Esperanza, where 95.2% of the population is Enxet Sur, but only 13.6% of the population speaks Enxet Sur.

There are geographic and demographic factors which correspond to variation in speaker percentages. Communities at the eastern edge of the Chaco tend to have very low speaker numbers. The Buena Vista community, only a few miles from the Paraguay River, is 80.3% Enxet Sur but 100% of the community list Guaraní as their spoken language. Buena Vista is also almost 20% Angaité, another Enlhet-Enenlhet ethnic group, and it is very common that communities which have a large mix of people identifying as Enxet Sur, Sanapaná, and Angaité tend to have low rates of indigenous language use in any of these languages, and instead have high rates of Guaraní monolingualism. Conversely, communities which are more homogenously Enxet Sur tend to have higher rates of Enxet Sur speakership. For example, the Makxawaya community is around 98% Enxet Sur, and 90% of the population speaks Enxet Sur, which is the highest of any majority Enxet Sur community. These variations are largely a product of the historical processes which led to the development of different settled communities, none of which existed prior to colonization beginning in the late 19th century.

Intergenerational transmission

As is mentioned in the previous section, there is a great range in the speaker percentages between different communities. This reflects the fact that in some communities, intergenerational transmission of the Enxet Sur language largely ceased, while in others, children still grow up speaking the language as their first language.

In the absence of better quantitative data, I can provide some anecdotal accounts of intergenerational transmission in the El Estribo villages where I conducted fieldwork. In the villages of Palo Santo, San Carlos, and Santa Fe, all children at present grow up speaking Enxet Sur as their first language, with the exception of some non-indigenous Paraguayan children of non-indigenous community residents, mostly permanent schoolteachers. Many older Enxet Sur in these villages note (or complain) that teenagers speak in a strange way — this is probably partially just standard intergenerational differences common to any speech community, but also reflects legitimate changes occurring due to the extensive integration of the young Enxet Sur people of El Estribo and the Enlhet Norte of neighboring Paz del Chaco. Nonetheless, these teenagers still are speaking Enxet Sur, even if it is somewhat different than the language of their elders.

Differences in rates of intergenerational transmission, however, can be observed between different villages, even within the community of El Estribo. While most villages are predominantly Enxet Sur speaking, others are predominantly Guaraní speaking. Despite the relative closeness of the villages, a child growing up in one of the predominantly Guaraní speaking villages is unlikely to acquire any substantial amount of Enxet

Sur. Because essentially all Enxet Sur speakers are at least second language speakers of Guaraní, if not synchronous bilinguals, marriage or other cohabitation between an Enxet Sur speaker and a non-speaker often leads to the more-or-less exclusive use of Guaraní within a household, and because most villages are made up of extended family units, this appears to suggest that the introduction of a few non-speakers into an extended family through marriage can lead to a cessation in intergenerational transmission in a relatively short period of time. More study would be needed to confirm that assumption.

Domains of use

Enxet Sur is still, in many communities, the dominant home language and the language of face to face communication. Although speakers of Enxet Sur may converse in Guaraní on occasion, most of the day-to-day communication in a community like El Estribo or Makxawaya occurs in Enxet Sur.

Enxet Sur has an officially recognized status under the 2010 Paraguayan Law of Languages (*Ley de lenguas*), which means that the government recognizes the existence of Enxet Sur as a distinct indigenous language and that it has some official responsibilities to protect the linguistic rights of speakers of the language, but this does not grant the language any kind of real "official" status. There are growing attempts, under the provisions of the Law of Languages, to translate government documents into Enxet Sur, including a major project to translate the national constitution into the language, but it does not appear that there is any kind of permanent position within any government office for Enxet Sur translators.

The primary formal domain of use for the language is in religion. Most Enxet Sur churches are part of the Anglican communion, stemming from the historical missionization of the eastern Paraguayan Chaco by Anglican missionaries. Numerous Bible translations have been produced since the early 20th century, and Anglican hymnals are used in the churches which have songs in Enxet Sur, Guaraní, and Spanish. Church sermons and other church activities like the ordination of clergy are all conducted in Enxet Sur, albeit a variety with a lot of formulaic speech and unique lexical items which have developed within the church domain.

Historically, the English missionaries to the Enxet Sur interacted with them in the Enxet Sur language (or often a pidginized register sometimes called *misionero appeywa* 'missionary language'), which may have been partially motivated by an interest in maintaining their separation from the Guaraní and Spanish speaking Paraguayan population. This, however, has led to the creation and preservation of a uniquely indigenous Christianity (see Kidd (2000a) on religious syncretism in Enxet Sur churches) and the maintenance of an important formal domain for the language.

The use of Enxet Sur in education is generally quite minimal, despite some concerted efforts to improve the representation of the language in education. Educational access is variable across communities, and I can speak best to indigenous education in the community of El Estribo, which probably represents the current best case scenario while some other smaller, poorer Enxet Sur communities likely have even less in the way of indigenous language education. In El Estribo, most children attend a village school, often just in the mornings for small children and full days for older students. The education extends

from primary to secondary levels, and students who wish to have higher level education at a *colegio*, a high school equivalent, must do so outside of the community. Education is conducted primarily in Spanish and Guaraní, transitioning more completely to Spanish near the end of secondary education, and the use of Enxet Sur in the schools is limited to the youngest primary students, typically only until the third grade, and only for a few hours a week. My host in El Estribo, Aníbal López, was the Enxet Sur language teacher for the primary school students in the twin villages of San Carlos/Palo Santo, and his use of the language with students included singing songs (mostly Enxet Sur translations of church songs or nursery rhymes), teaching basic literacy skills in the language, and teaching about traditional cultural practices including common medicinal uses of plants[13]. This Enxet Sur instructional time in the school setting amounts to several hours a week, at most.

Although a governmental agency for indigenous education was established in 2007 (the Dirección General de Educación Escolar Indígena), which has led to improvements in teacher training and capacity building for indigenous educators, efforts geared towards increasing the profile of the indigenous languages in education, including Enxet Sur, have been fairly minimal (see Elliott and Heaton 2020), and there is no formal mechanism to assess the quality of outcomes for indigenous language education.

In reality, Enxet Sur language education was likely of better quality in the mid-20th century, when it was administered by Anglican missionaries. Most older Enxet who grew up in the Makxawaya community have a good degree of literacy in their language and confidence in their ability to read and write in it, whereas younger adults and teenagers appear to have much less confidence in their Enxet Sur literacy skills, owing to the fact that the responsibilities of administering education to indigenous communities shifted to the Paraguayan state in the late-20th century, with the effect that indigenous language education sharply declined and is only now beginning to recover.

A final major emergent domain of use is social media. In the last five years, the Enxet Sur population has gone from hardly any internet access to near ubiquitous use of Facebook and Whatsapp among the younger generations, largely promoted by phone plans which include unlimited use of these services for no extra charge and the expanding quality of cell service and 4G access across the region. I had planned to conduct a survey of language attitudes and use related to social media in the last field trip for this dissertation, but this trip was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, so my impressionistic data will have to suffice for now.

Generally, a majority of online communication happens in mixed Spanish and Guaraní, which is curious given that speakers will use Spanish to communicate online but never use it face-to-face. There is some use of written Enxet Sur, but people use ad hoc orthographies, not being familiar with the established "standard" (see §2.3.1), and many younger Enxet Sur have expressed to me that they do not feel comfortable writing in Enxet Sur because they do know how to correctly. More often, speakers will use the voice-recorder function on Whatsapp to communicate, sharing recorded voice messages back and forth instead of writing to one another. Further study of this phenomenon would be both inter-

[13]Aníbal is a *yohóxma*, an Enxet curer with a lot of medicinal plant knowledge, so I doubt that this is common place with other Enxet Sur teachers who may not have this background.

esting from a language endangerment and linguistic ecology perspective, and potentially of practical use for language planning in the community.

Linguistic Ecology

Enxet Sur speakers live in a highly multilingual environment, and it is unlikely that a single true monolingual Enxet Sur speaker exists in any community today — if there ever were true monolinguals. The average Enxet Sur speaker, and especially the more socially mobile men in the community, may regularly hear and interact with speakers of a number of indigenous Chaco languages, especially Enlhet Norte, Sanapaná, Angaité, and Nivaclé, and a number of non-Chaco languages, primarily Guaraní and Spanish, and to a lesser degree German (either Hochdeutsch or Plattdeutsch[14]).

The most important second language of Enxet Sur speakers is Guaraní, the secondary national language of Paraguay. Some 90 percent of the population of modern Paraguay speaks some form of Paraguayan Guaraní (Gynan, 2011b), a Tupi-Guaraní language that is the only language native to the Americas to be spoken by a majority of the non-Indigenous population in a nation or region[15]. The complex historical and sociolinguistic dynamics of Guaraní and Spanish in Paraguay are a fascinating topic in their own right (see Choi 2005, Gynan 2011a), but Guaraní is the de facto national language of the Paraguayan people, especially in rural areas, and is thus the primary majority language in the modern Chaco, at least in the eastern lower Chaco (it is less prevalent to the west near Filadelfia and Enlhet Norte/Enenlhet areas).

Probably the entire Enxet Sur population speaks Guaraní to some degree, at least passively understanding it, and it is the first language of the more than 3,000 ethnic Enxet Sur people who do not speak the Enxet Sur language. Unruh and Kalisch (2003) have made mention of what they call *guaraní enlhetizado* 'enlheticized Guaraní, or the variety of Paraguayan Guaraní spoken by Enxet Sur and other EE peoples which has numerous grammatical features and lexical structures evident of the EE substratum. This "Enlheticized Guaraní" has not yet been the focus of any kind of serious study, but as it is now the primary spoken language of a majority of Guaná, Sanapaná, Angaité, and, apparently now also Enxet Sur people, it is a ripe subject of study for the field of language contact, especially substratum phenomena.

The patterns of language use involved in the common Enxet Sur/Guaraní bilingualism are beyond the scope of the discussion here, although a study of these patterns would be useful in a number of ways. Impressionistically, Enxet Sur speakers do not generally practice any kind of intrasentential codeswitching between the two languages — people

[14]In some Enlhet Norte communities, which have been in the Mennonite sphere of influence for a much longer time, a few German loanwords exist, such as EN *yoonges* 'young men', from German *junges*.

[15]Especially in the context of the Paraguayan Chaco, referring to Guaraní as an "Indigenous language" is a little fraught. As a Tupi-Guaranian language, it of course did not come to South America from Europe, as did Spanish, Portuguese, German, etc. However, it is not a language associated with an Indigenous group, and it is therefore not generally considered an "Indigenous language" in Paraguay, especially in the Chaco where Indigenous groups directly associate it with non-Indigenous Paraguayans as colonizers. Politically, when the Paraguayan government refers to *lenguas indígenas* 'Indigenous languages', it expressly does not refer to the national language Guaraní. That convention is maintained here. See (Elliott and Heaton, 2020) for more discussion of this topic.

Spanish	Enxet	Gloss
vaca	weyke	cow
inglés	enles	English/Englishman
clavo	láwa	nail
Paraguayo	waley[16]	Paraguayan
cebolla	séway	onion
balde	wálta	jug
guampa	wámpa	terere vessel
yerba (Guaraní ka'a)	ka'a	yerba mate

Table 1.6: Some Enxet Sur nouns with clear Spanish or Guaraní origins

do not use Guaraní words when speaking Enxet Sur, except for events, concepts, or social institutions which have Guaraní names, like the bimonthly *tekoporã* events which are part of a government program. Instead, speakers default to speaking Enxet Sur unless they are accommodating a visitor or acquaintance who only speaks Guaraní, or for purposes of content, like when they are quoting a Guaraní speaker, talking about futból, or discussing governmental interactions.

Spanish is of course the major language of trade throughout most of greater South America, and is the primary language of the upper class landowners in most of the Chaco. As such, most middle-age and older Enxet men are fluent or at least competent in Spanish as the result of their economic interactions both in the labor market and in urban areas, while Spanish competency is considerably lower for women of the same age. Most young adults regardless of gender are competent in Spanish as the result of a mixed Guaraní/Spanish primary and secondary education system, although in some smaller communities without access to schools this is not the case and Spanish competency is much lower.

Unlike the Unruh and Kalisch claims of a distinctly EE-influenced variety of Guaraní, no such claim has been made about Spanish in EE communities or Enxet communities specifically, although the Spanish spoken as an L3 by many Enxet speakers does show some features from their L1 often verb-initial even without pro-drop, fairly paratactic, and avoiding certain consonant strings. In general, however, there are no Enxet Sur communities in which Spanish is anyone's first language, unlike the almost half of the population who speak Guaraní as their L1.

Despite this high degree of multilingualism, Enxet Sur follows a common theme amongst Chaco languages in being reticent to take on loan words. One of the first written works on the Enxet people, Grubb (1911, pg. 48), describes such a situation: *"They strongly object to adopting foreign words, and when of necessity something is introduced for which they have no name such as a kettle, rice, or a churn, they at once proceed to coin a compound word for it"*. There are a handful of words of Spanish origin which were borrowed apparently early on and fit into Enxet phonology, although it is probably more likely that these were borrowed into Enxet through Paraguayan Guaraní rather than Spanish, as Guaraní has a large number of Spanish loans. Some examples of these phonologically adapted words are given in table 1.6.

Enxet speakers do use quite a number of Spanish words in their everyday speech: *lugar*

Enxet Sur	Nivaclé	Gloss
to:taw	taawtaw	Tero bird, tero común (*Vanellus chilensis*)
sawa:laq	siwôklôk[17]	tarantula, spider
látsehe	Maka nátsajikh	maize
sekkas	sekkas Maka	traditional game
pehe:je	pexaja	sweet potato
tawo:aj	tôwôaj	Maká (Matacoan ethnic group)

Table 1.7: Likely loanwords or shared words between Enxet Sur and Nivaclé (*Sewhen appeywa* in Enxet Sur)

'place', *radio*, *pero* 'but', *reunión* 'meeting', *tormenta* 'storm', *manifestación* 'protest', etc.. While some of the recordings in the documentary corpus used for this contain greater than normal amounts of Spanish, and I am aware that speakers use additional Spanish terms while speaking to me Enxet Sur for my benefit, I have heard all of the Spanish terms listed above used in otherwise fully Enxet Sur conversation, not directed at me or for my benefit. These words are distinct from those in table 1.6, however, in that they are not phonologically integrated into the language.

While Guaraní and Spanish are the major non-indigenous languages in the language ecology of Enxet society, contact with other indigenous languages is common in the modern Chaco and different depending on location. For example, the largest Enxet Sur community of El Estribo is on traditionally Enlhet Norte territory and sits on the northern border of the Enlhet Norte community of Paz del Chaco. For the Enxet of El Estribo, interaction with Enlhet Norte speakers in the form of labor, intermarriage, or casual acquaintances is typical, and many (though not all) Enxet Sur speakers in El Estribo say they have little problem understanding Enlhet Norte. Farther to the east, especially where Enxet Sur speakers live in more ethnically mixed communities like San Fernando or Puerto Colón, at least passive knowledge of Sanapaná or Angaité is not uncommon.

Finally, it should be noted that there has historically been a fair and consistent degree of contact and intermarriage with Matacoan peoples, and that today the urban Enxet Sur communities in Filadelfia neighbor the Nivaclé neighborhoods. It may be coincidental, but among those Enxet Sur above 60 whose family background I asked about, almost all claimed to have a Nivaclé or Maká grandparent. There are strong candidates for loanwords (and calques) between EE and Matacoan, like the shared lexical items between Enxet Sur and Nivaclé in table 1.7, although the direction of borrowing is not so clear at this time. There is a great deal of work to be done to reconstruct the historical and prehistorical linguistic ecologies of this region of the Paraguayan Chaco, and to understand relationships between speakers of different languages.

1.1.4 Language Varieties

Modern Enxet Sur, though only having a speaking population of around 4,000, is by no means a monolithic language. The peoples who now refer to themselves as Enxet Sur descend from a number of historical groups now reconfigured into different spaces and localized identities as the result of the major shifts in community location and organi-

zation over the course of the past century. As is mentioned in §1.1.2 above, some of the confusion and inconstistency in the nomenclature used in the literature on the EE languages is at least in part due to the fact that the modern six languages and their concomitant ethnolinguistic groups only emerged as distinct entities around the middle of the 20th century. These six "linguistic nuclei" (cf. Unruh and Kalisch 2003), have been formed from a much larger number of small bands which linguistically likely constituted one or several dialect continua across the EE-speaking area.

Middle age and older community members in most Enxet Sur communities still claim either identity with or lineage from one or more of these groups — especially Peyseyapto, Mássepto, and Chánáwatsam in the El Estribo community — which speakers recognize as having lexical, phonetic, and grammatical differences. The sociopolitical divisions of the Enxet Sur population thus spoke different varieties of the languages.

Because most descriptive work on Enxet Sur was historically carried out in or near the Makxawaya mission community, it is largely based on the Peyseyapto variety spoken by the majority of Makxawaya's residents. My own fieldwork for this dissertation was carried out with former residents of Makxawaya who have mostly Peyseyapto lineages.

(Sušnik, 1977) explicitly describes both phonetic and morphological differences between the language varieties of the Peyseyapto, Mássepto, and Chánáwatsam speakers, although these differences are not systematically documented, only commented upon when there are substantial differences between the varieties. The latter group, Chánáwatsam or 'Those by the Paraguay River' are the most likely to be singled out has having a markedly different language by other Enxet Sur speakers. The ancestors of most modern Chánáwatsam speakers lived and worked in the tannin factories in factory towns like Puerto Casado, which were ethnically and linguistically diverse. Angaité, Sanapaná, and Guaraní speaking Paraguayans worked and lived along side these Enxet Sur speakers for decades, and some of the differences between Chánáwatsam and other varieties is likely the result of this different contact history.

That said, because the band identities have been so historically fluid and their populations so thoroughly intertwined, and because the political structure of communities has changed so immensely in the last 100 years, I have doubts that these divisions which date to the mid-19th century are any more salient to an analysis of linguistic variation in the Enxet Sur population than the political distinctions which have arisen more recently. There are, for example, notable differences between the language of the El Estribo communities which were seeded by migrants from Makxawaya in the 1980's and the language of those still in Makxawaya. Just as an example, multiple consultants noted that Makxawaya speakers were more likely to use the more conservative *-ama* perfective forms instead of the innovative *-o* forms more typical in El Estribo.

When modern Enxet Sur speakers talk about variation, it is about the different ways that people speak in different modern communities. For example, multiple speakers in the village of Palo Santo/San Carlos in the community of El Estribo have remarked to me that in their speech, to say 'I am hungry', one says *meyk eyaqhak* 'hunger kills me', while just a kilometer down the road in the village of Dos Palmas, one says *eyaxqatchek* 'I'm being pierced', a reference to hunger pangs.

It is common for speakers to refer to such variation on the part of other speakers by saying that they are speaking another EE language. For example, one speaker listening to

a recording of another might remark "*mók témakxa appeywa, Toba ko'ónek*" 'his language is different, Toba (Enenlhet) I think', or when, in group conversation, the features of someone else's speech are brought up as being different from those of the group, someone might half-jokingly say "*asamchek appeywa, yátsáp'ag*" 'he's speaking badly, like a Sanapaná'. These comments might be more seriously asserted if the person whose speech is being commented on is known to have parents or grandparents of another ethnic group — the latter being very common, probably true of a majority of Enxet Sur speakers.

One of the primary consultants in my fieldwork, for example, has Toba-Enenlhet heritage on his mother's side and family in Pozo Amarillo, an Enenlhet community. When I bring up example sentences from this consultant with others, differences in pronunciation or lexical choice are deemed to come from Enenlhet, even though this speaker does not speak Enenlhet and has never lived among Enenlhet speakers. This attribution of inter-speaker variation to different heritage also extends to affiliation with historic Enxet-Sur subgroup affiliations — *Peyseyapto*, *Chánawatsam*, etc. If a speaker is known (or thought) to have a parent, grandparent, or spouse from another partiality — which is true of virtually every Enxet Sur speaker — differences are often attributed to this background, regardless of whether or not the connection between features/lexical items and language varieties is being applied regularly.

Clearly, there is a lot to learn about variation in Enxet Sur: the parameters on which varieties differ, the degree to which variation is associated with different geographic and political affiliations, and the time depth and rate of change in certain features. As a researcher beginning work on Enxet Sur, I actively tried to work with speakers with similar linguistic heritages. All of my primary consultants were residents of El Estribo villages originally settled by Makxawaya residents in the 1980's. This made it easier to distinguish between meaningful differences and dialectical variations, but admittedly reduces the scope of variation which can be accounted for in this study. Future work with the Enxet Sur language ought to take into account variation and variation should itself be an object of study in the language, since the political history of the community presents some interesting challenges for the study of variation and change.

Change over time

Variation across a language is of course the product of different pathways of change in different communities. Therefore, in this discussion on different varieties of Enxet Sur, it is worthwhile to make some note of what is known about how the language has changed over time.

Many Enxet Sur speakers consulted for this dissertation expressed a feeling that substantial changes were ongoing in their language. Multiple elders expressed bewilderment at how often they could not understand the Enxet Sur spoken by their young adult grandchildren. Further multigenerational study would be needed to determine the degree to which this feeling is linguistically relevant — such a sentiment is probably universally felt to some degree in all communities and no speaker of any language speaks it quite the same way their grandparents do. Nonetheless, many speakers have salient examples of words or expressions which have changed over the course of several generations, and some of these community snapshots of language change add up to recurrent patterns.

For example, many high frequency words have undergone repeated waves of contraction, reduction, or segment loss, as in this example describe Enxet Sur linguist and translator Remigio Romero López:

> Cómo está nuestro idioma actualmente? Por ejemplo. Nosotros decimos en español. Así es. En aquel tiempo en nuestro propio idioma se decía *agkanoksa*; mi bisabuelo usaba la palabra *agkanoksa* mientras que mi abuelo, el papá de mi papá, decía *anoksa*; entonces se sacó *agk* y comenzó a usarse *anoksa*. Luego, mi papá empezó a usar *naksa* (Así es). Y ahora en el idioma actual de los jóvenes desapareció *naksa*; desapareció la n y quedó *aksa*. *Etneses aksa* (Así es). El idioma está cambiando poco a poco.
>
> What is our language like at present? For example, in Spanish, we say *así es* 'that's how it is'. Back in the day, in our own language, they said this as *agkanoksa*. My great-grandfather used the word *agkanoksa*, while my grandfather, the father of my father, said *anoksa*. So he got rid of *agk* and started to use *anoksa*. Later, my father started to use *naksa*. And now in the modern language the young people have lost *naksa*; the *n* disappeared and we were left with *aksa*. *Etneses aksa*, 'that's how it is'. The language is changing bit by bit.
>
> Remigio Romero López (Secretaría de Políticas Linguísticas, 2014, p. 82)

Along with these oral language histories held within the community of Enxet Sur speakers, we have a documentary record of the language which spans over a century — thin though it may be. 18th and early 19th century word lists are not terribly reliable as data sources for detailed phonological comparison, but relatively consistent, reliable written documentation of Enxet Sur began during the early period of Anglican missionization in the late 19th and early 20th century. A comparison of the modern language with the grammar sketch and examples presented in early descriptions like Powys (1929) gives a picture of a language which in the last century has undergone not just typical lexical changes and innovations, but also substantial morphosyntactic and phonological changes. Though further study and comparison of the various doculects of Enxet Sur is needed, already we can identify major changes in domains like negation constructions, the pronominal prefix system, and the structure of interrogative clauses.

The oldest of the primary data sources used for this grammatical description is from the 1990's, and the youngest of the major consultants who contributed to the corpus was in his 40's. Thus, just as it is important to keep in mind that this description is largely of the Enxet Sur spoken by people with a particular Peyseyapto, Makxawaya background, it is also a snapshot of a particular generation or two of speakers within a broader continuity that has seen and continues to see a great deal of language change.

Misionero Appeywa – Missionary Enxet

Speakers of Enxet Sur, like speakers of probably any language, use a simplified version of their language when using it to communicate with people who are not native speakers

and who have low levels of competency in it. At present, in the early 21st century, there are very few non-native speakers of Enxet Sur, and most outsiders who work in Enxet Sur communities where the language is still spoken will just use Guaraní as a means of communication.

However, this was not so in the past. During the period of heavy missionary activity by the Anglican missionaries, a sizable number of foreign missionaries would live in the community and attempt to use Enxet Sur as their primary means of communication with the Indigenous population, and a large portion of the population would have had at least occasional contact with these missionaries whose abilities in the Enxet Sur language ranged from the highly competent to the broken and unintelligible. Grubb (1914) actually has an extended description not of the language itself but of the struggles of the missionaries to learn the language.

Many older Enxet recall this time period, and some of my consultants have described various constructions used by older Enxet in recordings as being like *misionero appeywa* 'missionary language', which they describe as the way that missionaries spoke the language, but also as the way that some Enxet would speak to missionaries as a means of linguistic accomodation. More study is needed on this subject, but it is relevant to a discussion of variation because the use of some constructions from *misionero appeywa* have likely found their way into the regular language of some speakers. Especially given that much of the corpus created from the novel fieldwork for this dissertation was recorded with me, an L2 learner of Enxet Sur, as the immediate audience, the existence of a significant accomodation register within the language may be important for interpreting the data presented here.

1.2 Literature Review

The Enlhet-Enenlhet language family has historically been one of the least well documented language families in Lowland South America, and what documentation and description does exist has largely been overlooked within the academic literature on the indigenous languages of the region. In Golluscio and Vidal (2018), a recent summary of the state of language documentation in the Chaco, there is hardly any mention at all of Enlhet-Enenlhet languages, and even in major works on the areal linguistics of the Gran Chaco region (Adelaar and Muysken, 2004, Campbell and Grondona, 2012, Comrie et al., 2010), the use of Enlhet-Enenlhet data is minimal if even considered.

There are a number of explanations that could be put forward for the relative dearth of research on EE languages as compared to other languages in the Chaco or Lowland South America. The Gran Chaco region in general draws few researchers from North America or Europe — the "green hell" (Miller, 1999, p. xi) is remote, not easily accessible, and has not been romanticized in the eyes of westerners in the way Amazonia, the Andes, or Patagonia have been. Domestically, Paraguay has a less developed academic infrastructure than neighboring Brazil and Argentina, particularly in terms of linguistic research, and most of the research on Chaco languages[18] comes from these two countries,

[18]To be clear, it's not a contest, and all of these indigenous Chaco languages deserve far more in the way of resources for documentation and research, both for the communities and for the sake of scholarly research.

especially Argentina, where several documentation projects operate in conjunction with universities in Argentina (Golluscio and Vidal, 2018). Paraguayan academia[19], despite a strong ethnographic and anthropological tradition, does not have much of a history in documenting and describing the country's indigenous languages, except, of course, for a significant academic tradition surrounding the national language Guaraní.

However, while Enxet Sur and the Enlhet-Enenlhet languages are most definitely *underdescribed* languages, they are by no means *undescribed*. There are a handful of sources with varying degrees of detail in their descriptions of the languages (Fabre (2005) is a fairly exhaustive bibliography for the whole EE family, though there are some major sources it is missing), and one can glean quite a bit of typological data from these sources if one has patience and a high tolerance for ambiguity. The problem, most likely, is that most of the sources have not been easily accessible historically — many are in Spanish or Portuguese (not necessarily a problem) and do not really circulate outside of Paraguay (a more significant problem). A substantial amount of text data exists, but it has been produced for community purposes and is quite often monolingual.

Thus, this section reviews the major sources of linguistic information on Enxet Sur, and then on other languages in the EE family, followed by some information about other published information about the Enxet Sur and other EE peoples which is not focused on language.

1.2.1 Previous works on Enxet Sur

Prior to the 1990's, Enxet Sur was the most well documented and described language of the EE family, although this is not saying much since most of the other languages were almost completely undescribed. This is likely a product of the fact that the Enxet Sur, primarily the Peyseyapto group, was centralized at the English Mission of Makxawaya. Several descriptions come from missionaries themselves, and the political stability of the Makxawaya community also probably made it more accessible to outside researchers than some of the others. I present the various works here in chronological order.

Briefly though, I can summarize what has and has not been covered in previous works. Between them, they have at least identified all of the major productive morphology of the verb and noun classes (it is not particularly a lot in this language), although many of the descriptions contain inaccuracies, overgeneralizations, and in the absence of any phonological analysis, morphological significance has been attributed to what are in fact just phonological processes. These descriptions have made next to no attempt to describe the demonstrative system, they have described only the most basic and accessible clitics in the tense-aspect-mood-evidentiality (TAME) inventory, and have failed to capture the complexity or fundamental grammatical functions of the grammatical nominalizations (what most previous sources call 'participles'). Little has been made of syntax, although, as my own description shows, a description of Enxet Sur syntax is largely done in the negative, describing a lack of complex structures, and so it is quite natural that previous descriptions did not concern themselves much with it[20].

[19]The strongly anti-indigenous and anti-intellectual regime of Alfredo Stroessner, who controlled Paraguay from 1954-1989, probably also made academic work with indigenous groups very unlikely.

[20]Most reference grammars of Indigenous American languages have a similar bias towards describing

The difficulty in locating these sources and their relative inaccessibility[21] are partially to blame for the lack of representation of the languages of the EE family in linguistics literature, even in work specifically on the Chaco region. The various works are also, at least textually, rather alienated from one another, in that they do not much reference one another, especially in terms of referencing each other's linguistic data. Sušnik makes some references to Grubb, and the Curtis and Rojas dictionary uses some grammatical terminology lifted directly from Powys, but in general these works have not much entered into dialogue with one another, and have not much been cited or their information truly mined for content in the larger linguistics literature.

Descriptions by W.B. Grubb

The first major published record of Enxet Sur people, their culture, and their language comes from Scottish missionary William Barbrooke Grubb's (1911) *An Unknown People in an Unkown Land*, with some minor commentary in his follow up work *A Church in the Wilds* (1914). Grubb, known as Yephe Nápenyétek 'swollen neck' to the Enxet, was one of the founders of the Makxawaya mission. Some Enxet Sur today retain family stories which describe him as having been an avid learner of the language, although other sources (Kidd, 1992, p. 88) suggest that Grubb and the other missionaries never really achieved fluency. Referring to the Enxet Sur by the name 'Lengua', Grubb's two books describes various elements of the culture and economy of the ancestors of the modern day Enxet Sur, and documents the history of the English Mission and the uptake of Christianity by the Enxet.

By and large, the texts do not include much in the way of Enxet vocabulary — Grubb often mentions"the Lengua word for" so-and-so, then fails to give it — but Grubb (1911) does have a four page appendix entry on the language. While short, this first published description of an EE language addresses some of the most salient aspects of the grammar. Grubb says the "two most important facts of the language" are that pronimal inflections on nouns and verbs are prefixing, and that they are 'multiform' (p. 318), which he evidences through a list of ten apparently different first person affixes. He mentions (but does not much describe) the rich associated motion morphology used frequently on verbs, the masculine/feminine distinction in use for nouns, nominal simulative prefixes, and a couple of lexical peculiarities.

Finally, probably most importantly, he states that "Lengua" is a verb initial language in which transitive verbs are usually followed by their object and intransitive verbs by their subject, and that it is rare to have sentences with expressed subject and object. Furthermore, where two participants with different thematic roles are explicitly referenced, this is typically accomplished using two verbs rather than onee. A sentence like 'the tiger killed the man', he says, is typically given as "*apmatneyi enlhit*, *niptana apkyakhe*" (Grubb's spellling), literally 'the man died, the tiger's killing' (pg. 319). This is probably the most

morphology with relatively little space afforded to syntax, but this is generally reflective of the relative importance of the two levels of form in the actual languages.

[21] There are some other sources which I know exist, but which I have been unable to locate: Ferrario (1947) and (Coryn, 1922). Based on their metadata, they seem relatively minor but do appear to have some grammatical description.

meaningful syntactic observation of any of the 20th century works on EE languages, and its relevance is discussed in this dissertation in §5.1

E.L.G. Powys

Another British missionary who worked at the Makxawaya mission, E.L.G. Powys, or Hó Egyápm 'like a bishop', went on to write his Oxford M.A. thesis *A Practical Lengua Grammar* in 1929 based on his work as an Bible translator for the Enxet Sur. This text is largely unknown, even to Chaco and Enlhet-Enenlhet specialists — it is not listed in Fabre (2005), an otherwise exhaustive bibliography on Enlhet-Enenlhet, and Hannes Kalisch (pc) told me he had never heard of it. It has never been cited in any literature on the languages of the Gran Chaco. Kidd (1992), an anthropology thesis about the Enxet Sur, makes note of it, claiming it has lots of errors. The same source claims that Powys neglects to describe a supposedly common "subjunctive tense" — I am not sure what this is referring to, and in general I do not see many "errors" in Powys' description, just inaccurate analyses, many of which are simply a product of the state of linguistic description in his time. I was only made aware of Powys (1929) and given a copy by Timothy Curtis, an Anglican Missionary to the Enxet Sur who has himself worked on a major Enxet Sur Bible translation project.

Powys (1929) is very much focused on translation from English, particularly Bible translation, and of its 100 pages, perhaps a fourth are dedicated to details of translating English words into Enxet and another fourth to translating common Enxet words into English, with then roughly another half dedicated to the kind of morphosyntactic analysis associated with more modern linguistic description. Of this, the majority (around 40 pages) are concerned with the various "conjugations" of verbs — the various paradigms of pronominal prefixes and grammatical suffixes which are mostly all described in this dissertation in the chapter on verbal morphology (Ch. 3). Powys identifies four conjugation classes of verbs, although in reality three of these are just phonological classes[22] and the fourth is a distinct word class I refer to as semiverbs (Ch. 8).

Powys (1929) makes at least a basic reference to most of the productive verb morphology in the language, even if more lines are spent asystematically listing allomorphs than describing functions. Very few of the grammatically important TAME (tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality) clitics are even mentioned, and the ubiquitous and highly important demonstratives are not mentioned whatsoever — both of these types of items are the most high frequency items in any text, but as clitics speakers have hardly any metalinguistic awareness about them, so I imagine they would have been hard for the early missionary linguists to make heads or tails of. There is a lot of listing of allomorphs and different verb forms, but there is not much of an attempt to understand these allomorphs as proceeding from phonological principles — the absence of a phonological description is not so unusual given the time period, however.

There are very few example sentences, and texts are exclusively Bible translations. If anything, Powys (1929) is useful for the historical doculect of Enxet Sur he presents, as there are a number of significant differences between the morphophonology of the lan-

[22]By this, I simply mean that he has defined different "conjugation" classes based on phonologically regular allomorphy of prefixes and suffixes.

guage in his 1929 description and the 21st century variant described in this dissertation. Both documents focus on the Peyseyapto/Makxawaya variety of the language.

Branislava Sušnik

The other significant morphological description of Enxet Sur is that provided by Branislava Sušnik, a Czech anthropologist who remains the preeminent scholar on the history and ethnography of the Paraguayan Chaco, and who went on to found the Andrés Barbero Ethnographic Museum and Archive in Asunción. Sušnik conducted ethnographic fieldwork with the Enxet Sur throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Her original linguistic analysis of Enxet Sur in Sušnik (1958) is 53 pages with a 26 page verb stem lexicon, and most of the content, with some minor changes and additions, was reprinted in a roughly 50 grammar sketch in Sušnik (1977), *Lengua-maskoy, su hablar, su pensar, su vivencia* ('Lengua-Maskoy, their language, their thoughts, their livelihood'), along with a larger ethnography of contemporary Enxet society. I exclusively cite the later work since that is the copy I have used, and there is not much in the earlier work that does not show up in the later work. Her work, like those before her, was primarily with Peyseyapto speakers, although she includes data from Mássepto and Chánawatsam speakers, making the only concrete statements about dialectical variation found in the existing literature (mostly phonological but with some morphological comments).

Sušnik's work has likely deterred some linguists from a deep reading of her descriptions due to both an idiosyncratic and unexplained phonetic transcription system full of non-standard diacritics, as well as descriptive language that can be puzzling and at times unparsable. For many of her semantic descriptions I can only really understand her after having independently come to a similar analysis and then re-reading, and in other cases I am still unsure what she may have been referring to.

For example, she describes on p. 69 a suffix *-meyi* as meaning "en concreción integral lo expuesto en la unidad básica" (freely translated: it is the integrated accumulation of that which is represented in the basic unit [verb root]"), and gives the example *yitmeyi* 'be full' as being composed of a core *yit* 'estativo ubicativo' or 'stative (stationary?) locative' and the *-meyi* suffix. If I may represent her example narratively, *yit* has (non-productively) an association with verbs of 'placing' or 'laying' or 'being in a certain position', and *-meyi* refers to the resulting state of the base to which it attaches occuring iteratively. Thus *yitmeyi* means 'be full' because it means 'the resulting state of lots of things being in something else'. As my attempt to clarify may show, Sušnik's descriptions could be clarified, but she was also attempting to describe morphemes with abstract, nuanced, and often lexically specific semantic functions.

Her descriptions, opaque as they are, generally only have single words or even just stems as examples, and many claims lack examples at all. Her terminology is hard to employ for the sake of cross-linguistic comparison, describing, for example, a series of directional suffixes as "determanitivo" (determinative, determiner). Much of the strange terminology is just a product of the time she was writing in and, frankly, some of the items she gives unusual names to are items I also have given unusual names to — sometimes languages have features which defy simple description.

Despite its lack of accessibility, (Sušnik, 1977) is a serious and meticulous work with

insights I have yet to fully understand and make use of. Its 15 sections are almost entirely concerned with morphology. Sections 2 and 6–15 describe the same basic inflectional and highly productive stem-forming morphology of the verb and the basic nominal morphology covered in Powys (1929), though with more interest in stating the language-internal semantic nuances of these elements. It also makes attempts at lexical analysis and stem and base structures which are otherwise absent in the literature on the family, which she terms "classifiers" (section 1) and "expositives" (section 4). She has in section 5 a multifaceted description of temporal indication in the language, although, again, it is somewhat hard to parse and she gives morphological analyses for what I believe to be phonological phenomena[23].

Curtis and Rojas Dictionary

Although his work is generally only available locally in Paraguay, produced as community materials, Timothy Curtis is an Anglican Missionary who directed the team of native speakers that completed the Enxet Sur translation of the Bible in 2015. He has an ongoing Enxet Sur – Spanish dictionary project that he has worked on sporadically for almost 20 years with a number of Enxet Sur consultants, although his primary working partner for much of the work has been Enxet Sur speaker and fellow Bible-translator Asunción Rojas (Rojas was also a major consultant for my own fieldwork). Curtis and Rojas are cited together as authors.

This dictionary work is a very helpful resource, with over 700 pages of entries, many of which include multiple example sentences with Spanish translations. The length of time the dictionary has been in development coupled with its scope means that it has a diversity of examples and construction types not found in my own documentation work, and the Curtis and Rojas (henceforth CR) dictionary is therefore a major source of primary data in use in this dissertation.

Although it has a huge amount of data, morphological analysis and language-specific word class distinctions are not much in the scope of the project, and most attempts at morphological analysis are more implied than explicit (which is perfectly reasonable given that the audience for the work is community members not linguists). Word classes are defined more on their semantics than on language-internal structural criteria.

It is also helpful to understand how verb data is presented in this work, since verbs are so morphologically complex. The CR dictionary treats different stems as different lexemes. For example, the entries in (1.1) all use the base *-watn-* 'to burn, to win' with regular productive stem forming morphology, but are given as separate headwords. There is probably some good practical motivation for this, given that semantic exceptions involving the use of otherwise productive and semantically predictable stem-forming morphology is common enough that it is worth stating the semantic value of every productive stem. Personally, I would make some attempt to sub-categorize lexemes by common verb base/root, but there may be specific reasons the data was not organized this way.

(1.1) a. Negwatnesáseykekxa

[23]It is entirely possible that there are legitimate changes in the language which have occurred in the roughly 60 year span between Sušnik's work and my own.

'to burn something for someone'

b. Negwatnesso
'to burn something for someone', 'to make someone win'

c. Negwatneykekxa
'to burn', 'to win again'

d. Negwatno
'to burn', 'to win'

Furthermore, verbs (and semiverbs) are all listed in the perfective nominalization form, which, as described in Ch. 15 can function as an event-denoting nominalization referring to the verb event or state in general (i.e. 'swimming is fun'), as opposed to a particular event (i.e. 'when I was swimming'). As I describe in Ch. 3, verbs have seven basic forms (two declarative forms, an imperative form, and four nominalized forms with different aspectual and modal features), but the CR dictionary (in its present form) has no paradigmatic data for these different "conjugations", and only very minimal pronominal paradigms (lists of verbs or related nouns with all the different pronominal prefixes.

Like all of the other major Enxet Sur resources, there is a strong bias for the Peyseyapto and Mássepto varieties, since the contributors list provided in the dictionary is composed entirely of residents of Makxawaya or residents of El Estribo and La Herencia, which were settled primarily by Enxet Sur from Makxawaya. Many entries contain alternate pronunciations of words, although no metadata is provided concerning where variant forms were collected.

1.2.2 Literature and resources on other EE languages

There are a number of relevant sources of data and descriptions of other languages in the Enlhet-Enenlhet family, which I describe there. These are important for the present dissertation, since there are instances where data from other EE languages, especially from Enlhet Norte via the Enlhet Norte dictionary, are used to support claims about grammatical processes and lexical items in Enxet Sur. The use of data from other EE languages falls into two categories. The first is for the sake of comparative evidence for phonological questions, especially to give evidence of a phonological process which cannot be seen directly in synchronic Enxet Sur evidence. The other common use of EE data from languages other than Enxet Sur is to show examples of the use of morphemes which have not been attested in Enxet Sur but which are relevant for explaining the use of the item in Enxet Sur.

Nengvaanemkeskama Nempayvaam Enlhet

In the wider Enlhet-Enenlhet family, most published material of use comes from *Nengvaanemkeskama Nempayvaam Enlhet* (NNE; enlhet.org), a cultural and linguistic documentation and activism organization founded by Ernesto Unruh and Hannes Kalisch of the Enlhet Norte communities of Ya'alve-Saanga and Na'teema-Amyep (Campo Largo), respectively. The group has produced a number of monolingual texts in Enlhet Norte and

Enenlhet, and a smaller number in Guaná as a result of language documentation work with the last few native speakers of that language. They also have some 75 hours worth of recorded radio programs with speakers from all of the EE languages, although it is heavily weighted towards speakers of Enlhet Norte.

They have also produced a number of descriptive works. Unruh and Kalisch (1997) *Moya'ansaeclha' Nengelpayvaam Nengeltomha Enlhet* is a mostly monolingual[24] Enlhet Norte dictionary, with over 900 pages of entries with extensive example sentences and paradigmatic data. Although this work is monolingual in Enlhet Norte, the language is relatively similar to Enxet Sur, and in the last year or so, I have gotten to where I can parse a lot of the content. Thus, data from this Enlhet Norte dictionary is referenced in this dissertation for comparative purposes, although it is based on my own reckoning of the translation.

NNE has also produced learner's guides with grammar notes and some morphological analysis for Enenlhet (Unruh et al., 2003) and a smaller, similar guide for Guaná (Unruh and Kalisch, 1999b). Both contain a substantial amount of translated dialogue, and the majority of their grammar notes describe the basic semantic values and allomorphy of verbal morphology and TAME clitics. The Enenlhet guide is probably the most extensive description of an EE language prior to the present work, and is by far the most accessible and accurate among extant descriptions. It also has some large verb morphology tables which are useful for comparison with Enxet Sur.

Hannes Kalisch, one of the founders of NNE, is a linguist whose contribution to the modern study and documentation of EE languages is great, and most publications on the language since the 1990's are partially/wholly authored by him or cite him largely through either his published material or personal communication. Most of his published academic work has focused on the social and political aspects of language in EE communities, especially in Enlhet Norte communities, and he has published non-academic books in German and Spanish which provide Enlhet perspectives on the historical and political narratives held by the more politically powerful Mennonite and non-indigenous Paraguayan communities (Kalisch and Unruh, 2014).

Three of his publications[25] with linguistic analysis are highly salient to the present work. Unruh and Kalisch (2003) is the designation of the languages of the family and some comparison between them, and is the source of the "Enlhet-Enenlhet" family name. (Hannes Kalisch, 2019) describes the pragmatically-based word order of Enlhet Norte — Kalisch's findings are very similar to those presented for Enxet Sur in this dissertation in §5.2.2.

Kalisch (2009) is an analysis of clausal structure in Enlhet Norte that claims that the language has a kind of "omnipredicative" syntax (cf. Evans and Osada 2005, Launey 2004, Sasse 1991b), in which, despite the morphological distinctions between word classes like VERB and NOUN, all lexical items belong to a single syntactic class of items which function as predicates. One way to view this language type is that all lexical items not denoting actions (protypical nouns, adjectives) have a meaning like 'be X' rather than simply a referential function to 'X'.

While the omnipredicative analysis applied to some Uto-Aztecan and Iroquoian lan-

[24]Single word Spanish translations are given for a majority of entries.

[25]Many others, like Kalisch (2012) do contain some linguistic analysis but this is not their primary focus.

guages views dependent nouns as therefore behaving like relative clauses (i.e. 'I see a dog' is 'I see that which is a dog'), Kalisch's view of omnipredicativity in Enlhet Norte, and all EE languages by extension, is that every lexical item enters into the syntax not just as a predicate, but as a grammatically independent clause. For example, in (1.2)[26], the nominal expression *nseka'a* 'child' is viewed not as a grammatical subject of the verb, but as the nominal predicate of an independent clause whose function is to define the identity of a referent established by the verb in the prior clause.

(1.2) Enlhet Norte (Kalisch, 2009)

ang-lav-kek lhaa n-seka'a
[F-angry-DECL TC:HOD] [F-child]

'the child was angry today', or 'It was angry, it's a child'

As described in §5.1, my views on Enxet Sur clausal structure are very similar to those of Kalisch's on Enlhet Norte, although mine differs in some key aspects. I think its useful to note here that I did not much understand Kalisch's argument when I began my own study of Enxet Sur, and was highly skeptical of its conclusions for quite some time. The fact that I have come to a similar conclusion in this dissertation is largely the result of an independent analysis of the Enxet Sur data, and not because I drew substantially from Kalisch's analysis to build my own.

Other works

The most in depth analysis of any one EE language in a more conventional academic format prior to the present work is Gomes (2013), a dissertation from the Universidade Estadual de Campinas which describes aspects of Sanapaná grammar. It includes some basic description of the nominal and verbal morphology of the language, some description of basic phonology and the morphophonological relevance of syllable structure, as well the syntax of simple clauses. Gomes himself indicates that the work is preliminary.

At present, a number of scholars have recently begun work on various EE languages. This research has already produced a few complete works, and the coming years will likely see a rapid expansion of linguistic inquiry and understanding of the structure and history of languages in this family. van Gysel (2017) is a master's thesis looking at three "temporal predicative particles" (what I call TAME clitics) in Sanapaná, which describes their semantic and syntactic function along with some comparative analysis with other EE languages. Although the data used for comparison is a small set, the study uses a novel quantitative methodology for determining internal groupings within the EE family which presents the most straightforward evidence so far for the subgrouping described in §1.1.2 above. Wheeler (2020) is an acoustically informed phonological description of Angaité which presents further information on syllable structure.

[26]This example has been adapted to use the glossing scheme I use for Enxet Sur. What I label as TC for the grammatical category of TAME clitic' is what Kalisch labels PART.PRED 'predicative particle'.

1.3 Methodology, Data Collection, and Data Archiving

This section details three aspects of the use of primary data in the proposed dissertation: its collection, its archiving, and some methodological detail about its use in the dissertation.

1.3.1 Data sources and collection methodology

The primary Enxet Sur data used in this dissertation comes from two major sources: 1) data collected through my own fieldwork directly with native speakers as part of a language documentation project, and 2) data from extant Enxet Sur texts, including previous audio recordings, original written works, and translations of non-Enxet texts. A summary of the sources, their labels in use in examples, and the names of the native Enxet Sur speakers associated with each of the sources, is given in table 1.8[27] below. The following subsections describe each of these source types in greater detail.

Primary fieldwork and the Enxet Documentation Project

My own fieldwork with Enxet Sur began with a five week pilot visit to Paraguay in the summer of 2015, and continued with two more extensive 3-month field trips in 2016 and 2017 and a one month visit in 2018. I received funding through the National Science Foundation to do another three month field trip in 2020, but this has been postponed due to the current COVID-19 pandemic situation, although I have been able to do some remote fieldwork with consultants. Any content that I produced with Enxet Sur speakers is referred to collectively as the Enxet Documentation Project (EDP) and I often refer to the "EDP corpus" when talking about data collected during my own fieldwork.

In the EDP corpus, there are two general types of texts: elicitation sessions and natural speech. The natural speech corpus can further be categorized into a number of different genres. In 2016 and 2017, I filmed a number of bushwalk style videos with Aníbal López, the community leader of the village of Palo Santo, which comprise the bulk of the procedural texts (descriptions of how one does something) and descriptions of local wildlife in the EDP corpus. These are also the closest thing in the corpus to conversational speech. Even though these videos are primarily comprised of Aníbal talking to me as the cameraman and to the "viewing audience", much of their content is more conversational in nature than anything else in the corpus.

I have not yet been able to find participants who are willing to be recorded simply having a natural conversation, although some ideas have been planned for future field visits. The two most conversational recordings came as a by-product of filming other "cultural activities" — the hunting and slaughtering of a tapir, group fishing at a lake, and a community festival to celebrate Indigenous Peoples' Day in 2017. Other genres of "natural speech" in the corpus include historical and traditional narratives, as well as a

[27] Examples that come from López Ramírez (1996) and Rojas and Curtis (2017) are not presented with page numbers, since printed copies of these works are not generally accessible to the wider public, and the text of both documents is searchable in the FLEx file in the ELAR deposit associated with this dissertation (Elliott, 2016).

Source label	Description	Translation source
López Ramírez (1996)	An original monolingual Enxet Sur text written by Aníbal López with short descriptions of traditional practices, historical episodes, and traditional stories	EDP consultants
Rojas and Curtis (2017)	A multi-decade Enxet-Sur/Spanish dictionary project; contains numerous example sentences and paradigms	Included with original publication
EDP	Enxet Documentation Project: These are recordings created during my fieldwork; they are marked for a deposit number, such as [enx035], which is linked to a deposit in ELAR	EDP consultants
NNE	*Nengvaanemkeskama Nempaayvam Enlhet*: these are recordings of stories made for a radio program run by an Enlhet Norte community organization with this name	
Notes	Examples marked "Notes" with a date come from notes taken during impromptu conversations or elicitation sessions that were not recorded	EDP consultants
Schoolbook	Come from original Enxet Sur texts written as primary school text books (40-70 pages), including traditional stories, cultural practices, and Enxet Sur histories; labeled either Grade 1 or Grade 4	Included with original publication
Skype and Whatsapp Notes	Come from elicitation and translation work sessions with Asunción Rojas conducted over Skype, or from text conversations with consultants over Whatsapp not linked to a recording	EDP consultants
TA	*Tásek Amya'a*: The most recent Enxet Sur Bible translation; examples marked for book/chapter/verse number	Translated from original Spanish text

Table 1.8: Data source types and their labeling conventions in examples in this dissertation

Sunday morning sermon by Ceferino Sosa in the Palo Santo/San Carlos church. I refer to these various kinds of speech as "natural speech", since, although some may contain some formulaic elements, the formulaic elements constitute only a portion of the speech act.

Except for the fishing video, the recordings largely feature middle aged or older men, and the corpus is sorely lacking the voices of women and the young. I have plans for the future and hope to address this in future fieldwork, but it has been difficult for a number reasons to recruit women or young people to be major participants in this language documentation project, with language being a major barrier — most women and younger people do not speak Spanish, and I only began to speak competent Enxet Sur during the course of my 2018 trip.

Figure 1.7: Screenshot from video enx038 of the Enxet Documentation Project of Aníbal López describing a map of the Makxawaya community

Recorded elicitation sessions are mostly with two speakers: Cirilo Benítez of San Carlos, and Asunción Rojas of Santa Fe. The latter of these two was also incredibly helpful in transcription and translation, and many of our elicitation sessions were intermixed with periods of transcription and translation work, which led to investigation of grammatical questions as they popped up in the course of translation. Elicitation included direct translation of Spanish sentences, felicity and grammaticality judgements for constructed Enxet Sur sentences, and contextual elicitation, where consultants were asked how one might respond verbally to a given situation or speech prompt.

Along with elicitation sessions that were recorded, there were a number of impromptu elicitation sessions which were not recorded but where I took notes. These elicitation

sessions were not recorded for any number of reasons, including their unplanned nature but also the fact some consultants were interested in doing elicitation work and teaching me their language but not in being recorded doing so, as well as the fact that some of the participants in the documentation project were only interested in recording traditional stories or more presentational content, and were not interested in doing elicitation work on camera — they did not see much point in doing so. The data from these non-recorded sessions are simply listed as "Notes" with the date they were taken down.

The natural speech and elicitation sessions were filmed in HD video and audio was recorded using lavalier microphones at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz. To the extent possible given the time constraints of fieldwork, all spoken data, elicited or natural, was given a time aligned transcription in ELAN (ELAN (Version 5.9) [Computer software], 2020) using the standard Enxet Sur orthography (§2.3.1) with the help of the speaker in a given recording. The consultant then translated the Enxet Sur text line-by-line into Spanish (Guaraní in a few instances, individual words), and the English translations provided are then my own work — usually a direct translation of the provided Spanish translation but often with some adjustment to reflect apparent details in the original Enxet which may not be apparent in the translation given by a consultant. The Enxet texts were then transferred to FLEx software for interlinear glossing and the addition of lexical items to a lexical database.

This was the ideal workflow, but in reality, there were plenty of issues that arose that required work-arounds to make the collected data usable. For example, some participants who were interested in providing content were not necessarily willing to give more than a rough outline of the translation of their work, and almost none were interested in doing the time consuming work of line-by-line transcription. A majority of transcription was initially done by me, and later, during the 2018 trip and in remote fieldwork over Skype in 2019–2020, these transcriptions were confirmed and fixed and translations elaborated upon with great detail and contextualization by Asunción Rojas, who had previous experience with translation work, having been the lead translator on the 2015 Enxet Sur Bible project. I am greatly indebted to Asunción for his work and for his expertise and attention to detail.

Furthermore, despite an early use of FLEx software and a consistent use of it as a concordance tool, I found it to be very difficult to use consistently and productively as a tool for novel morphological analysis. Given the very complex morphophonology of the language and the high multifunctionality or polysemy of many Enxet Sur verbal stem-forming affixes, my analyses were changing frequently in ways that made using FLEx for segmentation and glossing quite cumbersome. At present, however, I am working to overhaul the morphological analysis of Enxet Sur texts currently archived in my deposit with ELAR (see below), but this is an ongoing project that will likely extend well beyond the final publication of this dissertation.

Finally, a substantial amount of data comes from consultation work — transcription, translation, and elicitation work — with Asunción Rojas over Skype during the course of 2019–2020. I originally began doing regular Skype sessions with Asunción in mid 2019 in preparation for an anticipated field work trip in early 2020, but instead this fieldwork was delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and I have continued to work regularly with Asunción when he has had time. Asunción was not thrilled at the prospect of Skype

conversations being recorded, and I have, throughout fieldwork, generally defaulted to only accepting an enthusiastic 'yes' to recording and never a tepid 'OK', in keeping with my own standards for informed consent. Thus, these sessions were not recorded, and instead I just took extensive notes in a spreadsheet which is archived with ELAR (see below).

Extant Enxet Sur texts

Along with the speech data collected through my fieldwork, this dissertation makes extensive use of examples from extant Enxet Sur written texts, especially as a means of displaying rarer features and phenomena that have not, by chance or by failure of methodology, appeared in the collected speech data. There are two major types: original Enxet texts and translations into Enxet from other languages. Of the first type, I currently have three texts: two primary school text books and a collection of personal stories and historical events written by one of my consultants, which total roughly 15,000 words.

All of these texts are composed of short stories or descriptions of 5 to 15 sentences each. The two school texts have Spanish translations, although they are not exactly one-to-one and do not have the same degree of detail and information as the original Enxet. The other text, titled *Aptaxesama Egmok Apwanyam Apwesey Leon Chavez*, is entirely in Enxet, but my first set of field recordings of Enxet in 2015 was of the author of this text reading it line by line and translating it into Spanish (again not a perfectly word-for-word translation in all parts).

Tásek Amya'a: The Enxet Sur Bible

Another text which I use as a data source for the dissertation is the 2015 Enxet Sur translation of the bible, titled Tásek Amya'a (lit. 'good story') (Equipo de traducción Enxet Sur, 2015). This new edition is the first ever full translation of the Old Testament into Enxet, and a wholesale retranslation of the New Testament which was originally translated by missionaries in the early 20th century, and by a separate group of native speakers in the 1980's. This Enxet Bible is the culmination of a 15 year translation project, completed by three native Enxet Sur speakers from the communities of El Estribo and La Herencia, and directed by Anglican missionary Timothy Curtis.

It has been well received by community members for the naturalness of the translation, and I can at least anecdotally refer to a couple of Enxet speakers who told me specifically that the new edition was preferable to some of the older translations, which they say did not sound like they were written by someone who spoke the language — I assume this refers to editions published prior to the 1980's.

Although Bible translations, especially for small languages on the order of Enxet, are sometimes poor representations of the language they are translated into, I believe the *Tásek Amya'a* to be of generally high quality as Bible Translations go, although in general I have attempted to mostly use it only as a source of morphological and orthographic data. There are no major syntactic claims which are based primarily on data from the Bible translation, although, after extensive read-throughs of many sections, I have not found any structures in the Bible translation that are distinctly ungrammatical or unusual in the

spoken language. The direct translation of complex sentences from Spanish occasionally leads to collocations of simple clauses which give the appearance of more structural complexity than is typically found in the spoken language, but such constructions can still be shown to be composed of strings of juxtaposed simple clauses, as described in §5.1.

Some readers may question the cultural appropriateness of using Christian literature to represent an indigenous American language. This a fair issue to problematize given the attitudes that some Christian missionaries have towards indigenous belief systems, and the historical processes of colonization and cultural erasure which Christian missionization has contributed to. I would respond by saying, first of all, that I have no skin in the game, and that the religious attitudes of the Enxet Sur people are their prerogative, and theirs alone.

Missionization and active conversion efforts are more an element of Enxet Sur history than of the Enxet Sur present, since the large-scale mission activities of the early 20th century have largely ceased and most clergy positions in the church communities are filled by Enxet Sur people themselves and not by foreign missionaries. Missionization of course had a huge impact on the Enxet Sur historically — I argue above that the Makxawaya mission is perhaps single-handedly responsible for the emergence of Enxet Sur as a discrete ethnolinguistic identity — and some groups have rightly called out some of the exploitative labor practices on the early English missions.

However, in the early 21st century, Christian tradition in the communities is quite extensively indigenized and Christian practice exists alongside and in some ways intertwined with traditional belief systems, especially in terms of the ways in which pre-Christian Enxet moral and ethical principles have been mapped to and integrated with a Christian aesthetic and worldview. The Enxet also have a generally very positive view of the Anglican Church, since it was the Anglican Church and associated organizations like the NGO Tierraviva that helped to buy new settlement lands and reclaim traditional territories over the last 40 years. This does not mean, however, that there are not complex views on the history of missionization and what it meant for Enxet culture.

Finally, as stated above, the church is the primary formal domain of use for the Enxet Sur language, and is the only place outside of the home and community politics that the language has some kind of prestige status. In short, I make no attempts to use Bible examples other than to serve as a useful grammatical example, but recognize that the particular Enxet form of Christian discourse is a substantial part of community life. Ultimately, too, because one of my main consultants was a Bible translator, I think he would be insulted if I did not use at least a couple of Bible examples, and in any case in working with him I am able to benefit from his ability to verify the authenticity of examples from the Enxet Sur Bible that I have used.

1.3.2 Data archiving

Much of the fieldwork for this dissertation was funded by small grants from the Endangered Languages Documentation Project (ELDP), which requires grantees to deposit the data collected during their grant period to the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR), a DELAMAN archive hosted at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. The current state of the archived materials from my own fieldwork can be seen

at the ELAR page for The Enxet Documentation Project, with a link in the references here under Elliott (2016).

Material deposited in the archive includes bundles of associated primary audio and video recordings, ELAN files with transcriptions and translations, audio recordings of the transcription/translation sessions, associated photographs, and an interlinear glossed version of each transcription in a FLEx file in the deposit. All material is collected and tagged with extensive metadata about the details of the recording session, technical information about the recording process and file information, speaker information including age, language background, and other languages spoken.

All material thus far has been granted completely open-access status by the Enxet Sur speakers who acted as participants, consultants, and co-directors of content in the documentation project, in keeping with ethical guidelines of informed consent outlined in the IRB proposal for this fieldwork project (IRB application CHS: No. 23156 Documenting Enlhet-Enenlhet Languages; granted Exempt status). This means that all of the examples provided in the dissertation are searchable and discoverable in open-access primary data.

1.3.3 Representing language data

Although a fair amount of language data in this dissertation is presented in the form of tables, all of which are rather structurally explicit in the way they convey data, the most common means of representing the Enxet Sur data used to argue for given analyses is the interlinear gloss.

In this dissertation, all examples are presented on the top line in their original or standard orthographic form (see more just below about orthography) — this is out of respect for Enxet Sur speakers and writers who want their language represented visually in the way they have chosen to write it, without being split up morpheme by morpheme. Below that, there is a line for words segmented by morpheme, with the morphemic gloss on the line below. The interlinear gloss labels used on this line are listed in the front matter of this dissertation.

The translation line is given in English, based on my rendering of Spanish translations, and in many cases a number of variant translations are provided such that readers might understand both the general intent of the utterance (a free translation) as well as the more literal structure of the utterance as rendered in Enxet Sur. This translation line may contain further notes about the utterance.

(1.3) *Standard orthographic representation*

Orthographic representation with morphemic boundaries
Morphemic glosses

Translation (alternate or literal translation, translation note)

(source text, time stamp/page or verse number)

Finally, on the bottom right of examples, there is a note of its source, along with a time stamp for examples from voice recordings, or other indicators of precise location in

a text source. See §1.3.1 for more information on data sources, and table 1.8 for a list of the source identifiers used in the bottom right of examples.

Many examples have a double forward slash [//] in the segmented and interlinear gloss lines. If the example is from a text, this simply represents the location of a comma or period. If the example is from speech, this represents some significant break in the speech stream — either a substantial pause (generally 0.5 seconds or greater) or a clear intonational boundary (see §5.1.2 for more about intonational breaks). Although the notion of an "intonation unit" informs this convention, and has informed the preparation of the ELAN transcriptions (see 1.3.1), this should not be taken as a direct application of discourse transcription methodology (Du Bois, Schuetze Coburn, Cumming, and Paolino, 1993), and ELAN transcripts have not been created in the methodology of discourse transcription or other related systems.

This dissertation defaults to using the most recent iteration of the practical orthography in use in Enxet Sur communities. Deviations from this standard, which is discussed in more detail in §2.3, come about because of variations in orthographic conventions used by different Enxet Sur writers, and for written texts I have chosen to copy the original written forms rather than attempt to modify them to fit the standard form — this admittedly may lead to some small confusion, but I find it preferable to making edits to original texts based on my own assumptions.

The characters used in the orthography are given in table 1.9. Most characters represent the phonetic values that most linguists would expect, with a few important exceptions:

- The acute accent <á> over vowels is an indication of vowel length, not stress or any other suprasegmental value (although length can be affected by suprasegmental factors).
- The grave accent <à> represents a low tone, which is not truly phonemic but is the result of phonological reductions
- The voiceless lateral is represented by <x>. There are some varieties of Enxet Sur which have a velar fricative as an allophone of /q/ (written sometimes with <j> or <'>), but the Enxet Sur <x> only has the value of a voiceless lateral.
- The velar nasal is represented by <g>, like in Samoan.

Importantly, table 1.9 provides actual IPA characters and values, but in the rest of the dissertation, I use the character values from the standard orthography not only for orthographic representations but also when discussing phonetic values represented in brackets. Thus [ch] refers to a post-alveolar affricate, [x] to a voiceless lateral, [y] to a palatal glide, and so forth — this may cause problems for those who do not read this introductory information but is intended to be less confusing overall.

1.3.4 On grammar writing and language description

While I fully expect the number of front-to-back readers of this grammar to be rather few in number, and most readers will head to a specific chapter or section to glean data

Orthography	IPA	Orthography	IPA
a	[a]	’	[ʔ]
á	[a:]	m	[m]
e	[e]	n	[n]
é	[e:]	g	[ŋ]
o	[o]	s	[s]
ó	[o:]	x	[ɬ]
p	[p]	h	[h]
t	[t]	l	[l]
ch	[ʧ - c^{j}]	y	[j]
k	[k]	w	[w]
q	[q]	ñ	[ɲ]

Table 1.9: Characters in the modern Enxet Sur orthography and their basic phonetic values

for typological comparison, it is useful to have a statement about the attitudes towards language description and grammar writing which inform this description.

Generally, I take a non-aprioristic view of linguistic categories (Haspelmath, 2007, 2012b, 2015), meaning that I have not approached the data with an assumption that Enxet Sur has or must have, just to give a few examples, a clearly defined relative clause structure, a particular word class of “adverbs”, or some phonological process which amounts to a stress pattern[28].

In terms of organization, then, this grammar tends to follow a form-to-function approach more so than a function-to-form approach (cf. Cristofaro 2006) — I generally take morphological patterns or syntactic constructions which are defined language internally as the starting place for description, and functional categories are typically derived as a function of the formal categories established by the language.

By “function”, I refer both to the morphosyntactic functions of traditional grammatical description (e.g. argument pluralization, passivization, etc.) as well as the types of discourse and interactive functions more associated with Functional-Typological linguistics (e.g. purpose clauses, speaker stance, affectedness). This is not to suggest that this description has any particular vested interest in “functionalism” as a theoretical or explanatory stance regarding the form of human language in general, or in any particular formal framework of functionalist analysis. That said, I do favor functional-typological and diachronic approaches to the analysis of linguistic forms, which is probably apparent in many sections of this dissertation.

This means that chapters on the morphology of word classes are largely organized with sections for individual morphemes or paradigms whose functions are described therein, and numerous functions of a given form are described rather than numerous formal mechanisms used to achieve a given function. The chapters which are more focused on syntax (especially Chapter 5, 13, 15, and 16), are more mixed in their organization

[28] An overreliance on received descriptive categories also runs a risk of ethnocentrism, in that such categories are mostly received from grammatical traditions of European languages (c.f. Haspelmath 2012a, Bach 2004, p. 56–57).

and have more content which takes particular cross-linguistic descriptive notions and functional categories as a point of departure.

Furthermore, I attempt to only really provide "explanations" for forms and patterns to the degree that I believe that such explanations will make it easier for the reader to understand the relevant patterns from a descriptive perspective. For example, in §3.4.3, instead of simply describing the allomorphy of the perfective and imperfective suffixes, which display a great degree of homophony across various forms, I provide what I think to be a fairly uncontroversial and well-evidenced diachronic explanation for the observed forms so that they seem less arbitrary and the morphological analyses will be more credible.

1.4 A Grammatical Overview

This section attempts to provide a brief outline of the basics of word class, morphology, and clausal syntax in Enxet Sur, so that readers here for information on a particular feature can get a general idea of the language's structure.

1.4.1 Word Classes

Word classes in Enxet Sur are defined in this dissertation primarily on the basis of morphological selection and inflection (which formatives a lexical root can and must take in order to form a grammatical word), and secondarily by the syntactic distributions they occur in. This yields two major open word classes, verbs and nouns, and a number of small, arguably closed word classes with relatively few members, the most important being adjectives, adverbs, and semiverbs. As in probably any natural language, there are some lexical items which do not fit cleanly into any single word class.

Verbs

Verbs, in many ways, play double duty in Enxet Sur, acting not only in their relational capacity as finite predicates, but also in making up a large portion of the referential nouns in the language through deverbal nominalization. The verb has three major structural components: 1) a pronominal prefix, 2) the typically multi-morphemic verb stem, and 3) a grammatical suffix which identifies the grammatical category of the verb, either as a finite declarative, an imperative, or one of several types of grammatical nominalization. This basic three-part structure can be seen in the verb *agyetmok* 'we pour it' in (1.4).

(1.4) **agyetmok** negko'o yegmen

ag-yetm-ok	negko'o	yegmen
1PL.IRR-fill.liquid-NM:PO	1PL	water

'We pour in the water'

EDP enx001 08:33

Pronominal Prefixes: Since the arguments of verbs are often not indicated by overt nominal expressions, the pronominal prefix is often the primary or sole indicator of the semantic argument structure of a clause. Five pronominal categories are represented: first person singular and plural, non-first person masculine and feminine, and a fifth category which alternately marks either the second person plural or a kind of impersonal/passive structure. The masculine and feminine categories do not distinguish between second and third person. The pronominal prefix indicates the nominative argument (subject of monadic[29] verbs/agent of dyadic verbs), unless one of the arguments is the first person, in which case the pronominal prefix is first person regardless of the thematic/semantic role of the first person argument. A paradigm of patient first person prefixes is used if the first person argument is not the agent of a polyadic verb. Pronominal prefixes also exist in three different paradigms which additionally indicate the grammatical category of the verb — realis prefixes for declarative verbs, irrealis for potential/imperative/negated verbs, and participial for most deverbal nominalizations.

Verb Stems: Verb stems contain the greatest morphological complexity in the language. The **verb base** is the lexical center of the stem, and may itself be constructed of a true verb root and base-forming morphology, although most analyzable base-forming morphology is likely not very productive. The base then combines with stem-forming morphology which includes associated motion, directionals, valency and voice modifiers, verbal plurals, and some aspectual modifiers. Much of the stem-forming morphology is highly polysemous, and carries functions which are lexically specified by the base to which it attaches. Numerous base/stem-morphology combinations are thus rightly identified as lexicalized, despite the fact that they may be discontinuous within the fully inflected verb.

An ordering template dictates the relative order of stem-forming morphology, and although in some cases lexicalization of stems has led to analyzable stem-forming morphemes "jumping the template" or occurring out of order, the order of morphemes is not manipulable for semantic effect — one cannot, for example, change the relative orders of morphemes indicating the causative and associated motion to alternate between 'make him do X when I get there' and 'do X when I make him go there'. In morphophonological terms, there is a substantial degree of fusion between stem-forming morphology and between stem morphology and the grammatical suffixes. As such, many suffix combinations lack discernable phonological boundaries, and it is easier, at least for the sake of glossing, to refer to single suffixes with multiple exponence.

Grammatical Suffixes: There are seven grammatical suffixes which create the *seven basic verb forms* referred to throughout this dissertation, defined by the grammatical suffixes which occur at the right edge of the verb. The first two are declarative: one which is used when the verb is in its unmarked clause-initial position, and another used when another clausal constituent is moved ahead of the declarative verb for the sake of focus. The imperative form has a null suffix — it is composed of just an irrealis pronominal prefix and the verb stem.

[29]For reasons described in §5.1.2, I use the terms monadic/dyadic/triadic/polyadic for verbs with one/two/three/multiple semantic arguments, as opposed to the terms intransitive/transitive or monovalent/bivalent which might refer to the number of grammatical, morphosyntactically operative arguments.

The other four verb forms are described here as nominalizations on the basis of both language-internal tests and cross-linguistic definitions[30]. On a language internal basis, they can act as complements of declarative verbs and of identity negatives and existential/possessive negatives — none of which is possible with declarative verb forms. In terms of their semantics, they all have some kind of metonymic semantic denotation relative to the conceptual schema of the verb stem, even if the metonymy is underdefined and highly multi-functional.

The oblique nominalization form of the verb denotes an 'oblique' argument of the verb, which can be the place, time, or manner of the event, or it can denote the patient of dyadic verbs which are not fully transitive. The remaining three forms — potential, imperfective, and perfective — are multi-functional, and can be event denoting ('*building* is difficult'), argument denoting ('he's a good *builder*', 'I don't like *what he built*'), or something in between, such as a resultant product ('that's a big *building*'). The difference between these three forms is neither in what they denote relative to the conceptual schema of the verb nor in their syntactic behaviors or distribution. Rather, it is modal and aspectual. The imperfective and perfective forms exhibit a contrast concerning aspectual features like completion and event viewpoint. The potential form alternates with the imperfective and perfective forms in irrealis conditions like hypotheticals, habitual aspect, future tense, or the negative. Deverbal nominalization involving these forms is the way Enxet Sur accomplishes something functionally akin to clausal subordination.

Nouns

Morphologically, most lexical nouns can be divided into two major categories: related and non-related. *Non-related nouns*, which include most common human nouns ('man', 'woman', 'child'), animal and plant names, and some natural phenomena, are mostly monomorphemic, though a small number can be marked for plurality. *Related nouns* always have a possessive pronominal prefix indicating a possessor, and can be (optionally) marked for plurality of both possessor and possessed. The related noun class includes prototypically inalienably possessed nouns like familial relations and body parts.

Enxet Sur nouns can can take on a wide range of syntactic and discourse functions. They can act not just as referring expressions syntactically dependent upon a verbal predicate, but also as property-attributing predicates or even essive-like fact-of-property referential expressions, all without copula or derivation. Previous literature on EE languages (Kalisch, 2009) has argued that nouns in EE languages are in fact prototypically property-attributing predicates, such that *semheg* 'dog' really functions as though it means 'be a dog'. While such a theoretical claim is debatable, it does highlight some highly relevant facts about the use of nouns in Enxet Sur. This includes the fact that a noun like *semheg*

[30]To be clear, there are competing and mutually-exclusive definitions for "nominalization" in the literature. Languages like Enxet Sur, because of the semantics and syntactic functions of such forms, are challenging for some definitions of *lexical* nominalization (cf. Comrie and Thompson 1985) which are largely based on major languages of Eurasia. More recent attempts to define nominalization in a way that incorporates developments in the description of languages in, for example, North and South America (cf. Shibatani 2019), take a wider view and provide definitions that are more suitable for addressing the phenomena in Enxet Sur. This discussion is taken up at length in Ch. 15.

can act both as a simple argument NP ('I pet *the dog*') and as a something like a complement clause ('I thought *it was a dog*'), and that nouns which functionally identify the arguments of verbal predicates often occur in intonationally distinct structures which are formally equivalent to nominal predicate clauses ('I pet the dog' being indistinguishable from 'I pet it... that's a dog'). The syntactic function of nouns is described in §5.1.3.

Other word classes

Semiverbs are a small class of around 15 items which have a similar distribution to verbs (often predicates but also very productive grammatical nominalization) but which occupy a distinct morphological class. Semantically, they denote capacities of their subjects as opposed to static states or qualities, and include items that mean 'to be able to', 'to have good aim', 'to want, like', and 'to have good luck'. In their declarative form, they take pronominal prefixes from a distinct stative paradigm, the same used for related nouns. To have access to any verbal morphology other than the declarative ending, a verbalizing affix is added to their stems, at which point they can take stem-forming morphology, pronominal prefixes, and grammatical suffixes otherwise only accessible to verb bases.

Adjectives are a small, closed class of items which is morphologically defined — they take stative pronominal prefixes, are marked for plurality with the intensive suffix, and cannot be derived. In many ways though, they are as much a subclass of noun as they are adjectives in a cross-linguistic sense. They are as likely to be the heads of noun phrases or PREDICATES as they are to be dependent modifiers of NP heads, although they can still fill the latter function. Although several tests confirm their ability to act as part of a constituent NP, they are very often in an appositive, co-referential relationship with nouns rather than a constituent, modifying one (a feature not uncommon across Lowland South America).

Adverbs are a small class of only five or six items (and a few more which appear to be partially grammaticalized into the class), including items meaning 'first', 'now', 'still', 'always', and 'together'. They have a strict position in the clause, and can take a declarative suffix to act as a PREDICATE. Any other kind of adverbial modification is accomplished with NPs in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position (see below) or as the predicate of independent, paratactic clauses (i.e. 'Mendoza brought it back, it was our house', as opposed to 'Mendoza brought it back to our house'). I am skeptical about assigning the term "adposition" to any group of items in the language, although the same function is accomplished through a class of *positional nouns*, possessed nouns whose possessors are functionally equivalent to the objects of adpositions. It is very common, however, that NPs provide adverbial modification with no overt indication of the precise relationship to the proposition they modify — in most cases verbal semantics make such relationships fairly obvious and the lack of adpositions does not lead to ambiguity.

1.4.2 The clausal syntax of Enxet Sur

Enxet Sur, like other languages in the small EE family, has a very minimal clause structure from which all utterances or larger constructions are built. Although the syntactic analysis presented in this dissertation differs in some key respects from that of Kalisch

(2009), which claims for the sister language Enlhet Norte that all lexical items arise in its grammar as predicates of independent clauses (essentially no dependency structures), I do come to a similar conclusion here that structures of grammatical dependency are comparatively few, and that most utterances or constructions which at first appear complex are in fact just strings of juxtaposed simple clauses. The maximal structure of the Enxet Sur clause can be schematized as in figure 5.1, a structure labeled in the utterance in (1.5).

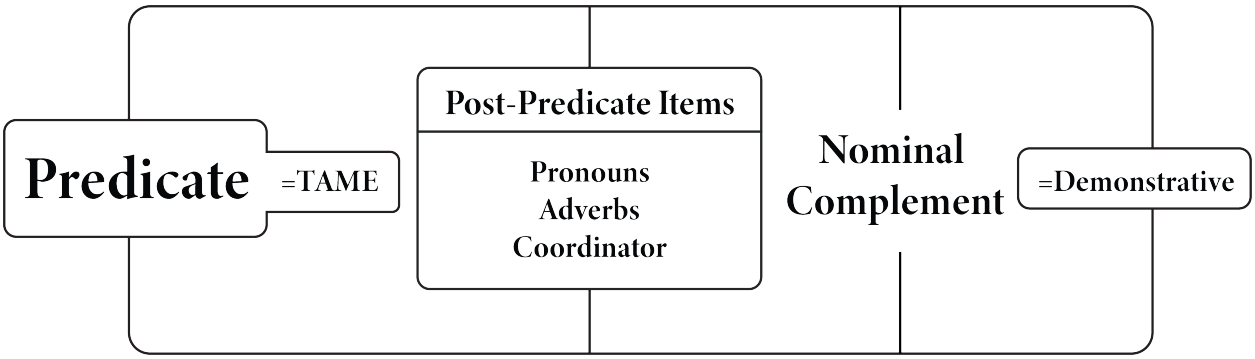


Figure 1.8: The structure and unmarked order of elements in an Enxet Sur clause; TAME refers to tense/aspect/modal/evidentiality clitics

(1.5) ekhésakteyk xeyk ko'o kaxwo wokma'ák se'e

PREDICATE	TAME	PRONOUN	ADVERB	NOMINAL.COMPLEMENT
ek-h-ésak-t-eyk	=xeyk	ko'o	kaxwo	wokma'ák
1SG-sit-VAL-CISL-DECL	=TC:HOD	1SG	NOW	boy

DEMONSTRATIVE
=se'e
=PROX

'I've just now brought the boys together here'

Whatsapp Notes

The two lexical components, the PREDICATE and the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT, form the core of the Enxet Sur clause, with the remaining elements being closed-class dependent modifiers with strict position requirements. No single element is obligatory to form a clause — even the PREDICATE can be null with hostless TAME or demonstrative clitics, indicating a third person pronominal predicate.

The class of TAME clitics (Ch. 6) — short for tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality — situate the PREDICATE in relation to the speaker, mostly in terms of temporal deixis (tense) and epistemic markers. The small closed class of true ADVERBS (§9.3.1) follows, which includes temporal and manner modifiers. After adverbs, independent pronouns (§4.5.1) for speech act participants (first and second person only) occur. Finally, the Enxet Sur demonstratives (Ch. 7) have deictic or anaphoric semantics typical of the term "demonstrative", but instead of acting as independent phrases, they are licensed by the PREDICATE

directly and have a kind of clausal scope, meaning that they provide general pointing semantics, not defined for a particular word class, that contribute to the resolution of the semantics of the PREDICATE. One helpful way to think of Enxet Sur demonstratives is that they point to the topic of the clause.

The PREDICATE can be a declarative verb, a lexical noun, adverb, adjective, or one of several nominalized verb forms, and carries the principal semantic value of the clause. The PREDICATE may serve the discourse function of asserting a proposition, as in (1.5), but very often, the PREDICATE asserts qualifying information about prior propositions, as in (1.6), where a clause *apqátek axta* 'it was its head' defines the unspecified semantic argument of the PREDICATE of the previous clause. In this way, the PREDICATE is defined in this dissertation as a structural position within the clause, not on the basis of any particular discursive or semantic function, since some of these functions may not conform to the notion of "predicate" associated with other languages.

(1.6) agketmok sa' haxko, yetnakxa, **apqátek axta**

agk-etm-ok =sa' haxko // yetnak-xa // **apq-atek** =**axta**
1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO =TC:FUT where // sit-NM:OB // M.POSS-head =TC:PST

'We'll look for where, where it is, (it was) its head'

EDP enx025 02:17

It is this latter discourse function of the PREDICATE, providing additional information about propositions made previously in the discourse, which takes up the functional space which other languages like English accomplish through grammatically dependent structures. For example, to express the time an event occurs, instead of using dependent adverbial modifiers, a time-denoting noun is given as the PREDICATE of a separate nominal PREDICATES, clause as in (1.7a)[31]. The functions which other languages assign to clausal subordination are accomplished in Enxet Sur through deverbal nominalizations, which can fill the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position (see below) but more often occur as the PREDICATES of paratactic clauses, as in (1.7b). A number of facts and tests help to show that these elements are paratactic predicates formally equivalent to independent clauses (mostly described in chapter 5), including the fact that TAME clitics, like the hodiernal past *exchek* and conjectural *enxoho* in the examples below, inherently indicate that their hosts are clausal predicates.

(1.7) a. kellókaxche' **axta'a exchek**

kel-lók-axch-e' **axta'a** =**exchek**
F.DIST-mad-MID-DECL night =TC:HOD

'They got mad at each other *last night*', literally 'they got mad at each other, it was (within the last 24 hours) night'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kattawañekxak chá'a yammáxek **kélmetmeykxo enxoho**

[31] The word *axta'a* 'night' is unambiguously a noun, as it can take NP modification like numeral quantifiers and property modifiers.

k-at-tawañ-ekx-ak chá'a yammáxek **kél-metmey-kx-o** **=enxoho**
F-VBLZ-deep-DUP-DECL always resevoir IMPR.PART-dig-DUP-NM:IP =TC:CONJ

'The resevoir gets deep again *when it is dug out*', literally 'the resevoir gets deep again, that is (I suppose) its being dug out'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Even the representation of the semantic arguments of a finite verb is typically broken up this way, with NPs referencing agents or patients of verbs often appearing as nominal PREDICATES of independent clauses, like how *apqátek* 'its head' in (1.6) refers to a semantic argument of the verb in the preceding clause. In this way, Enxet Sur typically has a UNIPARTITE utterance structure, as opposed to the BIPARTITE structure of a 'subject-predicate' language like English, or a 'topic-comment' language like Chinese.

Enxet Sur does not, however, have a completely flat syntax lacking in dependency structures, as multiple constructions indicate the necessity of defining a dependent NP position (see §5.1.3). For example, semantically argument NPs, adverbs, and pronouns can be fronted ahead of declarative verbs in a construction which marks the declarative verb as being in the second position — a construction which rather unambiguously demonstrates NP dependency to the declarative verb. This dependent NP position, however, is non-ordered and is not in a SELECTIONAL relationship with the PREDICATE, meaning that semantic roles associated with the verb are not in any sense "filled" or "saturated" in dependent NPs. There are no morphosyntactic means by which the semantic roles of NPs are represented, like case marking or role-dependent word order.

What this means is that an NP can syntactically be part of the clause, but it acts as a loosely defined modifier rather than fulfilling an argument selection process specified by the verb. PREDICATES have a conceptual, semantic argument structure, and for some word classes, especially verbs, some of this semantic argument structure is indicated overtly through pronominal prefixes and valency adjusting morphology, but these semantic structures do not require argument NPs (or independent pronouns, or pronominal affixes, for that matter) for their realization. Instead, the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT might indicate the agent, patient, benefactor, or an adverbial modifier. Which of these roles fills the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT slot is determined by pragmatic and information structure factors, but the slot itself does not make any kind of inherent distinction between different grammatical argument labels like 'subject' or 'object' or 'oblique'.

This syntactic structure leads Enxet Sur speech to be composed of strings of paratactic clauses whose semantic relationships to one another are established through larger patterns of discourse, information structure, and contextual reasoning. This clausal structure does not, however, necessarily restrict the length or the content of the utterance. PREDICATES of the shape described here may be strung together, often creating the appearance of more complex structures, as in (1.8a) (separate clause structures bounded by brackets).

(1.8) a. mók nenxega sat makham anlának makham mók video ten sat anxog sage ekyawe
[mók nen-xeg-a =sat makham] [an-l-án-ak
[other.F 1PL.PART-GO-NM:IP =TC:FUT still] [1PL.IRR-DIST-make-NM:PO

makham mók video] [ten =sat an-xog sage
still other.F video] [then =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-go.NM:PO lake
ek-yaw-e]
F.PART-big-NM:PV]

'On another excursion we will make another video and we will go to the big lake', or 'It will be another of our excursions, we will make another video, our going to the big lake will follow'

EDP enx005 06:25

b. apkexneyk axta néten [1.4 sec pause] **apqátek wokma'ák**
apk-exn-eyk =axta neten // apq-atek wokma'ák
M-place.high-DECL =TC:PST above // M.POSS boy

'the boy put the tapir's head up high', literally 'he put it up high, its [the tapir's] head, the boy'

EDP enx025 04:05

This description does not deny the existence of common collocations and multi-PREDICATE constructions which have some degree of routinized meaning, and in §7.5 and §16.2 I describe constructions which I suggest could be developing into new syntactic structures. However, any such larger constructions can be shown to be composed of sequences of basic clauses of the type in figure **??**, and these strings have no more syntactic unity with one another than the utterances composed of strings of lexical nouns identifying discourse referents, as in (1.8b), something not uncommon in Enxet Sur speech.

Such a linguistic profile does not differ much in character from descriptions of many languages across the world, especially in the Americas and Oceania, and from qualities often associated with languages described as "polysynthetic" or "non-configurational". Such a description should in no way be taken to imply that languages like Enxet Sur are in any way "simple". Rather, complexity is simply distributed differently, with, in the case of Enxet Sur, great complexity found in the morphological structure of verbs, polysemy of demonstratives and verbal pluralizers, and the use of zero-marked anaphora and cataphora both discursively and within the local syntax of the clause. An extensive justification for this analysis of clausal structure, along with a literature review that grounds these claims in previous descriptive, theoretical, and typological work across numerous language families, is provided in §15.1 at the beginning of the chapter on clausal syntax.

Chapter 2

The Sound System of Enxet Sur

2.1 Overview of Phonology

The phonology of Enxet Sur is deceptively complex. The extensive overlapping allophony in its relatively small phonemic inventory, coupled with its complex verbal morphology, presents a morphophonological landscape that could best be summarized as kaleidoscopic. This chapter aims first and foremost to define regular phonological alternations which are necessary for supporting morphological analyses. Where possible, attempts are made to delineate abstract representations which have explanatory power, but a fair degree of remaining ambiguity leaves many interesting and potentially theoretically valuable phonological puzzles to be completed.

The representation of certain sounds may be unusual to some readers. The Enxet *x* is a voiceless lateral continuant (similar to Welsh *ll*), the Enxet *g* is a velar nasal, and I only use *y* to represent the palatal glide (never *j*). These and some other orthographic idiosyncrasies[1] are used in the "standard" Enxet Sur orthography, described in §2.3. To avoid confusion (hopefully) I do not use different characters for the same sounds in different analytical contexts; for example, I do not refer to a base *-yetn-* 'lie' with a phonetic form [jetn], and rather describe purely phonetic values (in square brackets) using the same characters used for the standard orthography.

The chapter is organized as follows. §2.2 describes the phones of the language and their basic phonological relationships. §2.3 presents the standard orthography in use in this dissertation, along with some information about how orthographic variation is treated. §2.4 describes the segmental phonology of the language, and §2.5 presents some preliminary comments on the nature of stress and phonological prominence.

2.2 The sounds of Enxet Sur

This section describes the phonetic inventory of Enxet Sur, and makes some claims regarding a potential phoneme inventory. A number of phonemic interpretations are possible

[1] I do not mean this term negatively in any way — I think the Enxet Sur orthography very elegantly avoids digraphs without creating problematic overlaps with orthographies of Spanish or Guaraní.

for many groups of related sounds, and this description of the sound inventory presents arguments for varying phonemic analyses.

2.2.1 Consonants

Enxet Sur has 16 distinct consonant phones, listed in table 2.1. While the majority clearly act as distinct phonemes, the phonemic status of a handful is questionable, and allophony across the inventory is complex in a number of ways.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p	t	ch/ky [ʧ - c^j]	k	q	’ [ʔ]
Nasals	m	n	ñ [ɲ]	g [ŋ]		
Fricatives		s, x [ɬ]				h
Approximants		l	y	w		

Table 2.1: Consonant phones in Enxet Sur, with IPA values in brackets next to characters in the practical orthography which do not have typical values

All bilabial and alveolar sounds quite clearly constitute discrete phonemes, in that they at least occasionally contrast with each other and with sounds that have a more back place of articulation (henceforth POA). The phonemic distinctions among many of the palatal, velar, uvular, and glottal consonants are less clear, due to issues of allophony and distribution.

For example, there are clear alternations between [y], [k], and [ʧ], suggesting that they are all allophones of a single phoneme, but there are also a handful of contrastive minimal or near-minimal pairs which might suggest they need to be distinct in a proposed phonemic inventory. The velar [k] and uvular [q] have a handful of minimal pairs, while in other instances, their surface forms are in allophonic, complementary distribution, and sometimes there is interspeaker variation between [k] and [q]. The velar stop has alternations with the glottal stop in final position with some lexical items, but not in all morphological environments. There are even morphological contexts in which back stops, glottal consonants, and glides are all allophones of one another depending on the phonological environment (§2.4.4). In short, any consonants produced with a palatal or further back POA, have much more fluid phonological relationships with one another than those produced in the front of the articulatory space.

This section describes each of the distinct consonant phones of the language, and provides evidence for and in some cases against the analysis of distinct phones as more abstract phonemic units.

General features of oral stops

Enxet Sur has a series of voiceless oral stops, with at least a four way place of articulation (POA) distinction. Table 2.2 below gives minimal and near-minimal pairs[2] which suggest a phonemic contrast between stops with different POA. In general, there are not many

[2]Minimal pairs were discovered in the corpus using a code by Kavon Hooshiar.

minimal pairs for oral stop POA, and those which distinguish [p] and [t] are the most convincing from a phonological point of view, since [ch] or [k] in most of these examples is the result of a process of consonant insertion (§2.4.3).

ak**p**og	'snail'	ak**t**og	'her arm'
a**p**áwa	'clothes'	a**t**áwa	'her spouse'
negye**p**he	'swell'	negye**t**he	'fart'
a**p**akxak	'I'll gather fruit'	a**t**akxak	'I'll bite it'
ekya**p**wate	'hole in ground'	ekya**q**wate	'be short'
ap**ch**aqhémo	'kill'	ap**t**aqhémo	'return home'
ap**ch**éyak	'things he gives out'	ap**t**éyak	'their food'
cháye	'small gourd'	**p**áye	'mosquito'
exche**k**	'hodiernal past'	exche**p**	'you (masculine)'
negyaq**k**asso	'put to pasture'	negyaq**p**asso	'to bathe'
táha**k**	'she said'	táha**p**	'ashes'

Table 2.2: Minimal pairs for place of articulation in oral stops

There are no alternations in oral stops based on *manner* of articulation. There are no voiced stops, pre-nasalized stops, or ejectives. While there are nasal/stop and stop/glottal stop sequences, these are always consonant clusters and not individual phonemes[3]. Such sequences involve unreleased coda stops followed by a glottal stop release. Compare the spectrograms in figures 2.1 and 2.2. In 2.1, with a [ta] sequence, there is a clearly visible stop release burst before the onset of the vowel, and F1, F2, and F3 transition patterns both before and after the stop that are consistent with a coronal stop onset (see Johnson 2011:178). However, in 2.2, with a [tʔa] sequence, there is longer occlusion between vowels, no apparent release burst, and no formant transitions at the beginning of the [a:] vowel.

[3]This is especially important to note when looking at the standard orthography, in which a sequence like <t'> might be mistakenly interpreted by some as an ejective.

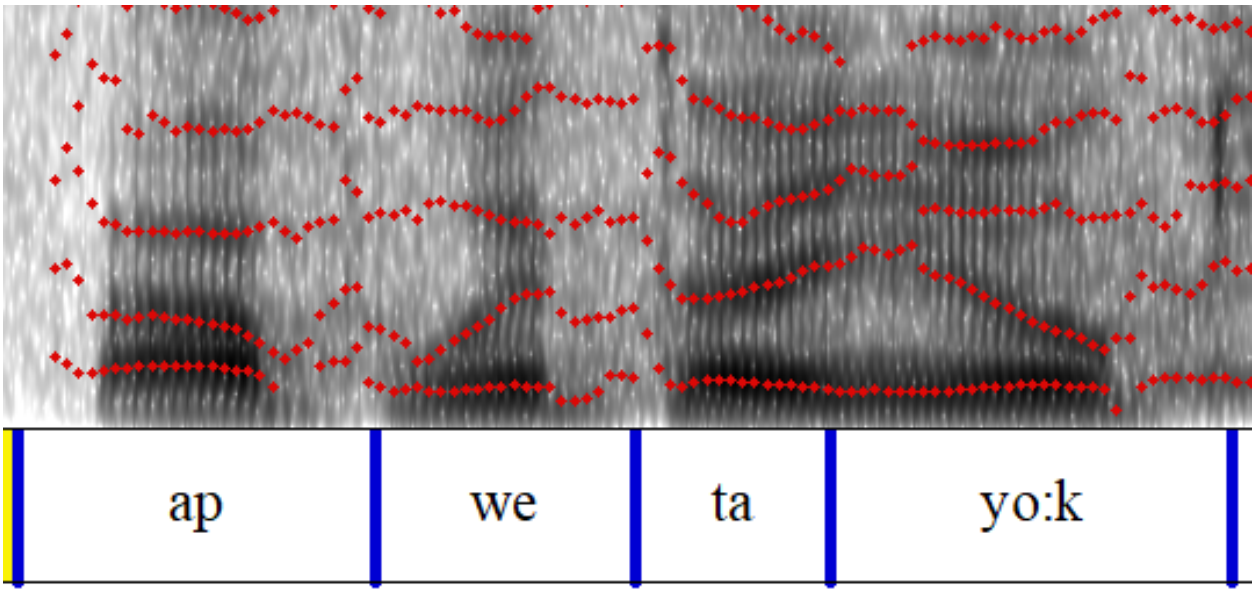


Figure 2.1: Spectrogram of [ap.we.ta.yo:k] 'he knew him', with formant tracking; 0-5k Hz; (EDP enx039 00:30:14)

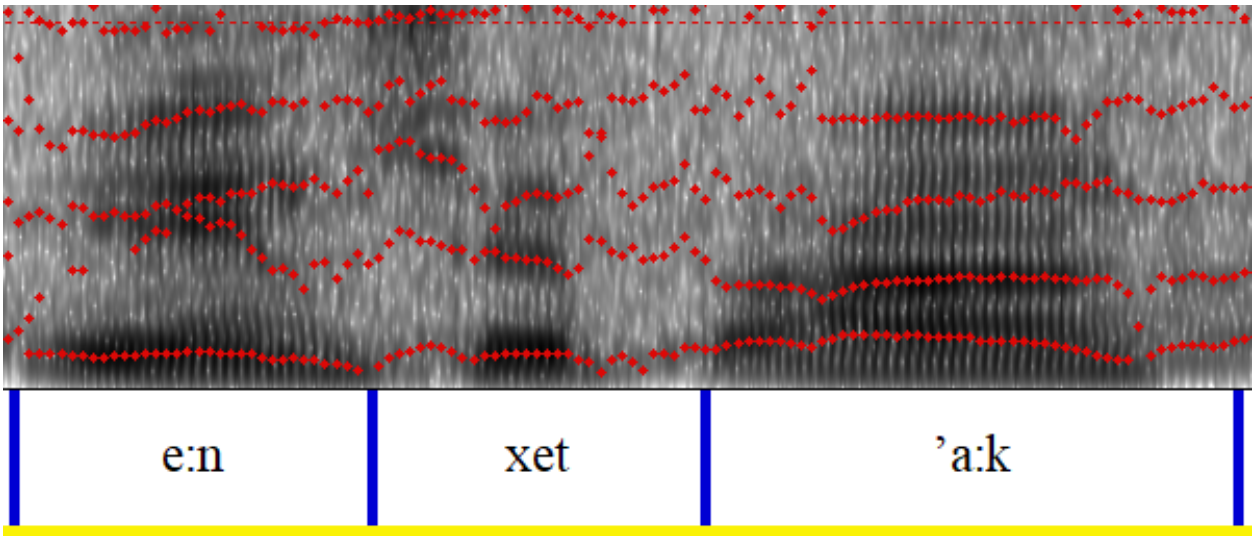


Figure 2.2: Spectrogram of [e:n.xet.ʔa:k] 'people', with formant tracking; 0-5k Hz; (EDP enx039 00:29:17)

Stops in coda position are almost always unreleased when utterance final, as can be seen with the final [p] of [xe:p] in figure 2.3, and the final [k] of [egwa:xok] in figure 2.4. A released stop would have the type of quick burst across the frequency spectrum seen in the [ta] of figure 2.1.

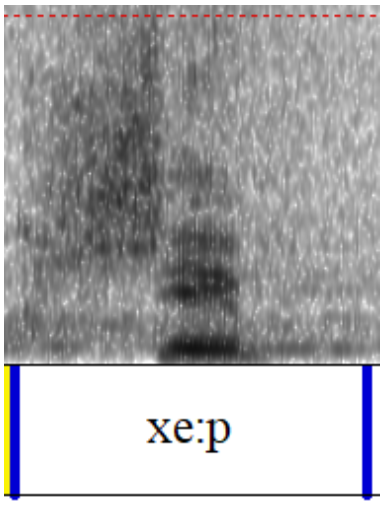


Figure 2.3: Spectrogram of utterance final [xe:p] 'you (masculine)'; 0-10k Hz; (EDP enx039 3189)

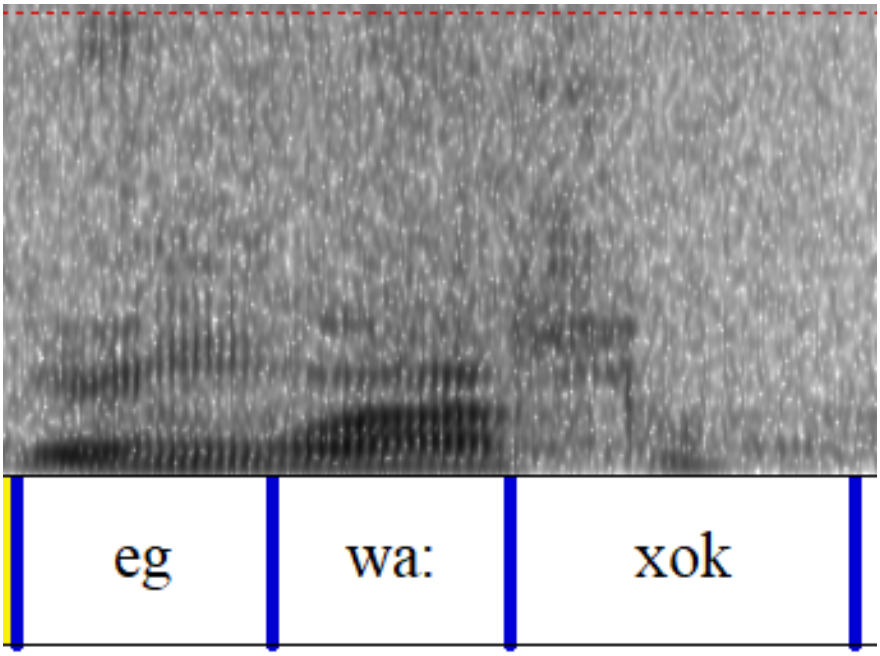


Figure 2.4: Spectrogram of utterance final [eg.wa:.xok] 'our innermosts'; 0-10k Hz; (EDP enx039 3327)

In connected speech, this releasing is more variable. While coda stops before onset consonants are always unreleased, whether word-internally or across word boundaries, stop-final words before vowel-initial ones sometimes exhibit final-stop releasing, and sometimes they do not. In figure 2.5, there is a word final [t] in [e:n.xet] which is unreleased (no visible release burst in the spectrogram), even though the following word is vowel initial. In this particular example, there is a slight pause between the two words and particular emphasis placed on the first. Furthermore, the [kt] cluster in [ek.ta.ha.kxa]

shows no release of the [k], and a slight release burst of the [t].

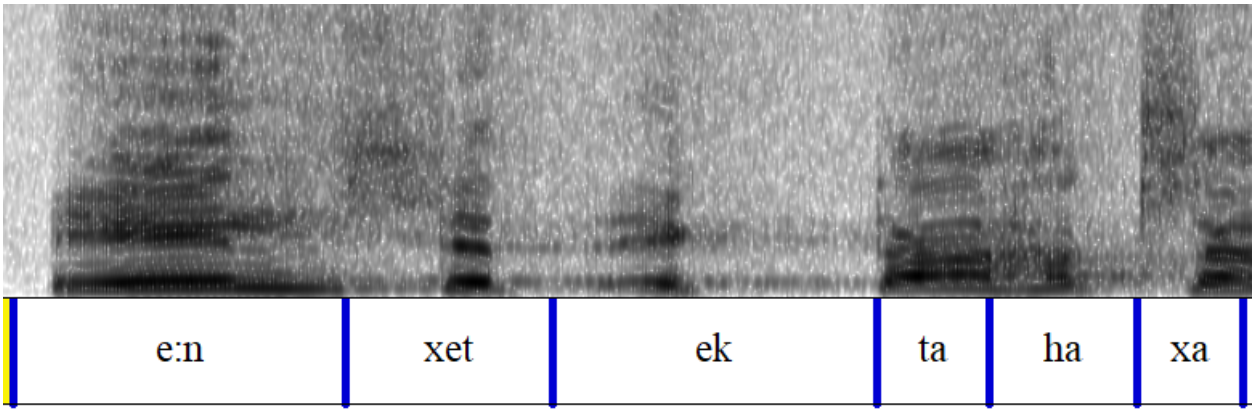


Figure 2.5: Spectrogram of [e:n.xet ek.ta.hak.xa] 'man who says...'; 0-10k Hz; (EDP enx039 2640)

Compare figure 2.5 with another token of the same utterance in figure 2.6, in which the release burst of the word-final [t] is visible. There are no apparent syntactic differences between the two tokens, although we can see that there is much less of a pause between the two words in the latter example.

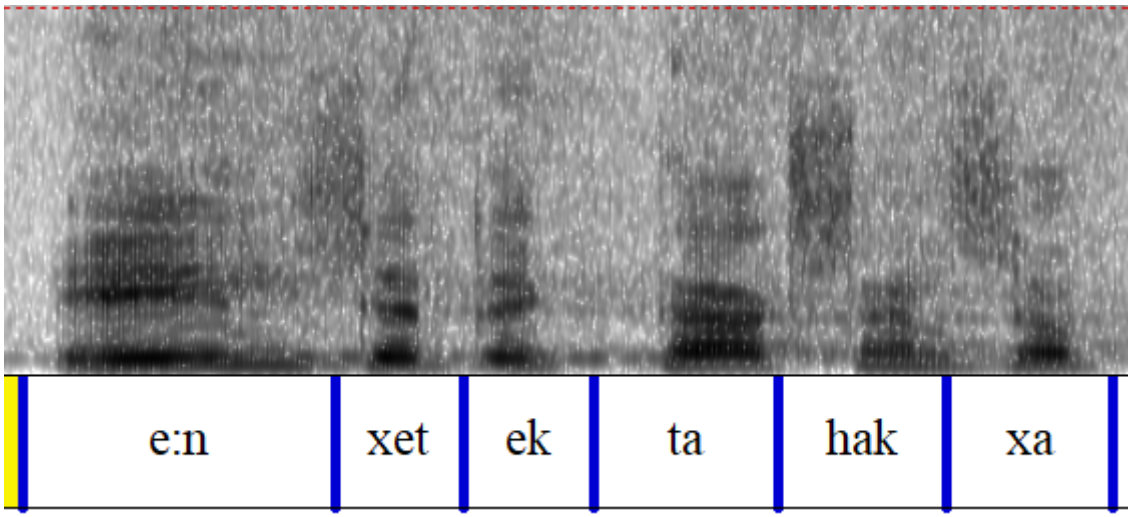


Figure 2.6: Spectrogram of [e:n.xet ek.ta.hak.xa] 'man who says...'; 0-10k Hz; (EDP enx039 2624)

Like figure 2.5, in figure 2.7, the word final [k] that occurs before a word initial [e] remains unreleased. This particular example is from rather rapid speech, and there is no pause between the two words. We can also compare the word final [k] to the word initial [k], which shows a clear release burst in the spectrogram.

It is possible that the releasing of word-final stops when followed by a vowel across a

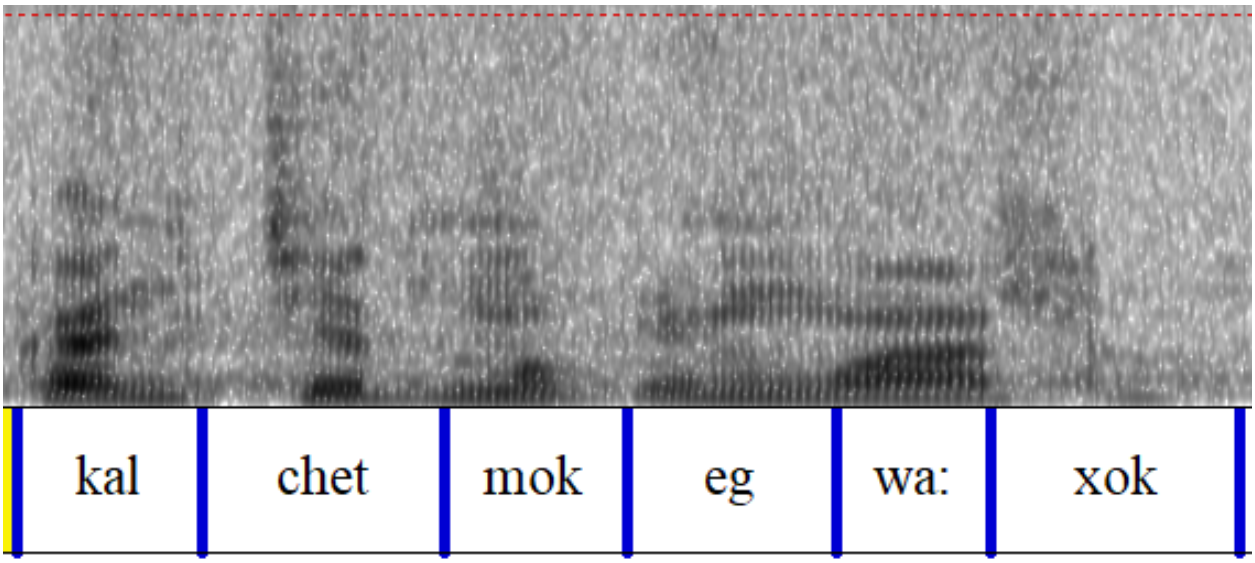


Figure 2.7: Spectrogram of [kal.chet.mok eg.wa:.xok] 'for us to think about'; 0-10k Hz; (EDP enx039 3380)

word boundary is the result of re-syllabification, but at present no morphophonological or phonosyntactic pattern has emerged to account for such a process.

The fact that coda stops are so regularly unreleased, and therefore lacking in their degree of acoustic distinction from one another, may be related in some way to the great degree of coda allophony seen across all consonants.

Front stops /p/ and /t/

The bilabial and alveolar stops are fairly unremarkable in their articulation and phonology. The /t/ for most speakers has a post-dental place of articulation, meaning that the tongue touches the back of the teeth during occlusion as opposed to a purely alveolar contact in the case of a language like English.

There are instances where underlying /p/ or /t/ assimilate to other sounds, typically /k/ , and a much smaller number of instances where surface /p/ or /t/ are derived from other sounds via regular phonological process (see §2.4.7 for both). However, in general these sounds are prominent and stable, and distributionally, either can appear in any acceptable consonant position in a word, as can be seen in tables 2.3 and 2.4, respectively.

[p]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**p**ómap	kélnex**p**oga	a**p**aqmetek	a**p**wanchek	póma**p**
Gloss	'boar'	'sewing needle'	'I'll chat'	'he can'	'boar'

Table 2.3: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /p/

[t]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**t**elámen	aphax**t**a	apqá**t**ek	a**t**nehek	elyetse**t**
Gloss	'crab'	'his crown'	'his head'	'I will be'	'read!'

Table 2.4: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /t/

Back stops: /k/, /ky/ - /ch/, and /q/

After the bilabial and alveolar stops, there are at least three distinct oral stops articulated with the tongue body farther back in the oral cavity: 1) a postalveolar sound which varies among speakers between a palatal stop with an off-glide and a postalveolar affricate, 2) a fairly standard-issue velar stop, and 3) a uvular stop. However, the distributions of these sounds largely indicate a lot of allophonic variation between them, and there is in fact a great deal of variation between speakers and across documentary sources in the use of these back stops. While there is virtually no overlap between the palatal [ch] and uvular [q], both overlap with [k], and this continuum also has important phonological relationships to other sounds, especially to the glide [y]. This description starts with some phonetic and distributional details, before providing a fuller picture of the relationship between these sounds in the language.

Phonetically, the palatal stop is the most variable, and its pronunciation has changed over time. While the majority of modern speakers produce the post-alveolar affricate [ch] in virtually all contexts[4], earlier texts, including Powys (1929) and Sušnik (1977) use a <ky> digraph to indicate what some Enxet Sur speakers still produce as a either a true palatal stop [c], a palatal stop with an off-glide [c^{j}], or a palatalized velar stop [k^{j}]. Some examples of commonly encountered alternations between the two variants of this sound are given in table 2.5. In a majority of cases, [ch] and [ky] can be viewed as variant pronunciations of the same sound, but there are a handful of textual examples in Sušnik (1977) which use a <ky> for what is a [k] at present. Also, /k+y/ sequences are quite common in the language, and this sequence of two phonemes should not be confused for the single palatalized stop phoneme which produces a similar sound (in those speakers who still use the off-glide palatal).

ky variant (older)	ch variant	Gloss
kyáye	cháye	'gourd, gourd rattle'
ékyáha	écháha	'black algorrobo tree'
kyá'a	chá'a	'always'

Table 2.5: Some common orthographic/phonetic variants showing the ky/ch variation

The phonetics of the velar stop are, as mentioned above, generally unsurprising. As with other stops, it is generally unreleased in final position, and is not aspirated in any context. The uvular stop is a true uvular, although a minority of speakers replace it with a uvular fricative or even a velar fricative in final position.

[4]A speaker who otherwise uses [ʧ] might use [c^{j}] for particular words like *kyáye* 'gourd rattle' which have particular cultural salience.

The velar and uvular stops can occur in either onset or coda position, both inside the word and at the edge of words. The [ch] or [ky] sound, however, never occurs in coda positions.

[k]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**k**enáwet	kéxeg**k**e	sa**k**a	aha**k**tog	tása**k**
Gloss	'type of wasp'	'you all'	'tomorrow'	'my arm'	'it is good'

Table 2.6: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /k/

[ch]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	X	X
Example	cháxa	apchaqhak	echáha	—	—
Gloss	'that one'	'he kills'	'black algorrobo'	—	—

Table 2.7: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /ch/

[q]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**q**ágqag	max**q**ak	ta**q**alqal	pa**q**sawalwal	wena**q**
Gloss	'purplish jay'	'it is cold'	'turkey'	'ñacunda (hawk)'	'jabiru bird'

Table 2.8: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /q/

Phonologically, the velar and palatal stops occur in a mostly complementary distribution, where they assimilate on the basis of adjacent consonant POA or vowel quality. A strong example of this alternation between [k] and [ch] can be seen in table 2.9, with the alternation between two common forms of the verbal declarative suffix (§3.4.1): [chek] and [kek]. The palatal [ch] occurs after consonants with a more front POA (bilabials and alveolars) and the velar [k] allophone occurs after more back consonants.

The surface form of this stop can also be affected both by the preceding consonant and the quality of the following vowel. Generally speaking, the stop is [ch] before low vowels and [k] before front vowels. The feminine declarative prefix was historically *en-*, and an epenthetic consonant was inserted between the prefix and vowel-initial stems (a common process described in §2.4.3). The *en-* prefix was lost in most contexts (§3.3.3) leaving only the inserted consonant, either [ch] or [k] as the indicator of a feminine declarative prefix. With no preceding consonant, the surface form of this segment alternates based solely on the quality of the following vowel — velar before front vowels, palatal before low vowels.

This is the typical association, with front vowels preferring [k] and low vowels preferring [ch] With back vowels, [ch] is more common before the long [o:][5], and only [k] occurs

[5]This may be related to the fact that long /o:/ is more often than not an allophone of underlying /w/. Many [cho:] strings descend historically (or proceed phonologically, if you like) from [chawo] strings, fitting the generalization that [ch] occurs before the low vowel.

Example	Gloss
chápogwat-chek	'it lights up'
wátekhap-chek	'it blows'
kenmex-chek	'it opposes'
awan-chek	'it can'
yekpel-chek	'it recognizes'
yam-chek	'it drinks'
xeg-kek	'it goes'
tek-kek	'it comes out'
eney-kek	'it planted'
megqak-kek	'she is embarrassed'

Table 2.9: Alternations between [ch] and [k] in the declarative suffix

k	Gloss	ch	Gloss
k-ek-ak	'it's scared'	**ch**-aqh-ak	'it kills'
k-etsek-kek	'it died'	**ch**-aphas-sek	'it sent'
k-ent-eyk	'it broke'	**ch**-álew-eyk	'it lit up'

Table 2.10: Alternations between [k] and [ch] in the feminine active form of vowel-initial verb stems

before short [o]. There are, however, exceptions to these generalizations, with some examples given in table 2.11. The examples of [k] before low vowels in this table do not include those examples which have [q] rather than [k] initial variants, listed below in table 2.12.

Enxet	Gloss
ch before front vowels	
chéhe	'that one there'
cheyx	'type of bee'
chéssama yegmen	'umbrella' (lit. 'guards from water)
chétkok	traditional festival (from *cháye étkok 'little rattle'*)
k before low vowels	
ka-	feminine irrealis prefix
ka'a	'yerba mate/tereré' (Guaraní loan)
kañe'	'inside'
kaxwo	'now'
kásek	'Monk parakeet' (Myopsitta monachus)

Table 2.11: Some exceptions to generalizations about the effect of vowels on adjacent [ch]/[k]

For any of the modern alternations between [ch] and [k] in onset positions, it appears they both descend from a single sound [ky], which is supported (loosely) by the transcriptions in Powys (1929) and Sušnik (1977), where many words which modern speakers

would pronounce as with either [ch] or [k] are written with [ky]. Furthermore, especially word internally, the [ch]/[k] alternation corresponds with a glide [y] in some archaic pronunciations of certain words. For example, an elderly speaker in EDP enx047 pronounces modern *tó**k**agkek* 'they ate' as [to:**y**egkek], and an elderly speaker in NNE190 pronounces modern *pen**ch**esseg**k**ek* 'they finished' as [peg**y**eseg**y**ek]. These diachronic and synchronic constellations of correspondences between [ch], [k], [ky], and [y] in the onset position are likely all just different manifestations of the consonant insertion process which is described more fully in §2.4.3. Onset [k] and [ch] then, are essentially allophones of each other, and where the phonological environment fails to predict which of the two surfaces, it is likely the result of differences in morphological productivity.

The Enxet Sur uvular stop [q] is also something like an allophone of [k] in some conditions, although in other conditions it seems more related to the glottal stop, either historically or in productive alternations. Word-initial [q] does not create a phonemic contrast with word-initial [k], and all instances of initial [q] have [k]-initial variants, as in table 2.12. I have not yet found any consistent pattern with this variation, and individual speakers may apparently use either the [q] or [k] pronunciation. The younger Enxet Sur of El Estribo do not seem to produce uvular stops, but this may be the product of extensive contact with Enlhet Norte speakers, in whose language there is no uvular stop.

Enxet	/k/ variant	Gloss
qala'	kala'	limpkin (small crane; *Aramus guarana*)
qamáta	kamáta	karimbata fish (*Prochilodus argenteus*; GU *karymbatá*)
qames	kames	domestic cat
qamok	kamok	rush (aquatic plant)
qatheg	katheg	type of water lily, family*Nymphaeacae*
qále	kále	small catfish (*Pimelodus* sp.)
qágqag	kágqag	Purplish jay (bird; *Cyanocorax cyanomelas*
qat	kat	'it's far away' (interjection)
qókaw	kókaw	Chotoy spinetail (bird; *Schoeniophylax phryganophilia*)

Table 2.12: Words with initial /q/, all of which have /k/ initial variants

There are, however, /k/ initial words which do not have /q/ initial variants, given in table 2.13 below. Words which do not show [k]/[q] variation in initial position usually have a front vowel after the [k], are adverbs or prepositions, or derive from a verbal prefix which is [k] initial.

Enxet	Gloss
ka-	feminine irrealis prefix
katteye	red flowering plant (*Canna coccinea*)
ka'a	yerba mate or *tereré*, from GU *ka'a*
kásek	Monk parakeet (*Myiopsitta monachus*)
kelasma	fish (generic)
kelánet	wolf fish (*Hoplias malabaricus*)
kelán'a	woman
kelélek	type of toad
keleyke	wild bean
kenáteg	Chaco chachalaca (wild fowl; *Ortalis canicollis*)
kenáwet	black wasp

Table 2.13: /k/ initial words with no /q/-initial variants

The uvular stop is certainly associated with the low vowel. In the coda position, it is only ever preceded by low vowels, like the word-final examples in (2.1). One documented exception to this are the forms *anoqsa* and *agkanoqsa*, listed as archaic forms of *aqsa* 'just' in Rojas and Curtis (2017). The uvular can occur before front vowels, but this only occurs if the uvular is preceded by a lateral consonant (/x/ or /l/) or a nasal, as in (2.2). The articulatory relationship between lateral consonants, which push the tongue body back in the oral cavity, and uvular consonants is cross-linguistically not unusual. However, such [lqe] strings generally have variants with a palatal stop [ch] instead of the uvular.

(2.1) lólaq 'black lungfish'
xenaq 'type of deer'
wenaq 'type of large bird'
xawantaq 'large ant'
sawálaq 'tarantula'
waq 'type of egret'

(2.2) **alqeynekxak** sa' sakcha'a

a-l-qeyn-ekx-ak =sa' sakcha'a
1SG.IRR-DIST-underarm.carry-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT child

'I'll carry the kids under my arms'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is some conflict here, however. Both [ch] and [q] act like allophones of [k] when adjacent to low vowels, and yet there does not seem to be an account which can reliably predict environments for [q] and [ch] to be allophones of a single /k/ phoneme. Although further comparative evidence and phonological reconstruction of the EE family is needed, the currently available evidence suggests that the contemporary distribution of these stops is the product of two phonemes, a palatal consonant and a uvular consonant,

both having [k] allophones and seemingly converging on [k]. A [q] appears to not be predictable as an allophone [k], and it appears that it is reconstructable in proto-EE, having been lost in some languages (Enlhet Norte in Unruh and Kalisch 1997) or existing only as remnant variant for older speakers (Sanapaná, pc: Jens van Gysel). The free variation in Enxet Sur may similarly be explained by an ongoing process of loss of the uvular consonant. Where onset [k] alternates with [ch] they both developed from historical */ky/, a segment which likely was only used as an inserted consonant, and, as mentioned above, may actually derive from a strengthening of an inserted [y] onset. Most examples of onset [ch] can be accounted for as being inserted consonants, and many nouns which begin with [ch] may derive diachronically from nominalized verbs with vowel initial stems (see §4.3), since it is common for verb-based lexicalizations to lack initial pronominal prefixes (§4.3). Thus, rather than seeing these back stops as centered on [k], it seems rather more likely that historical and phonological process have led to some degree of convergence on [k] from multiple phonemes.

Alveolar continuants /x/, /l/, and /s/

The Enxet /s/ is phonetically fairly unremarkable, and can occur in any syllabic position, as in table 2.14.

[s]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**s**eyánte	wát**s**am	apse**s**e'	ekta**s**qapma	hegmé**s**
Gloss	'my ride'	'river'	'it is sweet'	'her walking stick'	'give me'

Table 2.14: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /s/

The Enxet /x/ is a voiceless alveolar lateral. There is some question over whether this sound is more properly described as a voiceless lateral fricative or a voiceless lateral approximant. Maddieson and Emmorey (1984) asserts that there is an important cross-linguistic distinction between the two, but that this distinction is as much phonological as it is phonetic. Acoustically, we would expect the fricative to have more energy at higher frequencies than a voiceless approximant, and in most occurrences, the Enxet /x/ produces much more high frequency energy than we would typically attribute to devoicing of an approximant. Phonologically, however, the only time that [x] appears as an allophone of another phoneme, it comes from assimilation of /l/, which is more of a phonological linkage between the two sounds than the cross-linguistic analysis of Maddieson and Emmorey (1984) suggests for a voiceless lateral fricative. A similar sound in neighboring but unrelated languages of the Matacoan and Guaycuruan families has typically been described as a voiceless alveolar approximant.

[x]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**x**ápen	wak**x**eyk	táx**x**a	pe**x**páx	áte**x**
Gloss	‘rhea bird’	‘she returned’	‘fire’	‘bow (weapon)’	‘embers’

Table 2.15: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /x/

Although the voiced /l/ is occasionally devoiced to [x], usually before another [x] (§2.4.7), there are clear minimal pairs between the two phonemes. Both sounds occur as both codas and onsets, both on the edge of words and word internally.

[l]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**l**awhan	aptaq**l**a’	saw**l**aq	apla**l**che’	páta**l**
Gloss	‘tadpole’	‘his butt’	‘tarantula’	‘he is sweet-sick’	‘*Capparis* sp. (plant)’

Table 2.16: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /l/

Nasal stops

Enxet has three phonemic nasal stops /m n ŋ/, and a fourth, palatal nasal whose phonemic status is questionable. This dissertation uses <g> for the velar nasal, in keeping with the Enxet Sur practical orthography (§2.3).

Velar nasals only occur in syllable codas, and palatal nasals only occur in syllable onsets. Bilabial and alveolar nasals can occur in either position. Syllabic nasals (nasal stops constituting a syllable nucleus) are not known except for a single persistent variant of *egyap* ‘father’, pronounced as *egyapm*, which is limited to religious contexts and refers to ‘God’.

[m]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**m**óho	yókxex**m**a	xa**m**a	tamo**m**het	yeya**m**
Gloss	‘shiny cowbird’	‘place’	‘one’	‘seriema (bird)’	‘the south wind’

Table 2.17: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /m/

[n]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Example	**n**aqhe’	aptax**n**o	me**n**óke	a**n**men	ketche**n**
Gloss	‘jaguarundi’	‘his shirt’	‘spur grass’	‘alcohol’	‘roseate spoonbill’

Table 2.18: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /n/

[g]	0__	C __V	V __V	V __C	__0
	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Example	—	—	sá**g**e	a**g**wet	hán**eg**
Gloss	—	—	'lake, estuary'	'*Jacaratia* sp. (plant)'	'guira cuckoo'

Table 2.19: Basic syllable and word level distribution of /g/ (velar nasal)

While minimal pairs do exist to suggest the phonemic distinctiveness of the various nasal stops, assimilitory phonological processes are very common, and coda nasals typically assimilate to the place of articulation of following oral consonants (not glides or other nasals). However, in natural speech the assimilation occasionally fails to occur, and some lexical items preserve the underlying values of nasals and do not assimilate them, like *-hamt-* 'sharp', which almost always has an [m] and not an [n] before the [t]. For these reasons, there are occasional non-homorganic nasal/stop sequences.

The palatal nasal is an interesting question, and its phonemic status is likely in flux. In some instances, the palatal nasal exists as part of an alternation between the velar nasal and a palatal nasal, in environments where the velar nasal ends up in an onset position, usually due to apocope (§2.4.2). Because velar nasals cannot be in onset positions, they become palatal. Generally speaking, this conversion of velar to palatal occurs when a syllable boundary occurs within a single morpheme. Take for example the verb base *-mateg-* 'be killed'. In (2.3a), the /g/ remains in coda position and has a velar place of articulation. However, in (2.3b), apocope puts the /t/ and /g/ next to each other and the nasal must act as a syllable onset, leading to its conversion to the palatal nasal.

(2.3) a. náxet ámay **apmátegwakta'**
naxet amay **ap-mateg-wak-t-a'**
F.middle road M-be.killed-ARR-CISL-SCND
'He died on the way back here' (literally 'he died in the middle of the road while returning')
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **apmatñék** axta m'a néten apyetnamakxa
ap-matñe-ek =axta =m'a neten ap-yetn-am-akxa
M-be.killed-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR above M.PART-lie-TI-NM:OB
'He was killed in his bed'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Glides and glottal consonants

Enxet Sur has two glides [y] and [w], and two glottal consonants [h] and [ʔ]. The glottal stop is acoustically rather typical but is phonologically very complex, as described in §2.4.4. It occurs in syllable codas only word finally, and in syllable onsets only word internally.

The /y/ has allophones [e] and [ʧ]. For example, the second person masculine pronoun is underlyingly and historically /xeyep/, and it for some speakers it is still pronounced

as [xeyep]. However, most younger speakers reduce the intervocalic [y] and pronounce this pronoun as [xe:p] (see §2.4.6 for more on this kind of reduction). When apocope deletes the first vowel, the /y/ becomes a palatal stop and the surface form is [xchep]. The diachronic associations between [y] and back stops are described in the section above on back stops.

Acoustically and articulatorily, the /w/ glide in Enxet Sur is a consonantal [o], rather than a consonantal [u]. Formant measures of acoustic data show that the [w] is typically articulated at the same height as the [o]. This is in contrast to the front glide [y] which is in a more typically consonantal [i] position, and phonologically the two glides behave somewhat differently. While the front glide [y] has developed in many cases into the [ch/ky/k], [w] has no close phonological associations with occlusive consonants, other than serving as an allophone for the glottal stop (§2.4.4).

Phonotactically, /w/ and /h/ are interesting. The [h] never occurs in a coda position, which is not cross-linguistically unusual, but the [w] never occurs as a word-internal coda unless is is followed by a glottal consonant in the next onset. It can occur in a word final position, but it is always followed by a glottal closure. Both /h/ and /w/ behave phonologically like consonant clusters, and very often have the features of the "implicit glottal stop" described in §2.4.4 which add a syllable rhyme to place /h/ or /w/ in an onset position.

2.2.2 Vowels

Enxet Sur, like all Enlhet-Enenlhet languages, has a three-way vowel quality contrast between a front vowel *e*, a back vowel *o*, and a low vowel *a*. On top of this basic three way quality contrast, Enxet Sur and its closest sister language Enlhet Norte have developed a phonological contrast between long and short vowels not found elsewhere in the EE family. While in morphologically complex words like verbs, vowel length is generally predictable based on productive phonological rules, in monomorphemic nouns, it arguably must be specified in the lexicon, and the phonemic status of the length alternation is therefore up for debate, although there is a clear phonological, categorical distinction between long and short vowels. This basic vowel inventory can be represented as in table 2.20.

	Front	Central	Back
Mid	/e/ /e:/		/o/ /o:/
Low		/a/ /a:/	

Table 2.20: Basic vowel inventory of Enxet Sur

Fewer phonemic quality distinctions in a vowel inventory generally result in a broader range of phonetic outputs, sometimes referred to as the "vowel cloud", and the vowel cloud for Enxet Sur vowels is therefore relatively large, as expected. For example, the front vowel /e/ can have phonetic realizations that range from a tense high vowel [i] to a lax mid vowel [ɛ], and the back vowel /o/ can be realized as anything from a lax high vowel [ʊ] to a an open mid vowel [ɔ]. Phonetic quality of vowels is influenced by the

phonetic environment — for example, /a/ is produced lower before a uvular stop than a coronal stop — but these differences in the phonetic expression of vowel phonemes are gradient and subject to articulatory pressures rather than categorical and subject to true phonological alternation.

There is also some difference in the vowel clouds of short and long vowels of the same phonemic quality. For example, figure 2.8 shows acoustic measures of vowel quality (F1 and F2)[6] for a 61 year old Male speaker of Enxet Sur. However, it is unclear at present if this should be considered phonologically significant, or if the differences are simply phonetically motivated. Cross-linguistically, vowels with a longer duration are phonetically closer to the "target" quality for a vowel phoneme than vowels of a shorter duration, and so the minor differences in phonetic quality between long and short vowels of the same phonemic quality are likely unimportant from a phonological perspective.

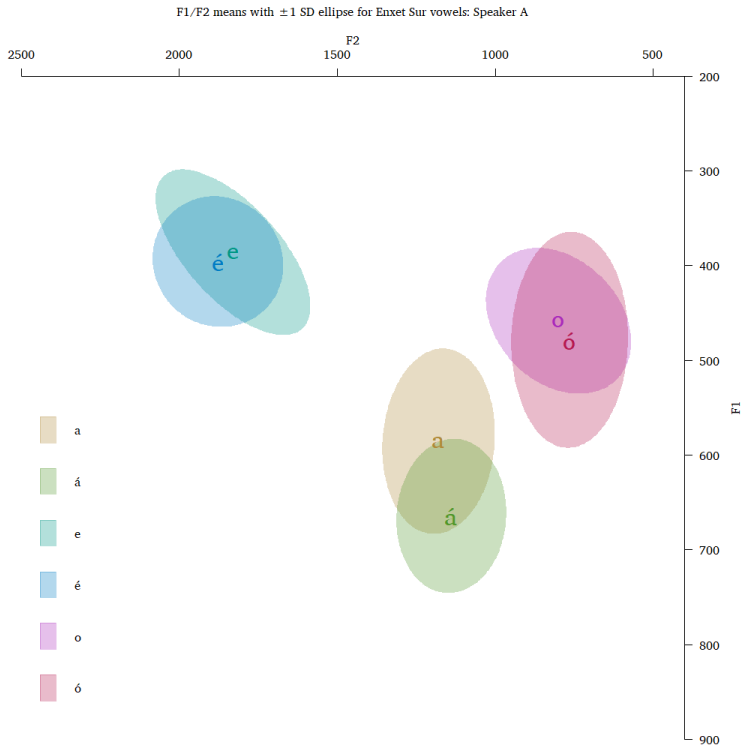


Figure 2.8: Plot of mean F1 vs. F2 of six Enxet Sur vowels with ellipses representing 1 standard deviation from the mean; Male age 61

Furthermore, there is substantial variation amongst the population of Enxet Sur speakers regarding the phonetic realization of these vowel phonemes, with younger speakers

[6]The most common acoustic measures of vowel quality are formant values, which are affected by the positioning of the active articulators within the vocal tract. The first formant (F1) is correlated with vowel height, and the second formant (F2) is correlated with vowel backness. The third formant (F3) is associated to a lesser degree with lip rounding, but there are no vowel contrasts in Enxet Sur which rely primarily on roundedness, and rounding in the vowel system is of a very common character — front vowels are unrounded, back vowels are rounded, low vowels are slightly more rounded the farther back they are but not to the same degree as back vowels.

in some communities having much higher front and back vowels which often are sometimes realized as true high vowels [i] and [u], respectively. Similar patterns of variation have been noted in other EE languages (van Gysel, In Press). While it is more accurate to describe the current state of the language as well as its ancestral pattern with an /e a o/ inventory, in 50 years, it may look like a more standard /i a u/ inventory seen in most three-vowel languages.

Enxet Sur (and other EE languages) may stand out in apparently "lacking" high vowels. Languages with three phonemic vowel qualities are typically described as having an [i a u] inventory, although in reality this is typically more like a [ɪ a ʊ] inventory (Becker-Kristal, 2010). While an understanding of the wide vowel clouds typically found in three-vowel inventories makes the difference between Enxet Sur and these [ɪ a ʊ] languages seem less stark, evidence from the comparison of Spanish and Enxet Sur vowels in Spanish/Enxet bilinguals in Elliott (2016) does show that the mean F1/F2 values for Enxet /e/ and /o/ vowels are much closer to Spanish /e/ and /o/ than to Spanish /i/ and /u/, as in figure 2.9. This supports the description of Enxet Sur as having an /e a o/ inventory.

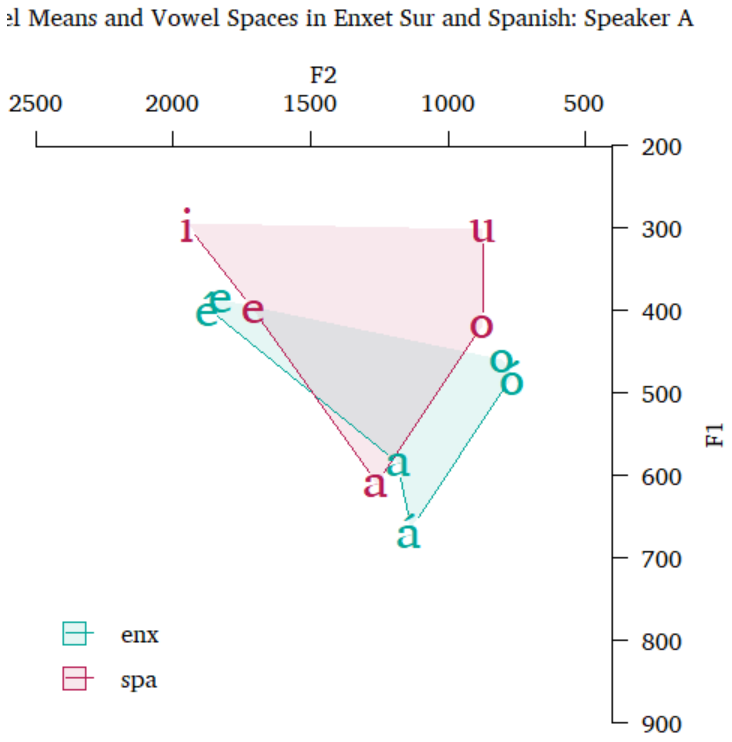


Figure 2.9: Plot of mean F1 vs. F2 of six Enxet Sur vowels (green) and five Spanish vowels (red); Male age 61

Despite having such a small vowel inventory, vowel quality is surprisingly unimportant in much of Enxet Sur morphophonology. As described in §2.4.5 below, the surface quality of vowels is highly dependent upon the phonological environment, and vowel quality is apparently never used to distinguish between different verb stems — a significant majority of words in any given text are built on a verb stem. There are some minimal

pairs for vowel quality, with a few minimal pairs in monomorphemic nouns, but in multimorphemic words, these minimal pairs generally only involve vowels at the right or left edge of words. With pronominal prefixes, there are true minimal pairs like *a-* for the feminine possessive and *e-* for the first person singular possessive. However, most other vowel minimal pairs in morphologically complex words, especially verbs, are the result of the application of different phonological processes on vowel quality and *not* because there is a vowel quality contrast in the underlying morphological structure of the word. Some minimal pairs for vowel quality are given in table 2.21. To my knowledge there are no minimal sets which distinguish all three vowel qualities.

Enxet	Gloss	Enxet	Gloss
a vs. e			
a-	1SG.IRR	e-	M.IRR
axog	'I will go'	exog	'he will go'
ag-	1PL.IRR	eg-	1PL.POSS/STAT
agmók	'we will grab'	egmók	'our kin'
-a	NM:IP (some forms)	-e	NM:PV (some forms)
kélchánta	'while climbing'	kélchánte	'thing you mount'
a-	F.POSS/STAT	e-	1SG.POSS/STAT
aphék	'her finger'	ephék	'my finger'
negmale	'gap-toothed'	negmele	'fat'
e vs. o			
-e	NM:PV (some forms)	-o	NM:IP (some forms)
nenlane	'what we make'	nenlano	'while making'
-eg	IMP for *-eg* final stems	-og	NM:PO for *-eg* final stems
kaxeg	'go!'	kaxog	'she will go'
-ek	DECL after COMPL/PASS/TERM	-ok	SCND after COMPL/PASS/TERM
hápe'	'it is soft'	hápo'	'white egret'
sawe'	'type of owl'	sawo'	'knife, metal'
kammek	'it will rain'	kammok	'it will achieve'
o vs. a			
-mo	NM:PV.INTS (some forms)	-ma	NM:PV (some forms)
negmomo	'collect habitually'	negmoma	'have, grab'

Table 2.21: Minimal pairs for vowel quality

True minimal pairs for vowel length, of which some examples are given in table 2.22 are similarly rare, with the majority occurring at morpheme boundaries, where the long vowel is the product of phonological processes whose output are long vowels. Thus, most are arguably poor evidence for a true phonemic distinction between long and short vowels, since the long vowels are derived through phonological processes rather than by having a distinct long and short underlying vowels. There are only a handful of monomorphemic minimal pairs, like *peyem* 'iguana' and *péyem* 'kind of bee', but the fact that there are so few raise suspicion, and there may be phonological means of accounting for this contrast.

For example, *peyem* has final glottal occlusion of the final nasal while *péyem* does not. It is possible that this distinction at the right edge is produced by suprasegmental effects created by the alternation between the short and long vowel, but it seems equally possible that the difference in glottal occlusion could create the phonological environment for vowel lengthening. Since most long vowels in the language can be accounted for by means of a regular phonological process, and because length distinctions appear to be a shared innovation only in Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte which arose because of changes in suprasegmental phonology (not the addition of phonemes), it is likely that these handful of monomorphemic minimal pairs could be explained without the need for a phonemic length distinction.

Enxet	Gloss	Enxet	Gloss
a vs. á			
xamo'	'together'	xámo'	'be many'
ekhak	'I sat'	ekhák	'my rib'
negkenatchesso	'not recognize'	negkenátchesso	'lift up'
-ak	NM:PO after /'/	*-ák*	COMPL.NM:PO after /'/
e vs. é			
peyem	'iguana'	péyem	'kind of bee'
nenseykekxa'	'carry something back'	nénseykekxa'	'chew something again'
negmeta	'dig'	negméta	'burn'
neghe	'stay'	néghe	'sic on (dogs, police, etc.)'
o vs. ó			
awáxok	'inside'	awáxók	'deep inside'
étkok	'little one'	étkók	'little ones'
kaxwo'	'now'	kaxwók	'now' DECL form

Table 2.22: Minimal pairs for vowel length

It is also worth noting that very few examples of [o] or [o:] require positing an /o/ in the underlying form of words. The vowel /o/ only occurs word initially as a long vowel[7], and instances of word-initial [o:] are almost exclusively allomorphs of the first person plural irrealis derived by the reduction of //Vg-V// strings (see §2.4.6). The only apparent exception appears to be the feminine form of the word 'its owner', *ótep*, which in the masculine is *ap-wetep*, meaning that the underlying structure of *ótep* is in fact //a-wetep// — //VwV// strings are typically reduced to [o:] (also described in §2.4.6).

In fact, the vast majority of surface [o:] can be shown to derive productively or at the very least diachronically from reductions of intervocalic consonants described in §2.4.6, and most instances of [o] can apparently be accounted for based on the principles of vowel assimilation (§2.4.5) or by means of the shortening of [o:] (§2.5.2). It would admittedly feel strange to say that there is no phonemic status for /o/ and it is simply an allophone

[7]Historically, Powys (1929) says that the first person singular irrealis/possessive prefix, modern /a/, often occured as [o], and Rojas and Curtis (2017) gives an archaic form of the first person *ówaxok* 'my innermost'.

of the other vowels, but, at present, this seems entirely feasible based on what is known about Enxet Sur phonology.

Finally there are two marginal vowel phones which must be mentioned: an incipient vowel sound [ɛ:] and the nasalized front vowel *ẽ*.

The nasalized front vowel occurs exclusively as the result of a reduction of //eg-e// strings occurring at the boundary of the pronominal prefix and the verb stem (§3.1), and in some cases the boundary of the pronominal prefix and the stem of an related noun. This reduction does not occur with the same strings in other morphological environments, and in fact it occurs primarily and most regularly at the boundary of the pronominal prefix and the distributive stem prefix (10.2), which is suggestive of morphophonological fusion rather than a more general phonological process. This process does not occur in closely related Enlhet Norte, although something similar happens in Sanapaná (pc: Jens van Gysel).

Sequences of underlying or historic /a:je/ are now typically pronounced as [ɛ:][8]. For example, the name for the *viñal* tree is [ta:yet] for both older Enxet Sur speakers and in Enlhet Norte, while most middle age and younger speakers pronounce it as [tɛ:t]. There are only a handful of examples of this process, all monomorphemic, and none produce minimal pairs with other vowel qualities. For the present, it may suffice to consider this a phonological process rather than a phoneme, but it is possible that younger generations do not make such a distinction and simply have a unique phonemic entry for this sound. As an incipient vowel phoneme, it is interesting, in that its location in the vowel space is almost precisely what is predicted for an inventory with four vowel qualities (Becker-Kristal, 2010). In other words, if a new vowel phoneme was being added to a three-vowel language, the typological information suggests we should expect it to be /ɛ/.

2.3 Orthography

The Enxet Sur language was first reduced to writing on a large scale by the Anglican missionaries who settled bands of Enxet at Makxawaya and other missions. Although earlier writing systems reflected the biases of these English-speaking missionaries — the use of <*thl*> for the voiceless lateral is particularly noteworthy — the orthography has changed over time to better reflect the ways speakers view the sounds of the language and to better reflect the phonemic values of the sound system. This section describes the modern "standard" orthography generally in use in this dissertation, but also describes some aspects of variation in the ways that Enxet Sur speakers choose to write their language.

2.3.1 Modern "Standard" Orthography used in this dissertation

This dissertation provides example words and sentences in Enxet generally using the orthographic "standard" in use by the *Equípo de Traducción Enxet Sur* for the 2015 edition of the Bible, the Enxet Sur dictionary, and other recently produced documents. This

[8]Orthographically, this [ɛ:] is represented as <*ey*>. This makes it homographic with some other sounds that have the same orthographic representation, which may seem confusing, but this sound is so rare that it should not cause any confusion within this dissertation.

orthography is the product of numerous workshops and discussions about how Enxet speakers wish to represent their language in written form, over the course of several decades. While there are some disagreements and variations, several key features have come into common usage, and help to immediately distinguish written Enxet Sur from other written EE languages.

The characters used in the orthography are given in Table 1[9]. Most characters represent the phonetic values that most linguists would expect, with a few important exceptions:

- The acute accent over vowels is an indication of vowel length, not stress or any other suprasegmental value (although length can be affected by suprasegmental factors).
- The voiceless lateral is represented by <x>. There are some varieties of Enxet which have a velar fricative as an allophone of /q/ (written typically with <q> or <'>), but the Enxet Sur <x> only has the value of a voiceless lateral.
- The velar nasal is represented by <g>, like in Samoan.

Orthography	IPA	Orthography	IPA
a	[a]	’	[ʔ]
á	[a:]	m	[m]
e	[e]	n	[n]
é	[e:]	g	[ŋ]
o	[o]	s	[s]
ó	[o:]	x	[ɬ]
p	[p]	h	[h]
t	[t]	l	[l]
ch	[ʧ - c^{j}]	y	[j]
k	[k]	w	[w]
q	[q]		

Table 2.23: Characters in the modern Enxet Sur orthography and their basic phonetic values

As noted in §2.4.6, the reduction of some //VCV// strings produces vowels which have a distinct low tone, which is sometimes represented in the Enxet Sur dictionary (Rojas and Curtis, 2017) with a grave accent over the vowel (*à è ò*). However, this grave accent is only used in cases where it allows for orthographic contrast between two verb forms which would be homographic without it — this exclusively distinguishes between imperfective and perfective forms of a small set of verb, like *ekyaqmaga* and *ekyaqmagà*, respectively. This is a useful orthographic distinction to make, and I make use of it here, even though it apparently has very little adoption within the broader community.

[9]For more on the phonetic values of Enxet phonemes, see the description of the phonemic inventory in section 1. The values of vowels especially are more complex than a table of this kind can easily represent.

There are also a number of orthographic considerations beyond segmental representation which are useful for understanding the use of the orthography in this dissertation. There are many cases where orthographic representation does not accurately represent phonetic or even phonemic realities, as the result of choices made by community members and others in the development of the Enxet Sur orthography. While these choices were well motivated compromises (the perfect orthography does not exist!), they may cause confusion to readers of this document, and are explained in the following subsections to avoid confusion.

The <ey> string

The character string <ey> is somewhat complex. In some cases, it actually represents an underlying //e-y// string, while in others it represent the phonetic [e:] which derives historically from */aj/, and still in other cases it represents an underlying //eje// string which is also condensed into a long [e:] at the phonetic level. The maintenance of this <y> in the orthography rather than simply using <é> may be an indication that speakers of Enxet Sur, at least those who have been involved in orthography development, maintain certain phonological distinctions which phonetically no longer exist.

For example, *apkelyetnékpe'* 'they are throwing things at each other' and *apkelyetneykpe'* 'he is sowing clothes for himself' constitute an orthographic minimal pair, while phonetically they are identical. This kind of homophony is generally very rare among verb forms, but maintaining this bit of etymological representation in the orthography helps to distinguish such pairs.

Clitics and dummy vowels

Tame clitics and demonstrative clitics are a fundamental and ubiquitous component of Enxet Sur grammar, and writers of the language have differing opinions on how they should be written. Within the Enxet Sur written tradition, there is variation regarding whether or not clitics are written as part of the orthographic word with their hosts. The *Tásek Amya'a* standard is to write almost all clitics as independent orthographic words, with the occasional exception of the dubitative *la'a*, which is often written as part of its host when in the *=l'a* form.

Because the apocope (vowel deletion) process (2.4.2) extends across the predicate/tame clitic boundary, clitics can end up being cluster-initial after vowels — for example *nahan* 'and' becomes [nhan]. Phonologically, the first consonant of such clusters is just resyllabified as the coda of the previous syllables, but given that clusters are not permissible in the phonology of the language, writing phonetic [nhan] as orthographic *nhan* would mean writing a phonologically impossible word. Instead, dummy vowels are typically inserted at the beginning of otherwise cluster initial clitics to create orthographic words which are independently pronounceable for Enxet Sur speakers, and phonetic [nhan] is written as *anhan*. For another example, the hodiernal past clitic *xeyk* has the phonetic form [xchek] when attaching to a vowel final host. Rather than having a phonetically impermissible orthographic representation **xchek*, writers place a dummy vowel at the beginning, writing it as *exchek*.

The exception to this orthographic rule is the demonstrative clitics *ma'a* (DMSTR) and *se'e* (PROX), which can be written as independent cluster initial words *m'a* and *s'e*, respectively.

Word initial nasal segments

As described in §3.3.3, there are some idiosyncratic behaviors of feminine and second person plural pronominal prefixes where initial nasals get deleted when they are utterance initial, but are maintained when they are utterance internal. Often times, these word initial, utterance internal nasal segments are not written in the orthography, since they would not be said as part of the word in isolation. In (2.4)[10], *kalyehegwok* phonetically is [gkalyehegwok], because it occurs after a vowel, but this is not captured in the standard orthographic representation used in this dissertation. This omission could lead to inaccurate conclusions about phonological operations across word boundaries, but in general has little importance to an overall understanding of the morphosyntax.

(2.4) apkelhaxneyk **axta kalyehegwok** ma'a
[ak.kel.hax.ne:.kax.**tag.kal**.ye.heg.wok.ma.'a]

apk-el-haxn-eyk =**axta** **ka**-l-yeheg-w-ok =ma'a
M-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:PST F.IRR-DIST-arrive.purpose-ARR-NM:PO =DMSTR

'He waited for it to show up there'

EDP enx006 05:37

2.3.2 Diversity of orthographic choices

Throughout the broad literature on language documentation, language maintenance, and language revitalization, there is a lot of discussion about orthography *planning* within (and often, apparently, on behalf of) minority and indigenous communities that do not have a developed written tradition. Readers of such literature could be misled into thinking that a "community" figures out the phonemes in their language, creates a practical orthography, and then everyone learns to use this system. The reality is, of course, that the way speakers of a language choose to write it can be highly dynamic across a speech community, especially if there is not much in the way of a culture of literacy for the language in the first place.

In the Enxet Sur community, relatively few people receive formal education in or have direct experience with the "standard" orthography, and as a result there are lots of different ways that writers might write the same phonetic string. Generally speaking, speakers make use of most of the major consonant conventions — writers consistently use *x* for the voiceless lateral and G for the velar nasal.

However, writers frequently omit the apostrophe for glottal stops (or its final [k] allophone), they rarely if ever actually use the *q* for uvular stops (they just write *k* instead),

[10]This example also exhibits how many instances of stop-to-stop assimilation are not reflected in orthograph, since the *p* in *apkelhaxneyk* is phonetically [k] due to progressive assimilation.

and they hardly ever actually write out geminate consonants. The use of the accent mark for long vowels is infrequent, and the use of *ey* for what is just [e:] or even sometimes [e] is rare for most speakers, who just write *e* instead.

Most interesting is that many younger speakers actually use *i* and in some cases even *u* for many short vowels in place of *e* and *o*. This somewhat reflects the slow diachronic drift of these vowels to higher qualities (see §2.2.2), but the orthographic decision contrasts significantly with the standard, which does not use *i* or *u* at all. The text message in (2.5) was sent by a speaker in his 20's, and we can see the use of *u* in place of the short *o*, the use of simple *e* instead of *ey*, the lack of a long vowel accent mark, and the absence of the final consonant in *xámok*.

(2.5) Original Orthography: Xamu neke aptamhekha kaxwu
Standard Orthography: Xámok neyke aptamheykha kaxwo

'I guess you have a lot of work right now'

Whatsapp texts

The use of clitics is also highly variable, with some writers choosing to write most clitics and even clitic clusters as part of the orthographic word with their host, despite the fact that the standard keeps them as separate orthographic words (see Elliott 2019).

In this dissertation, when using an example from a text source, I use the orthographic representation given in the original source, even if I believe it to contain "errors" vis-a-vis the standard orthography.

2.4 Segmental processes

The following subsections describe the regular (not lexically marked) segmental phonology of Enxet Sur. While many processes do occur universally, many have a morphological component, in that they only occur at morpheme boundaries, or they occur in verbs but not in nouns. Where possible, alternations are explained with underlying forms changing through regular phonological rules. However, this conventional descriptive format does not fully account for all phonological processes, nor does it provide useful explanatory power in all cases. The section and the rules and processes presented therein are generally organized from most common and regular to rules which are only loosely applied in a few instances but nonetheless are deserving of mention.

A number of the phonological processes described in this section are subject to varying degrees of interspeaker and dialectical variation, including variation amongst speakers of different ages within a single community. The orthographic conventions used in examples in this dissertation reflect those differences in the application of phonological processes, and therefore readers may find examples in the dissertation which appear to contradict rules described in this section. Generally, this is the result of variation, and an attempt has been made to footnote such examples with explanatory notes, especially in cases of confusion.

Some of the phonological processes described are visible both through morphological alternations and by comparing variant forms of the same word. In some instances, a particular phonological process may only really be observable in a particular lexical item through comparison with data from other EE languages, and data from the more phonologically conservative Enlhet Norte is used in some descriptions. For example, the adjective *-xakko'* 'alone' is underlyingly /-xapkoʔ/, and the /p/ assimilates to the following [k]. The surface form in Enxet Sur, however, is only ever *-xakko'*, and the existence of the /p/ is only attested through its persistence in other EE languages (cf. Enlhet Norte *-xapko'* or Sanapaná *-xepkoye'*).

This description of segmental processes begins with an overview of variation and how, coupled with numerous ordered segmental transformations, the same underlying morphological sequence can have a range of phonological outputs. Following this, the first several sections feed into one another to explain the most fundamental phonological processes that shape the complex morphophonology of verbs. Readers of this phonological description should read the sections on apocope, consonant insertion, and glottal stop behaviors together. Ater this, the descriptions of other processes are less dependent upon one another.

2.4.1 Variation in phonological outputs

Before detailing observed phonological processes, it is useful to note that there is a substantial degree of variation in the application of phonological rules which cannot be fully accounted for at this time. Because of the highly synthetic nature of Enxet verbs, especially, numerous phonological processes might affect a single word and these rules may apply in different ways or in different orders to produce different phonological forms of the same string of morphemes.

It is outside of the scope of this dissertation to evaluate the explanatory and predictive value of various phonological theories to the Enxet Sur data. Some surface forms can be easily explained through a rule based phonological derivation, while others are likely better understood as the product of competing constraints on preferred syllable and suprasegmental structures. In other cases, I am inclined to see simple phonological analogies between closely related forms. This dissertation has no particular preference for any particular phonological theory. However, it is important for the reader to recognize that two words with significantly different phonological forms may be given the same morphological analysis, and that in such cases, I have attempted to account for these variable surface forms via different applications of well-attested phonological processes.

For example, the plural of *axempenek* 'its wing' can be either *axempenák* or *axampagkok*; the difference is based in part on dialectical variation, but some speakers might accept or produce either form. The difference in forms could be accounted for by which phonological process occurs first. As can be seen in table 2.24, the form *axempenák* occurs if the first processes that happen are vowel assimilation, and then the reduction of the //aʔa// string to [a:], whereas if apocope is the first process to take place, an entirely different series of processes apply and lead to the final form *axampagkok*.

Therefore, readers may note that occasionally different surface shapes may receive the same morphological analysis. Although it is entirely possible that my analysis is wrong in

	//a-xempene'-ek//		//a-xempene'-ek//
1. Apocope	//axempen'ek//	1. Vowel Assimilation	//axempena'ak//
2. Glottal Assimilation	//axempenkek//	2. [aʔa] to [a:]	//axempena:k//
3. Nasal Assimilation	//axempegkek//	—	—
4. Vowel Assimilation	//axampagkok//	—	—
Surface forms	*axampagkok*		*axempenák*

Table 2.24: Phonological derivation of two alternate forms of the plural of *axempenek* 'its wing'

any given instance, it should be generally understood that the nature of phonological variation can produce words with substantial surface differences from the same underlying morphological string.

2.4.2 Apocope (Vowel Deletion)

One of the most common phonological processes in Enxet is the deletion of vowels to produce closed syllables, which are generally preferred. This process, referred to here as *apocope*, generally occurs in environments that would otherwise lead to multiple adjacent open syllables (CV or V syllables), and the rule can be formulated as V > ∅ / VC ___CV.

Being a highly synthetic language, apocope is very common in Enxet verbs. For example, some pronominal prefixes are consonant final and others are vowel final, which leads to alternations in the surface shape of the left edge of the verb base (see §3.1 for the distinction between verb base and verb stem). In table 2.25, the underlined vowels which are present when the pronominal prefix is consonant final are deleted following vowel final prefixes.

With V-final prefix	Gloss	With C-final prefix	Gloss
a-**y'as**-agkohok	'I will know'	ag-**ya'as**-agkohok	'We will know'
e-**lch**-ak	'He will let it out'	ap-**lek**-kek	'He let it out'
ka-**mh**-agkok	'she will go there'	ag-**mah**-agkok	'We will go there'
m-e-**xñ**-ak	'He didn't go'	ap-**xeg**-kek	'He went'

Table 2.25: Examples of apocope in the verb base with alternating vowel-final and consonant-final pronominal prefixes

While the left edge of verb stems is a common site of apocope, it can occur anywhere within the verb. Compare, for example, the form of the verb base *-mexan-* before a consonant and before a vowel in (2.6).

(2.6) a. ek-**mexan**-ma
F.PART-warm-NM:PV
'warming'

b. ek-**mexn**-a
F.PART-warm-NM:IP
'warming'

While this process is pervasive in the highly synthetic Enxet verb, it can be seen at times in words of other word classes, as in table 2.26. Related nouns take a possessive pronominal prefix, some of which are consonant final and others of which are vowel final, leading to alternations in the application of apocope. While non-related nouns are generally limited in their affixal opportunities, many can take the *na-* locative prefix (§4.2.5), which leads to the apocope of a root vowel. Similarly, some base nouns like *xápen* 'rhea bird' commonly occur in compounds which allow for resyllabification, leading to the loss of a vowel relative to the base form. The application of apocope is in fact a useful test for the compounding of words, as it does not occur across word boundaries but does occur across the formatives of some kinds of lexicalized nominal compound (§13.5).

Enxet	Gloss	Enxet	Gloss
Related nouns			
eg-me̲nek	'our legs'	a-mnek	'her leg'
With the na- locative			
pa̲'at	'grass'	na-p'at	'in the grass'
ye̲gmen	'water'	ne-ygmen	'in the water'
Pluralization			
náxe̲t	'in the middle'	naxt-a'a	'in the middle (plural object)'
In nominal compounds			
xápe̲n	'rhea bird'	xátn-appok	'rhea's egg'
		xátn-apwa	'rhea's feather'
yáme̲t	'tree'	yánt-ápak	'dried wood (firewood)'
		yánt-akpayhe	'canoe' ('wood that spreads out')

Table 2.26: Apocope in morphologically complex nouns and nominal compounds

Apocope also applies across a phonological domain which includes clitics. Demonstratives, as in (2.7), as well as independent pronouns and TAME clitics all can undergo apocope, calculated within a phonological domain which spans both the clitic and its host.

(2.7) *Apocope in demonstrative* ma'a

a. yetneyk =han =**ma̲'a** lugar
EXIST =AND =DMSTR place
'and there's a place there'

b. agkok =eyke =**m'a**
F.POSS =TC:ASR =DMSTR
'But it's hers'

In instances where multiple vowels fit the contextual criteria for apocope (i.e., in a //VCVCVCV// string), the application appears to be from right to left, as shown in table 2.27.

A number of conditions do not allow apocope, or show how a subsequent phonological process counterfeeds it, leading to three consecutive open syllables. One major one

Underlying string	ap-meñex-am-a
Potential Apocope	ap-meñ<u>e</u>x-<u>a</u>m-a
Surface form	*apmeñexma*

Table 2.27: Right to left operation of apocope rule in *apmeñexma* 'robber, thief'

appears to be that vowels at the edges of bases do not get deleted, as in the examples given in (2.8).

(2.8) a. neg-<u>á</u>lew-as-so
1PL.PART-alight-VAL-NM:PV
'to fan a fire'

b. apk-el-<u>a</u>ney-kekx-eyk
M-DIST-make-DUP-DECL
'he fixed it'

Another apparent exception occurs in a particular morphophonological environment: glottal stop final verb roots (§2.4.4) followed by the imperfective suffix. Onset glottal stops tend to get deleted in verbal morphology (this does not occur in nouns), which leads to surface conditions for apocope which do not actually lead to deletion, as shown in table 2.28. If we take a rule-ordering approach to such data, we could say that glottal stop deletion in these situations counterfeeds apocope.

Underlying string	//sek-wete'-e'-a//
Glottal stop gliding	//sek-wetey-e'-a//
Apocope	//sek-wetey-'-a//
Glottal stop deletion	//sek-wetey-a//
Surface form	*sekwet<u>e</u>ya*

Table 2.28: Non-application of apocope is surface form of *sekweteya* 'my seeing'

It should also be noted that some monomorphemic items, nouns and adverbs, may have VCVCV strings and do not undergo apocope, like *axayo'* 'later' or *mayáhat* 'heat of the sun'.

2.4.3 Consonant insertion at morpheme boundaries

Another common process across Enxet Sur, primarily in verbal morphology, is the insertion of consonants in the onset of vowel-initial morphemes to prevent the re-syllabification of a preceding consonant[11]. Although the phonetic or phonemic identity of the inserted

[11]NOTE FOR READERS: I have gone back and forth in the production of this dissertation between glossing this inserted consonant as part of either the morpheme to left or to the one to the right. Although I have more recently settled on glossing it with the morpheme to the left, this is a large document and proofreading examples is not really something I can get help with, so I may have failed to make fully consistent the segmentation of these inserted consonants. You should know, however, that this does not have any implications for morphological analysis, and is mostly an arbitrary decision.

consonant is a more complicated matter — it is most often [k]/[ch] (depending on adjacent vowels) from historic [y], but may be [t], [q], [s], or [x] depending on phonological or lexical specifications — the general rule can be formulated as ø > [k] / VC+____V .

One of the most common applications of this insertion is with vowel initial bases or stems[12] that are preceded by a pronominal prefix. When the prefix is consonant final, there is typically an inserted consonant between the prefix and root. There is variation regarding whether or not the same process is applied in the first person plural[13]. Examples across multiple word classes are given in table 2.29.

Root	Gloss	FEMININE	MASCULINE	1PL
Verbs		(en)*-	ap-	neg-
-e'	'fear'	k-ek-ak	apk-ek-ak	neg-ak-ak
-ant-	'mount'	**ch**-ant-eyk	ap**ch**-ant-eyk	nen**ch**-ant-eyk
-aqhe'-	'kill'	**ch**-aqh-ak	ap**ch**-aqh-ak	neg-aqh-ak
-etam-	'look for'	**k**-etam-chek	ap**k**-etam-chek	neg**k**-etam-chek
-etsap-	'die'	**k**-etsek-kek	ap**k**-etsek-kek	nel-etsek-kek
Related nouns		a-	ap-	eg-
-etche'	'child'	e-etche'	ap**k**-etche'	eg**k**-etche'
Adjectives		a-/(en)*-	ap-	eg-
-anet	'two'	a-anet	ap**q**-ánet	eg**q**-ánet
-etkok	'young'	e-etkok	apk-etkok	egk-etkok

Table 2.29: Examples of consonant insertion before vowel-initial roots in three word classes; pronominal prefix forms are given for each class in the top line

The difference between [k] and [ch] is typically based on both the place of articulation of the preceding consonant and the quality of the following vowel, as described in §2.2.1. However, if the inserted consonant comes after the distributive *el-*, the [l] triggers either [ch] or [q], which can then conversely affect the quality of the following vowel.

There are a handful of apparent examples of this insertion happening root-internally, as in table 2.30, although this may itself be a sign that the root is compositional.

A handful of common suffixes — especially the valency increaser and the temporal indefinite/perfective, but also some less productive base affixes — are vowel-initial but very often have an inserted consonant when they are preceded by a morpheme which ends in an underlying [VC] string, presumably in order to avoid a mismatch between syllable and morpheme boundaries. Some examples are given in table 2.31.

While the inserted consonant is typically the [k]/[ch] segment, it can be a number of other segments as well. When a verb base ends in the common *-e'* string (§2.4.4), and there is an earlier alveolar consonant or [q] in the base, the inserted consonant will be [t]. For example, the base *-megqe'-* 'shame' has a declarative form *megqak-kek*, with the

[12]There are a number of ways to show that verb/noun/adjective stems are vowel-initial. Especially for verb roots, see the various descriptions of pronominal prefix allomorphs which occur with vowel-initial roots (§3.3.3).

[13]This non-application in the first person plural is likely related to the syllabic properties of the velar nasal *g*. It cannot be in an onset position without becoming a palatal nasal *ñ*.

'chest'	*-nenyek*
1SG	e-g**k**énye**k**
1PL	eg-nénye**k**
F	a-g**k**énye**k**
M	ap-nénye**k**
2PL	kél-nénye**k**

Table 2.30: Stem internal consonant insertion

Base shape	Base	+NM:IP	+VAL-NM:IP
//CVC//	*-xeg-*'go'	ek-xeg-a	ek-xeg-**kes**-a
	-wón- 'cry'	ek-wón-o	ek-wón-**ches**-a
	-pekken- 'place'	ek-pekken-a	ek-pekken-**ches**-a
	-yaqnen- 'cut down'	ek-yaqnen-a	ek-yaqneg-**kes**-a
	-yanmag- 'value'	ek-yánmag-a	ek-yánmag-kas-a
//CVCC//	*-taxn-* 'enter'	ek-taxn-a	ek-taxn-és-a
	-watn- 'burn'	ek-watn-a	ek-watn-és-a

Table 2.31: Appearance and non-appearance of inserted consonants with the valency increasing suffix *-es*

declarative suffix, but its perfective form *ek-megqakt-o* shows an inserted [t] rather than [k/ch].

2.4.4 Glottal stop morphophonology

An unusual but pervasive set of phonological processes in Enxet Sur involves the phonological behavior of what appear to be underlying glottal stops. These processes create a kind of allophonic chain which links glottal consonants, glides, back stops, and nasals; this is most of the consonant inventory of the language. The underlying phonological 'identity' of the segment that undergoes these alternations is a separate question from the description of its phonological patterning — I refer to its base form as a glottal stop because 1) this is its shape when it is in true final position, 2) because none of the surface values make much sense as an underlying phonemic value that would account for all the surface forms, and 3) because calling this segment an underlying glottal stop causes the fewest problems for the broader phonological system and necessitates the fewest ad hoc rules and exemptions. Ultimately what I refer to as "glottal stop morphophonology" is a series of phonological processes centered around maintaining syllable codas, and at times even creating them where a morpheme does not have one underlyingly. Because it is complex, it is presented here in a fairly linear, narrative format to make it easier to understand the patterns involved.

NM:PV form	Root Shape	Gloss
neganagko	*-ane'-*	'to say, think'
negasñe	*-asñe'-*	'to grimace'
negaqhe	*-aqhe'-*	'to kill'
negaye	*-e'-*	'to be afraid'
negeywe	*-eywe'-*	'to gallop'
negkexakha	*-exe'-*	'to get rid of, sell'
neghaxe	*-haxe'-*	'be curved'
neghe	*-ha'-*	'to stay'
neghéwe	*-hewe'-*	'to hunt'
negkempakhe	*-empakhe'-*	'to battle'
nenlege	*-lege'-*	'to hear'
negmáhe	*-ma'a'-*	'to want'
negmakte	*-makte'-*	'to shoot'
negmasewho	*-se'-*	'be lucky'
negmaxnagko	*maxne'-*	'to sharpen'
negmatñe	*-matege'-*	'to be killed'
negmegqakto	*-megqe'-*	'to feel shame'
negmele	*-mela'-*	'to be fat'
negmope	*-mope'-*	'to be white'
negnathe	*-natha'-*	'to be jealous'
nentegye	*-tegya'-*	'to look for'
nentaqnagko	*-taqne'-*	'to despise'
nensexnenagko	*-sexnene'-*	'to disgrace'
nensawhoma	*-sawhe'-*	'to exhaust'
negwanmagko	*-wanma'-*	'to be silent'
negwakhe	*-wakhe'-*	'to surround something'
negwápakhe	*-wapakhe'-*	'to twist off'
negwe	*-wa'-*	'to arrive'
negwete	*-weta'-*	'to see'
nenxátekhe	*-xatekhe'-*	'to get up (out of bed)'
negyamaye	*-yama'a'-*	'to be dry'
negyamhagko	*-yamha'-*	'to be skinny'
negyampe	*-yampa'-*	'to rest'
negyaqwate	*-yaqwate'*	'to be short'
negyemne	*-yemne'-*	'to insult'
negyense	*-yensa'-*	'to leave something'
negyephe	*-yephe'-*	'to inflate'
negyespagko	*-yespey-*	'to like'
negyeswe	*-yeswe'-*	'to urinate'
negyetne	*-yetne'-*	'to be detained'

Table 2.32: Some glottal stop final verb bases

A great number of verb formatives (including both bases and affixes), appear to be underlyingly glottal-stop final, including a disproportionate number of verb bases which underlyingly end in a *-e'* sequence (the quality of the vowel is malleable and therefore quite unimportant), see §2.4.5. Table 2.32 lists a number of common verbs whose bases which consistently underlyingly end in the glottal stop segment.

The first indication that these verb roots are glottal stop final is their imperative forms. Imperatives are marked by the lack of a grammatical suffix, and therefore the right edge of the base can be rather easily identified in this form if there is no other stem forming morphology[14]. Glottal stop final roots are glottal stop final in their imperative forms, as in (2.9). In all remaining examples in this section, the base is bolded in examples.

(2.9) kól**wanma'** kól**megqe'** kól**weta'**
'be silent' 'be ashamed' 'be seen'

Glottal stops are only permitted in utterance-final codas, never in word-internal codas, and therefore there are a number of assimilatory behaviors to avoid pre-consonantal glottal stops. Before [w] and an inserted [k] (§2.4.3), the glottal stop becomes becomes the velar nasal [g]. Therefore, all glottal stop final roots will have the string [agw] or [egw] before the perfective form associated motion ending *-we*, as in (2.10)[15].

(2.10) a. neg**megqág**we neg**wanmeg**we neg**wetág**we
'feel ashamed on arrival' 'be silent on arrival' 'see on arrival'

b. nen**legág**we neg**melág**we nen**nathág**we
'to hear on arrival' 'to get fat on arrival' 'to be jealous on arrival'

This segment also tends to become [g] before epenthetic [k] (§2.4.3), which can be seen in some perfective forms where an inserted [k] comes before the perfective *-o* or *-ama* (see sec. 2.4.3). This generally only occurs if the underlying *-e'* ends of the bases are preceded by a consonant cluster, although some forms without clusters, like *neganagko*, show the same behavior.

(2.11) neg**wanmag**ko neg**yespag**ko neg**anag**ko neg**maxnag**ko
'to be silent' 'to like' 'to think' 'to sharpen'

With the valency increasing suffix in the potential form, we see another kind of assimilation, where the glottal stop becomes [k] before other consonants, in this case before [s]. The valency increaser and potential endings are underlyingly //-es-ek//, and the vowel before the [s] is lost to apocope, putting the [s] adjacent to the right edge of the base. This [k] also surfaces in the declarative forms of some glottal stop final verb bases, as in (2.13)

[14]Note that, as described above, other oral stops are generally unreleased in word final positions, but these are definitively glottal stops and not unreleased oral stops. It is possible that there is a different underlying segment that is reduced to a glottal stop — this would be more typical from a crosslinguistic perspective — but, again, this would cause problems for the broader analysis of this segment.

[15]The final base vowel is long [a:] in most verbs, while it is short [e] in 'silent'. While vowel quality is highly variable and contextually dependent, I don't yet have a full explanation for the difference in length here

(2.12) kól**megqak**sek kól**wanmak**sek kól**wetak**sek kól**xátekhak**sek
'will shame' 'will make silent' 'will make see' 'will wake up'

(2.13) **megqak**kek **sexnenak**kek **yespak**kek k**exak**kek
'is ashamed' 'is disgraceful' 'likes' 'gets rid of'

This [k] surface form is generally what occurs before the stops [p] and [t] as well, for example before the *-p* of the masculine middle voice marker as in (2.14). Because these coda glottal stops are not really ever in a position to be adjacent to [l,n,x], it is fairly safe to generalize that this segment becomes [k] before voiceless oral consonants.

(2.14) el**wetak**pok el**anak**pok ek**xak**pok e**sawhak**pok
'will be seen' 'will be made' 'will be sold' 'will be exhausted'

The declarative forms of glottal stop final bases do not always lead to [akkek] strings as in (2.13). Many forms instead end up with surface [a'ak] (there is dialectial variation with such forms, and [a'ak], [a'ek], and [e'ek] are all attested). If the root final -Vʔ string is preceded by a consonant cluster, the *-ak* ending is attached directly to the root with no allophony. In these cases, the [VʔV > [a:]] rule described below does not apply.

(2.15) a. ek**makta'**ak ek**yensa'**ak ek**wa'**ak ek**ha'**ak
'I shoot' 'I left it' 'I arrive' 'I stay'

b. ek**natha'**ak ek**yetna'**ak ek**tegya'**ak ek**wakha'**ak
'I'm jealous' 'I stop' 'I hunt' 'I surround'

In other cases, the vowel before the glottal stop may be deleted because of apocope. When this occurs, the declarative ending is effectively *-ak*, and in some cases the glottal stop ending of the base is deleted completely.

(2.16) a. ek**wet'**ak ek**mel'**ak ek**leg'**ak
'I see' 'I'm fat' 'I hear'

b. ek**mop**ak ek**yamak**ak ek**mak**ak
'I'm graying' 'I'm dry' 'I want'

There are in fact many examples where a glottal stop put into an onset position by apocope ends up getting deleted all together. For example, the temporal indefinite forms (TI; §3.5) of glottal stop final bases often surface as a distinction between an *-a'* ending in the base form and an *-ay* ending in the TI form. For example compare the glottal stop final bases in (2.15) and (2.16a) above with the *-y* final TI forms in (2.17).

(2.17) TI plus DECL; bolded region includes base and TI morpheme

a. ek**nathay**ak ek**way**ak ek**hay**ak ey**áy**ak
'I was jealous' 'I arrived' 'I stayed' 'I was scared'

b. ek**wetey**ak ek**yamáy**ak ek**wakhay**ak ek**melay**ak
'I saw' 'I dried out' 'I surrounded it' 'I was fat'

c. ek**legay**ak
'I heard'

A form like *ekweteyak* has an underlying composition like //e'-wete'-e'-ak//, with the TI suffix *-e'*. Apocope deletes the vowel of the TI suffix, and the coda of the base //wete'// becomes a //y// now that it is adjacent to the glottal stop (see below). The string is now something like //ek-wetey-'-ak// and the glottal stop in coda position is deleted. In other EE languages, a form like *ekweteyak* is actually *ekwetey'ak*, and these language do not have the tendency to delete onset glottal stops that Enxet Sur does.

There are a number of conditions where the underlying glottal stop may surface as either of the glides, although [y] is far more prevalent. For example, the glottal stop final verb bases are [y] final before an [he] string, as in the negative potential forms in (2.18) but [w] before a [ho] string, as in the intensive potential forms in (2.19).

(2.18) ma**megqáy**hek ma**wanmey**hek megkól**wetey**hek mak**xay**hek
'won't be ashamed' 'won't be silent' 'won't see' 'won't sell'

(2.19) e**yespaw**hok e**taqnaw**hok e**maw**hok e**sew**hok
'will like' 'will despise' 'will want' 'will be lucky'

A final major process is that *-a'a-* strings are typically reduced to a long [a:]. This is why when glottal stop final bases like *-wete'-* take the valency increasing suffix *-es*, the surface form is *-wetás-*. Some examples are given in (2.20)

(2.20) ek**wetá**ssekxeyk ek**megqá**ssek ey**aqhá**ssek
'I found it for him' 'I shamed him' 'I killed it for him'

Final ʔ/k alternations

The endings of many types of words — declarative verbs, semiverbs, adjectives, and related nouns — alternate between ending in a glottal stop when appearing utterance finally and ending in a [k] when followed by another word or clitic. This is most prevalent with the declarative and potential verbal suffixes (§3.4.1 and §3.4.2 respectively), and the final *-e'* common to most related nouns (§4.4). Therefore, we can observe alternations like that in (2.21).

(2.21) a. **apkekne'**
apk-ekn-e'
M-plant-DECL
'He is planting'

b. **apkeknek** axta peheye'
apk-ekn-ek =axta peheye'
M-plant-DECL =TC:PST potato
'He planted some potatoes'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This alternation is between a [k] and a true glottal stop, and is not simply an unreleased [k] — coda oral stops are often unreleased (§2.2.1), but the alternation described here is a more distinct phonological process, not a phonetic detail.

This alternation also does not occur in all morphological environments. For example, the degree TAME clitics (§6.2.1) end in *-agko'* which is always glottal stop final and is never realized with a final [k], regardless of phonological or morphological environment. Furthermore, non-related nouns which end in a glottal stop do not undergo this alternation, as in (2.22), where the final glottal stop in *anséta'* 'passionfruit' does not become [k], despite being in the same environment where final glottal stops of verbs and related nouns would.

(2.22) **anséta'** ø-exnamok
passionfruit F.POSS-flower
'passionflower, passionfruit flower'

This apparent word-class specificity for this particular phonological process is interesting. Unlike some other apparent phonological differences between different word classes, there is no apparent diachronic explanation for this distinction.

The implicit glottal stop

The description of glottal stop morphology, which really is a description of coda glottal stops, has thus far centered on verb bases which end in a VC glottal stop sequence which can be accounted for in essentially every inflection and derivation of the base. In these instances, it is fairly straightforward to assign this VC ending to the underlying structure of the base, even if the "identity" of the base-final consonant is a more abstract and complex matter.

However, an analogous VC structure with final glottal stop (often realized as *-ak* or *-eg*) is *applied* to the end of bases and other verbal morphology whether or not it is really part of the underlying morphology or whether it can be accounted for in all appearances of a given morpheme. The nature of the coda glottal stop is complex and unusual enough even when it is unambiguously part of the phonemic spelling of bases, but the fact that an analogous syllable rhyme appears to be added into verbal constructions without particular morphological motivation is really quite bizarre and represents a major phonological puzzle deserving of its own major study. For lack of a better term, I refer to this phonological phenomenon here as the *implicit glottal stop*.

An extra VC coda is commonly associated with certain consonants: all alveolars, /w/, and /h/. This can be seen in examples where there are two variants for a given word, one with and one with out the extra VC string. For example, in (2.23), the base *-sawh-/-sawhe'-* in the negative potential form can have an additional *-eh* at the right edge of the base, but can also appear without it.

(2.23) a. **masawhe'**
m-a-sawh-e' =sa'
NEG-1SG.IRR-exhaust-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'I'll finish it all'

b. **masawhehe'** =sa'
m-a-sawheh-e' =sa'
NEG-1SG.IRR-exhaust-NM:PO =TC:FUT

'I'll finish it all'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (2.24), the verb base *-pogwat-* generally behaves as though the [t] is the right edge of the base, including in the perfective form *nempogwatma*, with a *-ma* perfective ending. However, some speakers use a variant of the perfective form with an *-e* ending, which is the form that appears with glottal stop final bases (see §3.4.3 for more on the morphology of the perfective form).

(2.24) a. nempogwatma
nem-pogwat-ma
1PL.PART-insert.between-NM:PV
'putting your hand inside something'

b. nempogwate
nem-pogwat-e
1PL.PART-insert.between-NM:PV
'putting your hand inside something'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

While the "addition" of the glottal stop rhyme is rather clear in instances of alternation, it also appears to be the best explanation for many kinds of allomorphy of verbal suffixes which are highly productive and mostly regular.

Consider the following data regarding the morphological behavior of the oblique nominalization suffix (§3.4.3). If we were to assign it an underlying phonological form, it is quite clear that it would be /-exa/. This is, for example, its surface form when it follows the duplicative *-ekx* or middle voice *-axch*/*-axk*, as well as a handful of bases, as in the examples in (2.25). Such stems end in consonant clusters, the first consonant forming the coda of one syllable, and the second forming the onset of the following syllable whose nucleus is the /e/ in the oblique nominalization suffix /-exa/. This is also the surface form which *can* occur when affixed to bare bases that end in consonant clusters as well.

(2.25) *Oblique nominalization suffix as -exa*

a. negmomaxch**exa**
neg-m-om-axch-**exa**
1PL.PART-have-TI-MID-NM:OB
'Jail cell', literally 'where we are held'

b. negya'aweykx**exa**
neg-ya'aw-ey-kx-**exa**
1PL.PART-arrive.purpose-TI-DUP-NM:OB
'A person or thing we can turn to [for help]'

c. agwethok tótaw eyáxñ**exa** enxoho
ag-weth-ok tótaw ey-áxñ-**exa** =enxoho
1PL.IRR-see-INTS.NM:PO terotero F.PART-clean-NM:OB =TC:CONJ

'We usually see the terotero birds in clearings'

d. eyesext**exa** xapop
ey-e-sext-**exa** xapop
F.PART-VBLZ-few-NM:OB land
'place with little land'

However, the far more common surface form of the oblique nominalization suffix is *-akxa*, as attested in numerous examples in (2.26). This form occurs when the stem has a final *-ak*, and the underlying //-akexa// string triggers apocope leading to the deletion of the middle //e//. The issue is that most of these stems, in other morphological environments, would not have this final *-ak* element or even any remnant of it.

(2.26) *nm:obative as -akxa*

a. éxtegyawakxa
ey-extegyawak-**xa**
F.PART-make.noise-NM:OB
'place where they make a lot of noise'

b. kélmáxakxa
kél-máxak-**xa**
2PL.PART-delouse-NM:OB
'when they delouse each other'

c. ekyawakxa
ek-yawak-**xa**
F.PART-VBLZ.large-NM:OB
'its importance'

d. peyakxa
peyak-**xa**
START-NM:OB
'when it's about to happen'

e. apketsapmakxa
apk-etsap-mak-**xa**
M.PART-die-TI-NM:OB
'where he died'

f. apkenyektegkesakxa
apk-enyektegk-esak-**xa**
M-lead-VAL-NM:OB
'where he took him'

g. aptenakxa
ap-tenak-**xa**
M.PART-sleep-NM:OB
'where he slept'

h. sekxegakxa
sek-xegak-**xa**
1SG.PART-go-NM:OB
'when I went'

i. ektaqmelakxa
ek-taqmelak-**xa**
F.PART-make.noise-NM:OB
'where it is good'

j. ekwegqakxa
ek-wegqak-**xa**
F.PART-long-NM:OB
'its length'

k. sekhakxa
sek-hak-**xa**
1SG.PART-sit-NM:OB
'where I live'

l. ekxénakxa
ek-xénak-**xa**
F.PART-show-NM:OB
'what it shows'

m. ekyagqaxakxa
ek-yagqaxak-**xa**
F.PART-pierce-NM:OB
'where it pinches'

n. ekmámekakxa
ek-mámekak-**xa**
F.PART-rain-NM:OB
'where it rained'

o. ekyentaxnakxa
ek-yentaxnak-**xa**
F.PART-heavy-NM:OB
'the tough part'

p. eyaqnakxa
ey-aqnak-**xa**
F.PART-stand.PL-NM:OB
'where they stand'

For example, the rest of the grammatical suffix paradigm (§3.4) for *-xeyen-* 'show' never has this extra *-ak* piece: DECL *xén-chek*, SCND *xén-ak*, NM:PO *kaxen-ek*, NM:IP *ekxen-a*, NM:PV *ekxeyen-ma*. So why does the oblique nominalization form add it in? Accounting

for why these syllable codas are added in likely requires its own large phonological investigation, but I can provide some basic insights here.

If the extra *-ak* rhyme was not added in, the underlying string //ek-xeyen-exa// would probably, due to apocope, be realized as *ekxeyenxa* or *ekxénxa*. However, if we look at all allomorphs of the oblique nominalization suffix, we see that the final consonant of the stem is never adjacent to the /x/ of the oblique nominalization suffix. If we keep in mind that all morphemes within the verb stem are consonant final, and most are vowel-initial, we see that the morphophonological structure of the verb not only prefers closed syllables, but also that there is a preference for keeping the consonants of individual morphemes separate. This especially makes sense when we consider, as described in §2.2.2 and §2.4.5, that vowel quality within the verb stem carries almost no functional load in expressing lexical distinctions. Thus, an apparent function of the "implicit glottal stop", the addition of glottal stop rhymes, is to help keep the semantically valuable consonants separate and discernible.

Much of glottal stop phonology described in this section, as well as consonant insertion (§2.4.3) and the broad allophony between most back and glottal consonants, is probably related to this basic principle — that they function in large part as phonological filler to preserve preferred syllable and word shapes and to keep the more semantically "useful" consonants, especially bilabial and alveolar consonants, separated and more easily discernable.

2.4.5 Changes in vowel quality

The vowel quality of many, maybe most vowels in Enxet Sur is subject to alternation based on the phonological environment — quite remarkable given that there is only a three-way quality contrast in the language to begin with. Take for example the contrast between (2.27a) and (2.27b). The verb stem *-paknam-* 'touch with hands' takes different pronominal and grammatical affixes in the declarative and potential forms, but the surface shape of the base changes as well. Along with the assimilation of the nasal to the POA of the following [k] in (2.27a), the underlined vowel changes quality between the two forms: [e] before [g] and [a] before [m]. Where there are alternations in vowel quality like those in (2.27), the quality of the vowel is determined by adjacent consonants (assimilation), and to a far lesser degree, the quality of vowels in adjacent syllables (vowel harmony[16] or disharmony).

(2.27) a. ek**pakneg**ke' xeyk

[16]Adelaar and Muysken (2004, p. 497) notes, apparently based on a cursory look at Sušnik (1977), that "extensive vowel harmony" is clear in the language. This is generally not true, given a definition of vowel harmony that is restricted to changes in the quality of one vowel to make it more like or phonologically identical to another nearby vowel. A process of "vowel harmony" is a recognized phenomenon in other Chaco languages of the Guaycuruan and Matacoan families (Gerzenstein and Gualdieri, 2003). However, the vowel harmony displayed in these languages actually resembles canonical vowel harmony, where vowels in adjacent syllables become more like each other. The Enxet Sur vowel changes do not really work on such a system, and it is primarily adjacent consonants which determine vowel quality, not vowels in adjacent syllables.

ek-pakneg-ke' =xeyk
1SG-hand.fish-DECL =TC:HOD
'I was just hand-fishing'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. a**paknam**ok sa'
a-paknam-ok =sa'
1SG.IRR-hand.fish-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'I'm going to hand-fish'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The overview of the Enxet Sur three-vowel system in §2.2.2 above describes wide vowel clouds with variations in the precise quality based on adjacent consonants, particularly codas. For example, the front vowel labeled //e// might have a phonetic quality like IPA [ɛ] before [t] but more like [ɪ] before [p]. I regard these kinds of small changes in vowel quality as a strictly phonetic process, the accomodation of a phonetic pressure for ease of articulation that is allowed by a lack of phonological distinction. The changes in vowel quality which I consider to be phonological — involving categorical sound changes and not merely minor articulatory ones — are alternations between front and back vowels, or between either of these mid vowels and a low vowel.

In general, these effects are probabilistic and subject to substantial interspeaker variation, and it is more valuable to understand the broad strokes of the factors affecting vowel quality than to posit exact rules which would be subject to a great amount of qualification and exception.

Furthermore, it is quite difficult to come up with a meaningful overarching generalization about *when* vowels are subject to these changes in quality based on the morphophonological environment and when they are not. The jist of it is this: vowel quality is important and immutable with some morphemes and some lexical items, and when it is not, quality is determined almost entirely by the phonological environment. For example, when vowel quality creates minimal pairs within morphological paradigms, like 1SG.IRR *a-* vs. M.IRR *e-* in the pronominal prefixes (§3.3), or NM:IP *-a* vs. NM:PV *-o* (§3.4.3) in the grammatical suffixes, vowel quality does not change[17]. It may be that there is simple lexical blocking of this otherwise fairly regular phonological process in such cases where it does not occur, but this, of course, requires a lot of one-off, ad hoc analyses. The morphophonology of vowel quality changes is certainly a topic worthy of further study.

In contexts where vowel quality does change based on the phonological environment, the most important determinant of quality is the articulatory qualities of adjacent consonants. In this language with a strong tendency for closed CVC syllables, there tends to be two. The assimilatory effect of consonants on vowels occurs in articulatorily familiar ways: coronal consonants tend to favor the front vowel *e*, labial consonants tend to favor the rounded vowel *o*, and consonants which lower the tongue body or root (the back glide *w*, glottal consonants) tend to favor the low vowel *a*.

[17] Diachronically, it very much has. §3.4.3 describes how the qualities of these two grammatical suffixes has swapped in some cases, and the 1SG.IRR prefix used to be *o-* instead of *a-*.

Take for example the potential (NM:PO) suffix *-ek*, whose surface form alternates between [ek], [ok], and [ak] — all three vowel qualities. Some examples are given in table 2.33. Generally speaking, verb stems that end in labial consonants take the [ok] form, and those that end in coronal consonants take the [ek] form. Stems ending in glottal stops (§2.4.4) or with consonants like *w* which have complex coda behaviors and often have implicit glottal stops have the potential ending [ak]. The vast majority of productive vowel quality alternations are the result of vowel-initial affixes attaching to leftward consonants, as with the potential *-ek*.

Stem form	F.IRR+NM:PO form	gloss
	[ek]	
-ent-	kánt**e**k	'mount, get on top of'
-apogwat-	kápogwát**e**k	'light up'
-eyn-	keyn**e**k	'to start, lift'
-tax-	katx**e**k	'to enter'
	[ok]	
-esp-	kasp**o**k	'smoke'
-metm-	kametm**o**k	'to dig'
-m-	kam**o**k	'to have'
-pasm-	kapasm**o**k	'to distribute'
	[ak]	
-aqtaw-	kaqtáw**a**k	'make a racket'
-exe'-	kakx**a**k	'to sell, get rid of'
-paw-	kapáw**a**k	'to speak'
-wa'-	kaw**a**k	'to arrive'

Table 2.33: Potential forms of various verb roots, showing [ek], [ok], and [ak] surface forms of the potential suffix

It is not strictly adjacent consonants which determine vowel quality, however. Consider the examples in (2.28), where the quality of the vowel nucleus of *tow*/*taw* changes not because of different adjacent consonants, but because of the addition of a vowel *-a* in the following syllable which leads to a change from *tow* to *taw*. This gives the appearance of a canonical vowel harmony process, since it looks like *o* becomes *a* to match the *a* in the next syllable. However, it is just as feasible to attribute the change to the resyllabification of the *w*. In (2.28a), the *w* is a coda which has influence on the preceding vowel, whereas in (2.28b), the *w* becomes the onset of the next consonant. It is easier to suggest that homosyllabic consonants are more likely to affect vowel quality as it would be to attribute this to a process of vowel harmony which would otherwise have a fairly random distribution.

(2.28) a. kóltow
kól-t**o**w
2PL.IRR-eat
'eat y'all!'

b. megkólt**a**wa
me-gkól-taw-a
NEG-2PL.IRR-eat-NM:IP
'their not eating'

2.4.6 Reduction of intervocalic consonants

When peripheral (non-coronal) continuants and glottal stops occur intervocalically, the //VCV// sequences have a tendency to be reduced to long vowels, which may then be reduced to short vowels depending on other phonological processes (§2.5.2). To be clear, this happens with the consonants [m g y w h '] and not with any others. The reduction of intervocalic glottal stops is discussed in the section on glottal stop phonology, §2.4.4 above.

Consider, for example, the two possible inflections for the related noun *-wetep* 'owner' in (2.29). With the feminine possessive prefix *a-*, there is an underlying string //a-wetep//, and the //a-we// string surfaces as [o:]. Generally speaking, the surface vowel produced by this reduction of intervocalic consonants is determined by the identity of the underlying consonant that gets "deleted"[18] — //VwV// and //VmV// usually become [o:], //VyV// and //VgV// tend to become [e:], and //VhV// and //V'V// tend to become [a:]. Other processes affecting vowel quality (§2.4.5) may lead to different surface forms in some morphological strings, however.

(2.29) a. **apwetep**
ap-wetep
M.POSS-owner
'its (masculine) owner'

b. **ótep**
a-wetep
F.POSS-owner
'its (feminine) owner'

Although this process is widely attested both synchronically in productive morphological alternations and diachronically through comparisons of modern Enxet Sur with historical varieties and modern sister languages, it is not entirely clear what the precise phonological or morphophonological restrictions or licenses of its application are. In other words, it happens in innumerable instances but exactly what conditions do and do not allow this reduction are not entirely known or understood at this point.

For example, in table 2.34 there are a number of different conjugations of verb bases which contain an underlying //VyV// or //VhV// string. There is no reduction of this string when followed by the perfective suffix *-ma*, and in most of the potential forms,

[18] I say "deleted" because a word starts off having a consonant that is not there in the surface form, but since the underlying consonant has a function in determining the vowel in ways which are generally phonetically intuitive, I prefer to refer to the whole process as a "reduction" of a complex string of segments instead of a simple "deletion".

apocope deletes the first vowel in the relevant //VCV// string before reduction can occur. However, in the declarative and second position forms, which have different phonological environments at the right edge of the base, reduction does occur, and the relevant //VCV// strings surface as [e] or [e:][19].

DECL	SCND	NM:PO	NM:IP	NM:PV
-teyen- 'sleep'				
ap-ten-chek	ap-tén-ak	e-tyen-ek	ap-ten-a	ap-teyen-ma
-teyep- 'emerge'				
ap-tek-kek	ap-tép-ak	e-tyep-ok	ap-tep-a	ap-teyep-ma
-xeyen- 'show'				
ap-xén-chek	ap-xén-ak	e-xén-ek	ap-xén-a	ap-xeyen-ma
-tehet- 'tie'				
ap-tet-chek	ap-tét-ak	e-thet-ek	ap-tet-e	ap-tehet-ma
-meyet- 'burn'				
ap-met-chek	ap-mét-ak	e-myet-ek	ap-met-a	ap-meyes-ma
-paqmeyet- 'chat'				
ap-paqmet-chek	ap-paqmét-ak	e-paqmét-ek	ap-paqmet-a	ap-paqmeyes-ma

Table 2.34: Forms of verb bases with underlying *-CVyVC-* or *-CVhVC-* strings

Another productive example comes from verb bases which underlyingly end in *-aw* which frequently reduces to [o:] when followed by a vowel. Imperative forms of such bases typically take no suffixes after the verb base, and the *-aw* strings are visible. In the example of *-taw-* 'eat', we see [taw] in the non-suffixed imperative (2.30a), apocope of the vowel leading to the shape [tw+ok] in the potential form in (2.30b), and intervocalic reduction leading to [to:+kek] in the declarative realis form (2.30c). The declarative form is probably underlyingly of the shape //-eyek//, a vowel initial form that with *-aw* final bases creates the condition for reduction. Some examples of similar verbs are given in table 2.35.

(2.30) a. **etaw** apto
e-**taw** ap-to
M.IRR-eat M.PART-eat-NM:PV
'eat your food'

TA 1 Kings 19:5

b. **etwok** némog
e-**tw**-ok némog
M.IRR-eat-NM:PO wasp
'it will eat the wasp'

[19] Again, here, there is some inconsistency in vowel length that I cannot account for.

IMP	DECL	NM:PO	Verb gloss
etow	aptókek	etwok	'to eat'
eyenyow	apyenyókek	+ eyenyók	'to throw, discard'
elaw	aplókek	elwok	'to become angry, brave'
eyetlaw	apyetlókek	+ eyetlók	'to follow'
etaqnaw	aptaqnókek	etaqnók	'to despise'
esow	apsókek	eswok	'to carry'

Table 2.35: Verbs showing back glide/back long vowel alternation

EDP enx007 08:14

c. wa' so'ok **aptókek** yawhan
wa' so'ok ap-**tó**-kek yawhan
so woodpecker M-eat-DECL bee
'so woodpeckers eat bees'

EDP enx007 08:16

With the exception of the boundary between pronominal prefixes and verb stems, [eye] strings very often reduce to [e:]. However, this iteration of the intervocalic reduction process appears to have arisen rather recently in Enxet Sur. Not all speakers make this reduction, and it is still fairly common for older speakers to produce [eye] strings where younger speakers produce [e:]. As a diachronic phenomenon, this can be observed as recently as Sušnik (1977), where, for example, an allomorph of the declarative marker is written as <eyik>, corresponding to modern [-e:k]/<-eyk>. To accomodate this variation, such strings are represented orthographically as <ey>, as in the declarative suffix <-eyk>, which might be pronounced as either [e:k] or [eyek].

The reduction of intervocalic //VmV// strings to [o] can be seen in several morphological contexts. This is the origin of the *-o* allomorph of the perfective suffix (§3.4.3), and the phonological process can be observed diachronically by comparing earlier attested forms of words from the early 20th century with modern Enxet Sur forms, as in (2.31) . When the temporal indefinite suffix has the form *-am* followed by the ancestral *-a* of the perfective suffix, the [-ama] string is reduced to [o][20].

(2.31) a. apwanmagk**ama** [archaic]
ap-wanmag-kam-a
M.PART-silent-TI-NM:PV
'his spirit'
b. apwanmagk**o** [modern]

[20]In (2.31), the TI and NM:PV suffixes are glossed separately in the first example, then, because of the phonological process being described, they fuse. However, because the TI suffix is a requisite part of stem morphology for the relative suffix, fused TI-NM:PV suffixes are typically just glossed as NM:PV throughout this dissertation.

Stem	Gloss	*ag-* 1PL + -ek NM:PO
-taw-	'eat'	antók
-pekken-	'place'	ampekkenek
-yen-	'drink'	agyenek
-ense'-	'chew'	onsák
-etsap-	'die'	ótsapak
-expaqn-	'spread out'	óxpaqnek
-enmex-	'stand opposite'	ómexek

Table 2.36: Examples of the //VgV// to [o] process with the *1pl.irr* prefix *ag-* followed by vowel initial stems

ap-wanmag-ko
M.PART-silent-TI.NM:PV
'his spirit'

This might be a simple case of morphological fusion if the relative suffix was the only example of this phonological process, but it shows up in other contexts as well. It can be seen with the first person plural irrealis prefix *ag-*, which, when followed by many vowel initial stems reduces to [o] or [o:]. Some examples are given in table 2.36, with consonant initial stems for comparison. These vowel initial stems are listed as //e// initial but the quality of these underlying /e/ vowels is entirely dependent on phonological context, and at some point in the history/derivation of the word these were likely [a] (see sec. 2.4.5).

There are also some lexicalized nominal compounds that exhibit this process. For example, *peyópaskok* 'giant firefly' has historically a //VmV// sequence that has reduced to [o:], as in (2.32).

(2.32) peyópaskok

peyem ap-askok
lizard M.POSS-bug

'giant firefly', literally 'the lizard's bug'

2.4.7 Simple consonantal assimilation processes

A number of regular phonological processes can be grouped together under the umbrella of simple consonantal assimilation. These processes all involve the partial or complete assimilation of one consonant to a following or preceding one. Most are fairly run-of-the-mill, cross-linguistically very common, and generally have clear articulatory motivations. For example, the progressive place-of-articulation assimilation of coda nasals is articulatorily efficient with little acoustic effect, and probably any language with coda nasals exhibits such a phenomenon.

These processes are labeled based on the direction of the assimilation. A consonant changing to be more like what comes after it is a "progressive assimilation", while a consonant changing to be more like what comes before it is a "regressive assimilation".

Progressive nasal assimilation

Nasal stops in coda position change their place of articulation to assimilate to the place of articulation of following oral consonants. Nasals become [m] before [p], [n] before [t,s,x,l], and [g] (velar nasal) before [w,y,k,q,h]. Both [m] and [n] are permissible before [ch]. Nasals assimilate to [n] before an [n], but not to other nasals, meaning that a [g] before an [m] does not assimilate.

For example, the first person plural irrealis pronominal prefix is *ag-*, with allomorphs *an-* and *am-* depending upon the initial segment of the stem it attaches to, as in (2.33).

(2.33) a. agának
ag-án-ak
1PL.IRR-tell-NM:PO
'we will tell'

b. agwaktak
ag-wak-t-ak
1PL.IRR-arrive-CISL-NM:PO
'We will return here'

c. ampekkenek
am-pekken-ek
1PL.IRR-place-NM:PO
'we place it'

d. antepok
an-tep-ok
1PL.IRR-emerge-NM:PO
'we go out'

e. agmesek
ag-mes-ek
1PL.IRR-give-NM:PO
'we will give'

This process only reliably happens at morpheme boundaries, and within some roots and bases, this kind of nasal assimilation does not apply, as with the semiverb base *-hamt-* 'be sharp'.

Progressive stop assimilation

Stops in coda position frequently undergo assimilation to the place of articulation of following consonants, with different patterns emerging. The most salient and pervasive rule is [p,t] > [k]/ _[k]. Compare the form of the verb stem *-etsap-* 'to die' in (2.34a) to the form where the stem-final /p/ has assimilated to the following [k] in (2.34b).

(2.34) a. axta k**etsap**mak han Debora m'a

axta k-**etsap**-m-ak han Debora =m'a
TC:PST F-die-TI-SCND and Debora =DMSTR
'and then Debora died also'

TA Genesis 35:8

b. natámen k**etsek**kek mompéhe
natámen k-**etsek**-kek mompéhe
thereafter F-die-DECL shoe.fish
'and then the fish died'

EDP enx005 33:09

Some singular/plural pairs of related nouns show this alternation, like the alternation in (2.35) where the addition of a plural suffix leads to deletion of the final vowel of the stem *-exchapok*, put the [p] and [k] next to each other, leading to assimilation.

(2.35) a. apexchapok
ap-**exchapok**
M-bone
'his bone'

b. apexchakkok
ap-**exchakk**-ok
M-bone-PL
'his bones'

This process is likely a fairly recent phonological development. For example, Powys (1929) gives *-petken-*[21] 'to put or place' for the verb that is now *-pekken-*. This is historical evidence of assimilation, but because it is base-internal there is no surface alternation in the modern language.

In fact, there are several examples of base or stem internal [kk] which almost certainly all stem from this assimilatory proces, even when synchronic alternations are not observable. Other examples lacking morphological alternations are only observable in comparison with data from Enlhet Norte, for example EN *-xapko-*[22] versus ES *-xakko-* 'alone'. In such instances, it is generally impossible to determine if an underlying form like //xapko// exists for surface *-xakko*, since the stops are stem-internal and not at a (productive) morpheme boundary.

The application of this process appears unevenly distributed across the lexicon. For example, *-yapka'* 'uncle' is variably *egyapka'* 'our uncle' or *egyakka'* 'our uncle'. The masculine pronominal prefix *ap-* is often pronounced as *ak-* before a [k], although some speakers will avoid the [p] to [k] assimilation in this particular morphological context.

Stops sometimes become [t] before alveolar segments [l,n,s], although this far less common. For example, when apocope deletes the first vowel in the base *-pelap-* 'trip',

[21] Using his transcription system this is <pitkin>.
[22] Using the standard EN orthography, this would be *-lhapko*.

the initial [p] assimilates to the now adjacent [l] to give surface *-tlap-*, as in (2.36). All known examples of assimilation to an alveolar place of articulation are within individual morphemes, however, and not at morpheme boundaries. There is no evidence that assimilation ever leads to a change to [p].

(2.36) a. kólpelakkasek
kól-**pelak**-kas-ek
IMPR.IRR-trip-VAL-NM:PO
'They will be tripped'

b. katlakkasek
ka-**tlak**-kas-ek
F.IRR-trip-VAL-NM:PO
'it will make it trip'

Regressive assimilation to [s]

The segments [w,ch,k,y] become [s] following [s] within verbal morphology. Any instances of geminate [ss] is the product of this assimilatory process. The segments which undergo this regressive assimilation are somewhat strange — although [ch,k,y] are all very much phonologically related (§2.2.1), they form no particular natural class with [w] to the exclusion of other segments. This process, then, is probably morphologically sensitive to some degree, meaning that it it occurs with particular morphemes or under particular morphophonological conditions but is not a broadly applied, regular phonological process.

This appears to be a unique phonological innovation in Enxet Sur which has occurred within the later 20th century. Compare, for example, the form of the declarative on an [s]-final base in Powys (1929), as in (2.37a), to the modern form in (2.37b). The [ch] of the older form has assimilated to [s], leading to a geminate [ss] in the modern form.

(2.37) a. Original transcription: eltinnaschi
Modern orthography: éltennásche'
él-tenn-ás-**che'**
1SG.DIST-tell-VAL-DECL
'I tell'

Powys (1929, p. 22)

b. éltennásse'
él-tenn-ás-**se'**
1SG.DIST-tell-VAL-DECL
'I tell'

Although this process most often affects the inserted [k]/[ch] segment before vowel-initial suffixes (§2.4.3), it somewhat strangely also applies to the [w] in the associated motion suffix *-wa'* (§12.2.1). For example, (2.38a) shows the typical *-wa'* form, while (2.38b) shows assimilation to [s] and the allomorph *-sa'* occuring after a preceding [s]-final affix.

(2.38) a. apmágwa'akto
ap-mág-**wa'**-akt-o
M.PART-have-ARR-CISL-NM:IP
'his taking upon returning here'

b. apkeltennása'akto
apkel-tenn-ás-**sa'**-akt-o
M.PART.DIST-tell-VAL-ARR-CISL-NM:IP
'his telling upon returning here'

Progressive assimilation of l

The segment [l] in syllabic codas has a tendency to assimilate to some segments which follow it, primarily realized as total assimilation to either [n] or [x]. However, this does not apply across word boundaries, and the only coda [l] in bound morphology is in the distributive prefix *el-* (§10.2. In a way, then, this assimilation is as much an idiosyncratic behavior of a particular morpheme as a regular phonological process. For example, the typical [l] form of the distributive can be seen in (2.39a), but before a [x] initial stem, in (2.39b), it becomes [x] and produces a geminate [xx] or [x:].

(2.39) a. kelwegkekke'
kel-wegqek-ke'
DIST-go.far-DECL
'they went far away'

NNE190 06:14

b. kexxegke'
kex-xeg-ke'
DIST-go-DECL
'they left'

NNE190 05:24

2.4.8 The h/x/xn/n alternation

There is an alternation in a handful of morphemes between post-consonantal [h] and post-vocalic [xn] or just [x]. This probably just amounts to "irregularity" or some kind of morphophonological detritus that has been retained in certain forms from previous stages of productive morphology, but I include it here because it occurs with several unrelated morphemes.

The three most common examples are with the reportative clitic *hek*, and the verb bases *-h-* 'sit, live' and *-haxen-* 'listen, wait', but this alternation does not occur with all [h]-initial morphemes. For example, compare the forms of the reportative marker in the post-vocalic environment in (2.40a) to that in post-consonantal environment in (2.40b).

(2.40) a. Méko **exnek ñat** meyk

méko =**exnek** =**ñat** meyk
NEG.EXIST =TC:REP =TC:RPST hunger
'There was no hunger back then'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Yeyk **hekñat** nahan kaxegmak yaphopé
y-ey-k =**hek** =**ñat** nahan ka-xeg-m-ak yaphopé
M.IRR-fear-NM:PO =TC:REP =TC:RPST =AND F.IRR-GO-TI-NM:PO cloud
'He feared the retreat of the clouds'

López Ramírez (1996)

It is helpful to compare these forms to the cognates in other EE languages. For example, the cognate of the reportative clitic, rather than the Enxet Sur [hek]/[exnek] alternation, is [nek]/[xnek] in Enlhet Norte (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997, p.294) and [nak]/[xnak] in Enenlhet Unruh et al. (2003, p. 318). This means that, although the lateral fricative still has to be accounted for, the post-consonantal [n] of other EE languages (probably of proto-EE) became [h] in Enxet Sur.

A very similar pattern can be seen with the verb base *-h-* in (2.41) below, which is generally labeled 'sit' but which has an expansive semantic web with various stem-forming morphology. In (2.41a-2.41b), we see the same alternation between post-consonantal [h] and post-vocalic [xn], however, in the imperative form in (2.41c), the shape of the base is just [x]. Here again, we see that cognate forms have [n] instead of [h] in post-consonatal environments in other EE languages (Unruh et al., 2003, p. 325), although they still have unaccounted for alternations between [x]/[n]/[xn].

(2.41) a. ap-**h**-eyk-ekx-a' // m-e-**xn**-eyk-ekx-a'
M.PART-SIT-TI-DUP-NM:PV // NEG-M.IRR-SIT-TI-DUP-NM:PV
'have something again' // 'not have something again' (locative function of the base *-h-*)

b. ap-h-awok // m-e-xn-ók
M-SIT-INTS.DECL // NEG-M.IRR-SIT-INTS.SCND
'he is the same' // 'he is not the same'

c. e-xa
M.IRR-SIT
'sit!'

There is a related but slightly different pattern at work with the verb base *-haxen-* 'listen, wait', which can be seen in the paradigm in (2.42). Here, disregarding the irregularities regarding the alternating [h] and [y] segments to the left edge, at the right edge of the base, we see an alternation between [xn]/[x]/[xen]. We could represent the relevant string as being originally //xen//, and apocope produces [xn], but there is no clear reason why the [n] would delete in the *weyxhok* form.

(2.42) ek-**haxn**-awok // w-**eyx**-hok // sek-**háxen**-mo
1SG-listen-INTS.DECL // 1SG.IRR-listen-INTS.NM:PO // 1SG.PART-listen-INTS.NM:PV
'I listened' // 'I will listen' // 'My listening'

Ultimately, this series of alternations could be considered an irregular quirk — again, most [h]-initial morphemes do not undergo this kind of alternation. However, similar alternations occur with cognate morphemes in other EE languages, which suggests that if this alternation is just inherited, lexicalized morphophonological detritus, it is very old, and it is possible that there is a more regular phonological explanation.

2.4.9 Haplology

Haplology — the reduction of two similar adjacent syllables into a single one — is an interesting phenomenon in Enxet Sur, in that it primarily occurs between words and across clitic boundaries. Strictly speaking, this is probably a rapid speech phenomenon, but it is fairly common in speech and presents certain challenges for transcription.

One consultant, Asunción Rojas, describes this process rather explicitly in EDP enx042 (00:16:12-16:19), using the example in 2.43. Here, the existential verb *yetneyk* ends in phonetic [e:k], and is followed by the assertive TAME clitic *eyke* [e:ke], but the verb plus clitic is produced as [yet.ne:ke].

(2.43) IPA: [**yet.ne:.ke**.mak.ham]

yetn**eyk** =**eyk**e makham
EXIST =TC:ASR still

'But I still have it'

EDP enx042 16:12

The haplology between verbs and TAME clitics that follow them is fairly clear, but the distinction between haplology and other kinds of morphological deletion becomes blurred with other kinds of boundaries. Across most word classes, *-ek* is a very common ending for words, while the feminine participial prefix *ek-*, as the default, unmarked prefix for nominalized verbs, is one of the most common prefixes. The two are therefore often adjacent, and this sometimes leads to the production of only a single [ek] syllable, as in the example in (2.44). However, as discussed in §3.3.4, pronominal prefixes, and especially participial prefixes, are frequently dropped in some dialects, although the particular speaker in (2.44) does not typically drop pronominal prefixes as some speakers do. Therefore, in such cases, it is difficult to determine whether there is a morphological process of prefix dropping or a phonological process of haplology at work.

(2.44) Phonetic: [ap.men.ye:k.e:.**tak.te:.**mak.ɬa.palo.a.sul]

ap-meny-eyk e-et-ak ek-te:m-akxa palo azul
M-want-DECL M.IRR-see-IRR F.PART-be-NM:OB palo azul

'They want to see what we do with *palo azul* (medicinal plant)'

EDP enx041 02:31

2.4.10 Metathesis

As far as the evidence shows, consonantal metathesis is not a rule or constraint-bound regular process in Enxet. However, it should be noted that there is some variation across the language which is the result of metathesis, typically in non-related, monomorphemic nouns. For example, *sáxep* and *xásep* are alternate forms for the name of a type of cricket.

2.5 Suprasegmental phonology

The suprasegmental phonology of Enxet Sur, including word-level promininence/stress and the phonological representation of syllabic structure is worthy of deeper investigation that what I can provide here. Stress and prominence were to be a focal point of a planned fieldwork trip in 2020, but this was delayed and audio recordings over phone/Skype were not of a high enough quality to be used in in proper acoustic analysis, which I think a treatment of stress in Enxet Sur really needs. I make some preliminary observations here though.

2.5.1 Stress/prominence

Stress or phonological prominence in Enxet Sur cannot be adequately summed up by a generalization like "stress is typically on the penultimate syllable". Discussions of stress in previous descriptions of ES or related languages has been overly simplistic[23], and has surely relied on the phonological intuitions of linguists whose native languages were western European.

When determining what kind of stress pattern a language has, or even if it really has one at all, we rely on the three primary acoustic correlates of stress or prominence: intensity, pitch, and duration. Intensity refers to the "loudness" of given speech sound, measured in decibels. Duration refers to the length of time a given continuant sound is held. Pitch refers most typically to the frequency of the fundamental frequency of an open vowel, measured in Hertz. For the present analysis of suprasegmental features in Enxet Sur, I used the spectrographic analysis in Praat software (Boersma and Weenink, 2009) for attaining measures of intensity, pitch, and duration. Figures are given below which indicate syllable pitch in Hz with a blue line and intensity in dB with a yellow line, created with default Praat settings.

Identifying a discrete "stress" unit is not particularly obvious, and the acoustic correlates of stress/prominence appear to interact with both syllable weight (presence/absence

[23]The treatment of stress in Powys (1929) is rather limited. He says that "the accent is more often than not on the penultimate" (pg. ii), and gives examples like <ăpthlingkyi> (*apxegke'*), <ăphăkthla> (*aphakxa*), and <yanyamit> (*yágyámet*) as examples.

of codas or long vowels) and the morphological structure of words, since roots and bases must maintain some prominence while some other affixes cannot be "stressed".

Figures 2.10, 4.12, and 2.12 show the spectrograms for the nouns *yámet* 'tree', *xápen* 'rhea bird', and *héna'*, respectively. These nouns are all monomorphemic and have the same syllable shapes [CV:.CVC]. All three show more intensity on the first syllable and a higher pitch at vowel midpoint on the second syllable.

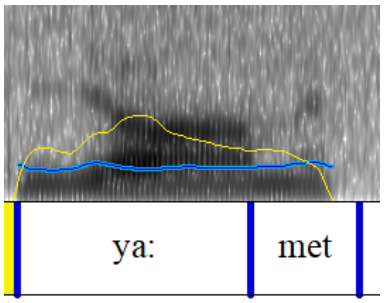


Figure 2.10: Spectrogram of *yámet* 'tree'

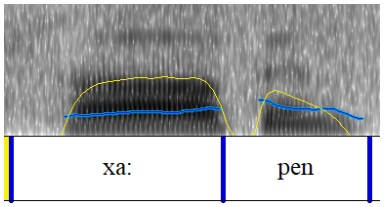


Figure 2.11: Spectrogram of *xápen* 'rhea bird'

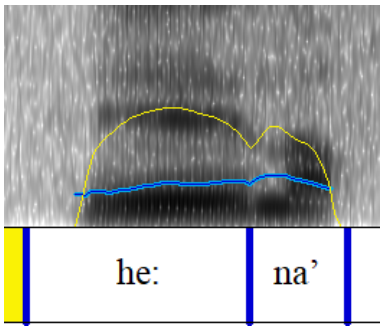


Figure 2.12: Spectrogram of *héna'* 'tobacco'

Two syllable words with different syllable weights, however, show different patterns. The word *sappo* 'manioc' in figure 2.13, with the shape [CVC.CV], has equal intensity and pitch for both syllables. In figure 2.14, the word *waley* 'Paraguayan' (phonetically [wa.le:]) has the shape [CV.CV:]. Like the [CV:.CVC] words, it shows higher intensity on the first syllable, but the pitch difference is switched, with a higher pitch on the first syllable instead of the second.

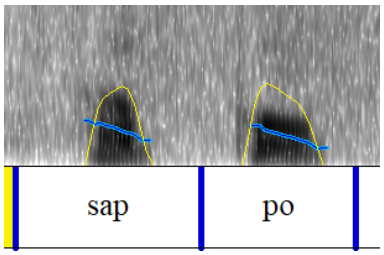


Figure 2.13: Spectrogram of *sappo* 'manioc'

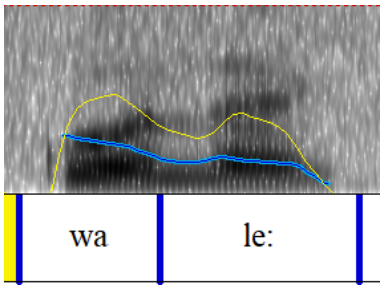


Figure 2.14: Spectrogram of *waley* 'Paraguayan'

When the future clitic *sa'* is added to *waley*, these indices of prominence change. As seen in figure 2.15, with the [CVC] clitic added, the two syllables of the noun now have equal intensity and the second syllable becomes the higher pitched one. Impressionistically, I do not see the same changes in multimorphemic verbs when clitics are added, but this requires further study.

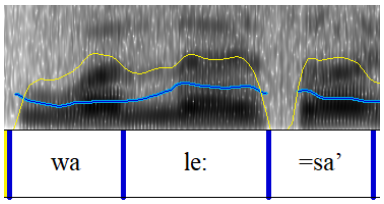


Figure 2.15: Spectrogram of *waley* 'Paraguayan'

Adding suffixes changes the prominence structures of nouns, but not such that the stress pattern simply shifts. The noun *énxet* 'man, person' has the shape [V:C.CVC], and patterns with the [CV:.CVC] nouns above, with a more intense first syllable and higher pitched second syllable, as in figure 2.16. When the plural suffix *-'ák* is added, as seen in figure 2.17, the relative pitch of the first two syllables stays the same, and the suffix has a lower pitch than both of the root noun, but all three have the same intensity.

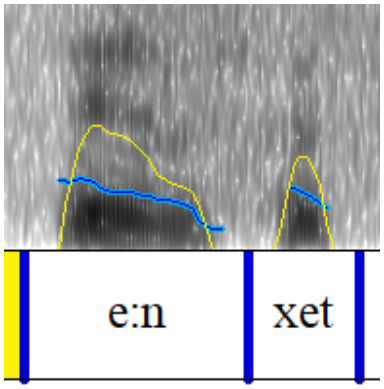


Figure 2.16: Spectrogram of *énxet* 'man, person'

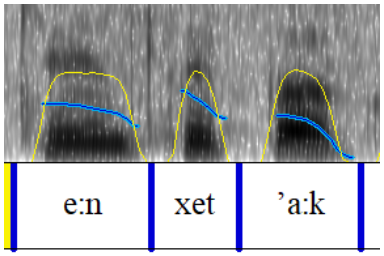


Figure 2.17: Spectrogram of *énxet'ák* 'group of people'

Just from these simple examples, it is clear that interactions between intensity and pitch are complex, and need to be defined more clearly before we can assert which syllable has stress. Furthermore, affixation and cliticization can have affects on the prominence structures of words in ways that make it unlikely that we can simply say something like "stress is on the penultimate syllable", since the morphological status of syllables affects how prominence is realized.

These examples are from fairly prosodically isolated words, but they are from natural speech, and there has been no control for the larger prosodic contours of the utterance. A more thorough investigation of these features in Enxet Sur is needed. However, there are no morphosyntactic claims in this dissertation which are based primarily on stress distinctions, except for the distinction between some perfective and imperfective forms of verbs (§3.4.3), although this coincides with a difference in vowel length as well.

2.5.2 Changes in vowel length

One way in which the phonology conspires to maintain prominence on the base of a verb is by working keep it as a "heavy" syllable. When resyllabification takes away a coda consonant of the base syllable, its vowel is lengthened to maintain the syllable weight.

Consider the verb base *-haxen-* 'to listen'. When apocope deletes the second vowel of the base, as happens frequently, the first syllable of the base has a consonant coda [x] and a short vowel. However, if second vowel is not deleted, the [x] must be the onset of

the second syllable, and the vowel of the first is lengthened. This produces the different forms seen in table 2.37.

Form	Gloss
ek-**haxn**-awok	1SG-listen-INTS.DECL
neg-**haxn**-eyk-egk-oho	1PL.PART-listen-TI-COMPL-INTS.NM:PV
sek-**haxn**-ó-kxa	1SG.PART-listen-INTS-NM:OB
sek-**háxen**-mo	1SG.PART-listen-INTS.NM:PV
ya-**háxen**-m-ák	M.IRR-listen-TI-INTS.NM:PO

Table 2.37: Verb forms of *-haxen-* +INTS 'to listen', showing the two phonetic forms of the root: [haxn] and [ha:xen]

What underlies this alternation is a necessity for the root of verbs to be a heavy syllable. When the stem /haxn/ is followed by a vowel-initial suffix, the /xn/ sequence can be split across the syllable boundary, therefore following the constraint against homosyllabic consonant clusters. However, if the stem is followed by a consonant-initial suffix, the epenthetic vowel turns /haxn/ to [ha.xen]. In response to the shift from the heavy syllable [hax] to the light syllable [ha] in the process of resyllabification, the vowel lengthens to retain the appropriate syllable weight.

This compensatory lengthening of the vowel has some morphological restrictions, most notably that it does not happen when the imperfective suffix occurs to the right of a base. For example, as seen in table 2.38, the base *-etam-* 'to search' shows a similar pattern as *-haxen-* above, where the vowel before the base [m] lengthens when that [m] is followed by a vowel. However, this does not occur when the [m] is followed by the imperfective suffix *-a*. This may be an indication that the imperfective suffix has a different morphological interaction with the verb stem/base than do other suffixes, and it may not trigger resyllabification.

Form	Gloss
ap-**ketam**-chek	M-search-DECL
él-**chetam**-ø	M.IRR.DIST-search-IMP
kél-**chetam**-a	2PL.PART-search-NM:IP
kél-**chetám**-eyak	2PL.PART-search-COMPL.NM:PV
neg-**ketám**-ak	1PL-search-SCND
e-**etám**-awók	1SG-search-INTS.DECL

Table 2.38: Some forms of the verb base *-etam-* 'to search' showing vowel length alternations

2.6 Directions for further research

There are clearly a number of outstanding basic questions about Enxet Sur phonology. Like I imagine is the case for many linguists beginning a descriptive project on a new language, phonology was the first component of the language I took a serious look at, and

for quite a long time, it felt like looking through a mud pit trying to see solid ground underneath. The phonological description here is primarily in service to morphological analysis, and most of the basic issues in the morphophonology have been worked out here. However, there are a number of typologically unusual phenomena at work in the phonology of the language, and several of them would be valuable topics for deeper investigation.

It seems likely that the unusual phonological behaviors of the glottal stop (§2.4.4) are going to best be understood in other EE languages first, and the Enxet Sur data can then be better understood in comparison to what I believe are likely much more regular processes in other languages. For example, there are deletions of the glottal stop in productive verbal morphology which I was only made aware of by looking at data from other EE languages. Unruh and Kalisch (1999a), a description of the orthography in the sister language Enlhet Norte, describes the existence in that language of glottalized sonorants. I do not see the need for such a description in Enxet Sur, but I believe that whatever phonological situation leads to the appearance of glottalized sonorants in Enlhet Norte is very likely related to the glottal stop behaviors described here.

Gaining a better understanding of productive vowel alternations will be important for further comparative work — we need a better accounting of when vowel quality is contrastive and important and when it is not. Related to vowel quality alternations is the way in which vowel quality and the POA of adjacent consonants are related in a non-linear fashion. Both are likely going to be better understood through a theoretical framework which is probabilistic rather than rule based and derivational.

Finally, a further study of suprasegmental issues is probably tied to vowel length in more ways than are indicated here. Since phonological length distinctions are clearly an innovation in Enxet Sur and Enlhet Norte, they probably arose in response to suprasegmental phenomena that likely still exist.

Part II

Major word classes

Chapter 3

Basic Verbal Morphology

3.1 Overview of Enxet Sur verbal morphology

The Enxet Sur verb has three basic components: a pronominal prefix, the verb stem, and a verb ending indicating the grammatical category of the verb. These three components not only comprise the basic structure of all verbs and verbal derivatives[1], but can constitute a fully formed grammatical sentence, as in (3.1) — which includes the pronominal prefix *ag-*, the stem *-yenyo-* (in brackets), and the potential form suffix.

(3.1) **agyenyók**

ag-[yenyo]-ok
1PL.IRR-TOSS-NM:PO

'We will throw it away'

EDP enx004 04:11

The verb stem may be short and essentially monomorphemic, as in (3.1), or contain any number of stem affixes to form a morphologically complex stem as in (3.2) (again, the stem is bracketed). Regardless of the complexity of the stem, it still takes a pronominal prefix and grammatical suffix.

(3.2) **étagkassekmek** xeyk cédula apagkok

e-[etag-kas-sek-m]-ek =xeyk cedula apagkok
1SG-search-VAL-ARR-TERM-DECL =TC:HOD ID M.POSS

'I looked for your ID for you when I got there'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

[1] This does not include nouns or other forms which derive diachronically/historically from verb roots.

This three part morphological structure for verbs — the stem, pronominal prefix, and grammatical suffix — creates seven basic verb forms for any given verb stem, which can be grouped based on the kind of pronominal prefixes they take. The seven grammatical verb forms are listed below, with an example of each form with the verb stem *-teyen-* 'sleep':

- Two forms which take the **declarative** pronominal prefixes (section 3.3.3): the **declarative** form (§3.4.1), used for indicative, non-future, non-embedded clauses as in (3.3a), and an alternate **second position** form (§3.4.1), which is functionally similar to the declarative but used when a non-verbal element is fronted for focus, as in (3.3b)
- Two forms which take the **irrealis** pronominal prefixes (§3.3.3): the **imperative** form (§3.4.2), marked by a lack of grammatical suffix as in (3.3c), and the **potential** form (§3.4.2), used for assertions in the future tense as in (3.3d), but also a number of other functions including habitual aspect, complement clauses, and hypothetical situations; the potential form is grammatically a nominalization
- Three nominalized forms which take the **participial** pronominal prefixes (§3.3.3): the **imperfective nominalization** (§3.4.3), shown in (3.3e), and the **perfective nominalization** (§3.4.3), shown in (3.3f), are general purpose nominalizers which can be used for both event and participant denotation; the **oblique nominalization** (§3.4.3) which has the function of denoting temporal, spatial, or manner properties of the event indicated by the verb, as in (3.3g)

(3.3) *The seven basic forms of -teyen- 'sleep'*

a. **ekténchek** axta
ek-tén-chek =axta
1SG-sleep-DECL =TC:PST
'I slept'

b. Mario axta **apténak** exagkok
Mario =axta **ap-tén-ak** e-xagkok
Mario =TC:PST M-sleep-SCND 1SG.POSS-house
'Mario slept at my house'

c. **katyen**!
ka-tyen
F.IRR-sleep
'Go to sleep!'

d. **atyenek** sa'
a-tyen-ek =sa'
1SG.IRR-sleep-NM:PO =FUT
'I will sleep'

e. akkyapentegke' **aptena** Juan

ap-chapent-eg-ke' **ap-ten-a** Juan
M-snore-COMPL-DECL M.PART-sleep-NM:IP Juan
'Juan is snoring as he sleeps'

Notes 2018.8.18

f. Exatakha, xeyep **apteyenma** nak
e-xatakha xeyep **ap-teyen-ma** =nak
M.IRR-wake.up 2SG.M M.PART-sleep-NM:PV =TC:VIS
'Wake up, you who are sleeping'

TA Paul 5:14

g. apwet'ak méko pók ma'a **aptenakxa** =exchek
ap-wet'-ak meko pok =ma'a **ap-tenak-xa**
M-see-DECL NEG.EXIST M.other =DMSTR M.PART-sleep-NM:OB =TC:HOD
'He saw that his friend was not there where he had been sleeping'

EDP enx006 02:51

Throughout this dissertation, where various stem morphology is introduced, a paradigm with these seven basic verb forms is presented in tables like that in table 3.1, which shows the seven forms of *-teyen-* 'sleep' from the examples above. Such paradigms are necessary, and typically presented with minimal morphemic segmentation, because the morphophonological interactions between stem morphology and the pronominal prefix or grammatical suffix is often irregular, indicative of a degree of morphological or phonological fusion.

-teyen-	*Declarative*	*Second*	*Imperative*
'sleep'	apténchek	apténak	etyen
Potential	*Imperfective*	*Perfective*	*Obl. Nom.*
etyenek	aptena	apteyenma	aptenakxa

Table 3.1: Seven basic verb forms for the stem *-teyen-* 'sleep' in the masculine

Beyond the morphology of the seven basic verb forms, the composition of the verb stem can be highly complex, not only in the sense that it can have a fairly large morpheme count (upwards of 10 in some cases, although 2-5 is typical) but also because of a complex series of discontinuous dependencies between stem morphemes as well as between stem morphemes and the pronominal prefix or grammatical suffix. To talk about this complexity in an efficient manner, this description of the Enxet Sur verb uses three terms to refer to nested inner regions of the verbal morphology: **root**, **base**, and **stem**.

In descriptive linguistics, the typical distinction between a verb **root** and a verb **stem** is that a root cannot be further analyzed, while a stem can be broken down into smaller units while still functioning as a whole like a root (Payne, 1997, p. 24). Here, the term "stem" is used for anything that fits between the pronominal prefix and the grammatical suffix, which, as seen in examples (3.1-3.2) above, can be a single, essentially unanalyzable unit as in (3.1), or it can have multiple productive elements as in (3.2).

Rather than simply distinguishing a stem and a root, however, I use an intermediate level, the base, as a means of segregating highly productive stem morphology from interior elements which may be analyzable but are considerably less productive. In this dissertation, the base is the lexical core of the verb which can be productively altered through the addition of **stem-forming morphology**, while roots are not much talked about and the root/base distinction is limited to a discussion that is largely diachronic in nature, mostly in §3.2 below.

Items which are considered stem-forming morphology can generally be productively applied to most verb bases with minimal restriction. They fall into a handful of semantic and functional categories:

- The temporal indefinite (§3.5), which encodes a remote past or habitual reading, along with other critical morphosyntactic functions
- Verbal pluralizers (Ch. 10), which may indicate plurality of participants but generally have discrete semantic effects related to pluractionality or amplifaction of the verb
- Valency changing morphology (§11.2), including a valency increaser which adds a semantic argument, either as a causative or a benefactive applicative, and a middle voice marker which reduces the semantic valency and marks the referent of the pronominal prefix as the patient of the verb
- Directionals and Associated motion (Ch. 12) which modify motion events and add concurrent motion events, as well as modify some temporal and spatial qualities of verbs

To illustrate the semantic range of stem-forming elements, the examples in (3.4) use different stem-forming morphology applied to the same base *-yaqhap-*, which means something like 'to press, squeeze, apply pressure to'.

(3.4) *Some verb stems formed from the base -yaqhap- 'to press'*

a. *Simple base*
Context: speaking about receiving baptism and communion from a visiting bishop
natámen ma'a **apyaqhapchek** empátek
natamen =ma'a **ap-yaqhap-chek** em-patek
F.after =DMSTR M-press-DECL 1PL.POSS-head
'And then he pressed against our heads'

EDP enx047 05:37

b. *With the distributive el-*
peyk ko'o **alyaqhápok** weyke
peyk ko'o **a-l-yaqháp-ok** weyke
START.DECL 1SG 1SG.IRR-DIST-press-NM:PO COW
'I'm going to go milk the cow'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. *With duplicative associated motion -wakx*
yaweyke **ekyaqhapwákxak** néten sekyetnamakxa
yaweyke **ek-yaqhap-wá-kx-ak** néten sek-yetn-amak-xa
spider F-press-ARR-DUP-SCND above 1SG.PART-lie-TI-NM:OB
'I accidentally touched a spider that was on my bed when I got there'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. *With the ambulative*
kélyaqhápeyha axta kañe' yegmen
kel-yaqháp-ey-ha =axta kañe' yegmen
IMPR-press-TI-AMB.DECL =TC:PST inside water
'He was pushed under the water [they tried to drown him]'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. *With the causative ambulative*
yaqsak **ekyaqhapkásencha'a** apwáxok?
yaqsak **ek-yaqhap-kás-encha'a** ap-waxok
what F.PART-press-VAL-AMB.NM:IP M.POSS-innermost
'What has made you sad?' (literally 'What is poking at your innermost?')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. *With the distributive, causative, and complexive*
apkelyaqhakkásegkek axta globos tén han banderas
apk-el-yaqhak-kás-eg-kek =axta globos ten =han banderas
M-DIST-press-VAL-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST balloons then =AND flags
'They hung up balloons and flags'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The semantic values for many stem-forming morphemes are in some cases quite idiosyncratic, or at the very least, the semantic addition to a base may vary in (cross-linguistically) unusual ways based on the semantics or lexical category of the base. For example, the intensive suffix (§10.4), can indicate that an action was done with great intensity, to completion, accidentally, or with a partner. The intensive can have several of these semantic effects on a given verb base, but for some verb bases or stems, the intensive only has one of these readings available. We can make the following generalizations about the semantic values of stem-forming morphology:

- Most have a wide range of possible semantic effects on the verb, with a fair amount of semantic overlap between some stem affixes

- While multiple semantic interpretations for a given stem affix may be available for a given verb base, there is also a great deal of lexical selection for and restriction against various available meanings for a given stem affix dependent upon the base or the presence of other stem affixes
- There is a great deal of apparent lexicalization of various stems

This productive stem forming morphology is organized through a relatively strict template, or predetermined relative order, as described in §3.6. The order of verbal morphology is generally not manipulable for semantic effect, although there are some alternations to the typical order of elements which are likely the result of various kinds of stem lexicalization.

While verbal morphology in Enxet Sur can be quite complex, and it is tempting to categorize it as a "polysynthetic" language on the basis of its capacity for verbs with upwards of seven or eight morphemes, it really does not come close to the complexity and range of verbal morphology found in some more prototypically polysynthetic languages, like, for example, Iroquoian languages, Eskimo-Aleut languages, or Mapudungun. If we take into account all hypothetically possible combinations of productive stem-forming morphology, pronominal prefixes, and grammatical suffixes, a given dyadic (two participant) verb base has somewhere on the order of 30,000 possible forms[2], representing a signficant degree of complexity and a huge number of possible verb forms. However, it is important to consider what is *not* in Enxet Sur verb:

- There is only a single pronominal prefix, and verbal morphology therefore only indicates a single verbal participant
- There is nothing approaching noun incorporation
- Although some aspectual categories, primarily the temporal indefinite, are indicated by verbal morphology, and the irrealis pronominal markings indicate a kind of mood, most temporal marking, evidentiality, and epistemic mood are indicated through TAME clitics associated with the PREDICATE position, and not with the verb proper

This chapter describes in detail the basic architecture of the verb, with an overview of base lexemes in §3.2, and a description of pronominal prefixes and grammatical suffixes in §3.3 and §3.4, respectively. It also describes the ubiquitous but semantically complex temporal indefinite suffix in §3.5, before providing an overview of issues regarding the organization of stem morphology in §3.6.

[2]7 inflectional verb frames * 7 pronominal person/number categories * +/- distributive * 4 valency modification options * +/- complexive * +/- intensive * 10 directional possibilities * +/- temporal indefinite = 31,360; This number is, however, merely illustrative of the magnitude of possibilities — it assumes two semantic arguments, and there are contingencies between categories which would need to be excluded, and any given base/root will have semantic or grammatical restrictions on available morphological composition.

3.2 Base shapes and the complexity of stems

3.2.1 Distinguishing roots and bases

The verb base is the lexical core of a verb. Stem-forming morphology can be added to it to create a verb stem, but the bare base can function as a stem as well. It then takes a pronominal prefix and grammatical suffix to indicate its grammatical category. The verb base, however, can in some cases be shown to have some internal complexity. Therefore, I distinguish between true verb roots which cannot be analyzed from bases which have analyzable, but not necessarily productive, compositional morphology.

A clear example of a true verb root in Enxet Sur is *-h-* 'sit', as in (3.5). It cannot be further analyzed, because it is a single segment and has no internal compositionality. Furthermore, it requires only the basic inflectional morphology — pronominal prefix and grammatical verb ending — to be used as a fully formed verb.

(3.5) **apheyk** axta yámet awhak

ap-h-eyk =axta yámet a-whak
M-sit-DECL =TC:PST tree F.POSS-root

'He sat at the base of the tree'

EDP enx006 04:20

However, very few verbs have a monosegmental core, and the question of segmentation and morphological analysis is not always so clear-cut. Take for example the verb formative *-paqteyep-* [3], which means something like 'for many things to pop out all over the place' — I gloss it simply as 'popcorning'. In (3.6a) it refers to the repetitive bubbling of boiling water, and in (3.6b) it refers to a caiman making a lot of fish jump out of the water. In both of these examples, there is additional stem forming morphology, like the distributive *el-*, but once we account for it, we are left with just *-paqtek-* as a base.

(3.6) a. **kelpaqtekke'** weygke
k-el-paqtek-ke' weygke
F-DIST-popcorning-DECL pot
'the [water in the] pot is boiling'

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b. **akkelpaqtekkyassek** kelasma yateyem
ak-kel-paqtek-kyas-sek kelasma yáteyem
M-DIST-popcorning-VAL-DECL fish caiman
'the caiman made all the fish jump out of the water'

Notes 2018.8.6

[3] This underlying form goes through some regular and predictable phonological changes to come out as [paqtek] in examples (3.6a) and (3.6b).

This verbal element *-paqtek-* or *paqteyep-* (depending on different phonological environments) can be plugged into the same base position as the monosegmental *-h-* above, and therefore both function as a base to which stem-forming morphology can be applied to make complex stems. However, unlike *-h-*, *-paqteyep-* is arguably compositional. There is a very common verb base *-teyep-* 'to go out, emerge' (often with surface form *-tek-*) which matches formally and semantically with the latter half of *-paq+teyep-*. Some demonstrations of its meaning are given in (3.7).

(3.7) a. yetneyk tiempo primavera, **tekkek** exnamok
yetneyk tiempo primavera // ø-tek-kek exnamok
EXIST time spring // F-emerge-DECL flower
'When it's spring, the flowers come out'

EDP enx001 18:26

b. naqsok **nentekkek** axta negko'o Makxawé
naqsok nen-tek-kek =axta negko'o Makxawe
truly 1PL-emerge-DECL =TC:PST 1PL Makxawaya
'So we left Makxawaya'

EDP enx028 01:07

c. wa **nentekkek** negko'o kaxwok ámay
wa **nen-tek-kek** negko'o kaxwok amay
so 1PL-emerge-DECL 1PL now road
'So now we've come back out onto the road'

EDP enx005 14:51

Furthermore, the element *-paq-* occurs elsewhere in verbs which indicate lots of small objects or events composing a larger one, such as *-paqsas-* 'to form in clumps (like grapes)', *-paqn-* 'to form mist, a cloud of dust', and *-paqx-* 'to break into many small pieces'. This *-paq-* unit, however, is not terribly productive, and occurs in less than 10 verb bases with no apparent ability to be combined with new roots to create novel word forms — it may be fairly fixed at this stage in the language. Therefore, by referring to *-paqteyep-* as a **verb base**, we can indicate that it functions morphologically in verbs as though it were a single unit, while acknowledging that it could be analyzed further (even if the morphology is not productive). Doing so also allows for a distinction between the very productive stem forming morphology and elements like *paq* which are analyzable but likely are no longer productive.

An attempt to identify and describe these base forming elements and distinguish them from truly unanalyzable roots is only really found in the previous EE literature in Sušnik (1977). She makes some attempts to identify "classifiers", with some analyses I agree with and some which I think are misunderstandings of phonology. Unfortunately, her descriptions generally have few or no examples, and the description of the semantic properties of these classifiers is fairly opaque and does not fit very clearly with the examples given.

However, it can be shown that Sušnik (1977) was probably on the right track in attempting to discern semantic regularities with recurrent sound strings beyond the most obvious and productive stem-forming morphemes. Several possible base forming elements show up in numerous bases, especially the formative *yaq-*, which relates to achievement of a stative verb base or the achievement of the end state of a more active verb base — "active" and "stative" here referring simply to qualities of lexical aspect. For example, in the examples with *-yaqhap-* 'press' in (3.4), *-hap-* is a semiverb (§8) meaning 'soft', and *-yaqhap-* therefore is compositionally something like 'make soft'.

However, these elements of verbal morphology are not productive in a canonical sense and do not get used to form productive alternations in verb stems the way that morphemes like the valency increaser or temporal indefinite do. They are very interesting as an object of lexical study, and their analysis will surely have major value to future diachronic and comparative study of EE languages. I even get the impression that they may become in a sense "activated" to be used for the creation of new bases in different places and times, and could be a useful object of inquiry for better understanding the fluid nature of grammatical productivity and the possibility that processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization are not strictly linear. Because they are not, however, productive elements of grammar, they are not discussed further in this description.

Moving forward, however, in this dissertation, I almost exclusively refer to operations which make use of verb bases, and the term root is not really used much.

3.2.2 The inventory of verb bases

The whole inventory of verb bases in Enxet Sur is relatively limited. The list of bases[4] in Sušnik (1977) has 267 bases, while a full analysis of the Enxet Sur dictionary (Rojas and Curtis, 2017) yields around 370, depending on whether some variations of closely related bases are counted separately. The larger corpus in use for this dissertation does not show any verb bases not found in Rojas and Curtis (2017), and I have not otherwise come across any novel ones not found in either of these sources, although I have of course come across many novel derived stems. These numbers do not, however, include combinations of bases and stem-forming morphology which themselves may have become lexicalized (§3.6). This is not an *extremely* small lexical inventory, but it is a relatively, notably small inventory of core verbal formatives for a language which makes such extensive use of deverbal nominalization in its lexicon. Given that the inventory of productive stem-forming morphology is only about 10 morphemes, the Enxet Sur lexicon is, in a sense, very efficient, with a relatively small number of formatives being combined in myriad ways.

There is a great deal of variation in the shape of verb bases, ranging from items which are essentially monosegmental like *-m-* 'have, hold' to those which are trisyllabic, like *-yagqaxqat-* 'to perforate'. Examples of all attested phonological shapes of bases are given in table 3.2.

[4] Sušnik does not use the term "verb base" but her inventory of verb formatives corresponds most closely to the way I am using the term "base".

Base Shape	1SG-DECL	1SG-NM:PO	1SG-NM:IP
-C-			
-m- 'have'	ekmeyk	amok	sekma
-h- 'sit'	ekheyk	axnak	sekha
-CVC-			
-wa'- 'arrive (here)'	ekwa'ak	awak	sekwa'a
-teh- 'be, do, say'	ektahak	atnehek	sektaha
-taw- 'eat'	ektókek	atwok	sektawa
-saw- 'carry (generic)'	eksókek	aswok	seksawa
-law- 'angry'	eklókek	alwok	seklawa
-xeg- 'go'	ekxegkek	axog	sekxega
-xen- 'show'	ekxenchek	axenek	sekxena
-han- 'cook'	ekhanchek	ahánek	sekhana
-yeg- 'push'	ekyegkek	ayenhok	sekyega
-VCC-			
-ent- 'break in half'	eyenteyk	wantek	seyenta
-eny- 'run'	eyenyeyk	wanyek	seyenya
-asñ- 'grimace'	eyasñeyk	wasñek	seyasña
-VCVC-			
-alew- 'shine'	eyáleweyk	wálewak	seyálewa
-CVCC-			
-yept- 'split apart'	ekyepteyk	ayeptek	sekyepta
-pats- 'spit'	ekpatseyk	apatsek	sekpatsa
-CVCVC-			
-tawas- 'control'	ektawássek	atwaksek	sektawasa
-meñex- 'rob'	ekmeñexchek	ameñexek	sekmeñexa
-VCCVC-			
-aphas- 'send'	eyaphassek	waphasek	seyaphasa
-enmex- 'oppose'	eyenmexchek	wanmexek	seyenmexa
-VCCVCC-			
-etnakx- 'cough'	eyetnakxeyk	watnakxak	seyetnakxa
-expaqn- 'disperse'	eyexpaqneyk	waxpaqnek	seyexpaqna
-CVCCVC-			
-megqe'- 'shame'	ekmegqekkek	amegqeyk	sekmegqaya
-pogwat- 'insert'	ekpogwatchek	apogwatek	sekpogwata
-pextet- 'wrap'	ekpextetchek	apextetek	sekpexteta
-VCCVCCVC-			
-expogwam- 'ingest potion'	eyexpogwamchek	waxpogwók	seyexpogwama
-enxaqmam- 'lament'	eyenxaqmamchek	wanxaqmók	seyenxaqmama
-CVCCVCCVC-			
-haxtaqpog- 'fire arrow'	ekhaxtaqpogkek	ahaxtaqpog	sekhaxtaqpoga
-yagqaxqat- 'perforate'	ekyagqaxqatchek	ayagqaxqatek	sekyagqaxqata

Table 3.2: Examples of attested verb base shapes

Rather intuitively, shorter bases have meanings or uses which are both more basic and more semantically nebulous. Verb bases like *-h-* 'sit, stay, be (locational)', *-wa'-* 'arrive, bring, search for', *-teh-* 'be, do, speak', and *-an-* 'put forward, prepare, think, tell' are all high frequency verbs with complex and often highly idiosyncratic semantic maps. With the purely monosegmental bases, it should be noted that 1) there are no bases composed solely of a vowel or with the shape *-V-*, and 2) that very little of the consonant inventory of the language is represented in bases of the shape *-C-*. None of the following forms (given in the form 1SG-ROOT-DECL) are attested in the language: *ekteyk, *ek(ch/k/q)eyk, *ekseyk, *ekxeyk, *ekleyk, *ekneyk, *ek(g/ñ)eyk, *ekweyk, *ekyeyk. However, this absence is likely a product of the unusual phonological properties of most of these consonantal segments which have a preference for an additional *-a'* coda (see §2.4.4).

The shape categories with the most entries are the *-CVC.CVC-* and *-CVC.C-* categories, with around 90 and 50 attested bases, respectively. Many of these stems contain initial *-CVC-* units which are recurrent in the base inventory and likely constitute analyzable base morphology, discussed in §3.2.1 above. In fact, any longer bases are likewise likely compositional (at least in a diachronic sense), although there are not many of these, with around 20 attested stems of three or more syllables.

Bases can be vowel initial, which is the primary source of allomorphy of pronominal prefixes (§3.3.3). They can also end in consonant clusters, but most stem forming suffixes and all of the grammatical suffixes are vowel-initial, so the latter consonant of the base-final cluster simply gets syllabified as the onset of the following syllable.

3.3 Pronominal prefixes

Pronominal prefixes, generally speaking, are required morphology for verbs in the varieties of Enxet Sur most studied for this dissertation, though there are some important exceptions to this generalization given in §3.3.4, and other varieties as well as other EE languages seem to allow them to be dropped if they indicate a continuous topic in the discourse. The various forms of pronominal prefixes can indicate person, number, the semantic role of the indicated participant, and, in part, the sentential mood and grammatical function of the verb. Despite a lack of distinctions which exist in the pronominal systems of most languages of the world — especially a second/third person distinction — verbal pronominal prefixes take a wide range of forms and functions with complexity in some interesting areas.

This description of pronominal prefixes begins with a description of the different pronominal person/number/gender categories which are indicated by verbal pronominal prefixes, followed by a description of the three different verbal pronominal prefix paradigms which make use of the pronominal categories. Finally, it describes situations where verbs lack pronominal prefixes.

3.3.1 Person inflection in pronominal prefixes

The primary encoding of verbal arguments in Enxet Sur is through pronominal prefixes. In the absence of pronouns or expressed noun phrases, neither of which is required for

a well-formed grammatical clause, it is only the pronominal prefix that indicates the subject of a verb. For example, while (3.8a) has both the first-person pronominal prefix on the verb *ekwet'ak* 'see' and the independent pronoun *ko'o* 'I', only the pronominal prefix is necessary for a well-formed sentence, as in (3.8b).

(3.8) a. **ekwet'ak ko'o** aqsok apxeyenma
ek-wet'-ak **ko'o** aqsok ap-xeyen-ma
1SG-see-DECL 1SG thing M.PART-show-NM:PV

EDP enx047 01:30

b. **ekwet'ak** yamyawhena
ek-wet'-ak yamyawhena
1SG-see-DECL honey.bee
'I see honey bees'

EDP enx005 13:20

There are five basic person/number inflectional categories in Enxet Sur:

- first person singular [1SG]
- first person plural [1PL]
- non-first person feminine [F]
- non-first person masculine [M]
- a fifth category with a range of functions including second person plural, impersonal, and passive [IMPR or 2PL][5]

The following subsections describe the semantic values and functions of these inflectional categories. Although these categories are included here in the chapter on verbs, there is also pronominal morphology which employs and responds to these pronominal categories which is discussed in other chapters: related nouns (§4.4), semiverbs and adjectives (§8.2), and some of the TAME clitics (§6.2.1). The pronominal categories in pronominal prefixes are not the same as the categories found in the set of independent pronouns (§4.5.1).

First person: singular and plural

The first person singular and plural are fairly straightforward as categories. First person singular refers to the speaker and no one else, as in (3.9).

(3.9) axta so negaqhakxa axta napóxeg, **ekmakta'ak** axta ko'o énmaga

[5]To improve the readability of glossed example sentences, this morpheme is glossed as either IMPR 'impersonal' or 2PL 'second person plural' dependent on the usage in the particular example, but it is a single morpheme.

axta =so neg-aqh-akxa =axta napoxeg // **ek**-makta'-ak =axta
TC:PST =PROX 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB =TC:PST tapir // 1SG-shoot-DECL =TC:PST
ko'o enmaga
1SG rifle

'It was here that we killed the tapir, I shot it with a gun'

EDP enx025 02:10

The first person plural generally refers to the speaker and at least one other person, as in (3.10).

(3.10) **nenmeyantek** axta axnagkok **negókxa** yaqwayam **anxek**

nen-mey-an-t-ek =axta axnagkok **neg**-okxa yaqwayam
1PL-head.to-COMPL-CISL-DECL =TC:PST new 1PL.PART-country for
an-x-ek
1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO

'We came here to our new territory to live'

EDP enx028 00:59

The first person plural can be used in a generalized fashion, as in (3.11). The first person plural is also the most typical citation form for verbs in both the Enxet Sur dictionary (Rojas and Curtis, 2017) and the Enlhet Norte dictionary (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997), likely owing to this generalized usage.

(3.11) há axta nahan magaye nanók **antemhek nempeywa** xa ektáha nak

há =axta =nahan m-ag-ay-e nano-ok **an-t-emh-ek**
risky =TC:PST =AND NEG-1PL.IRR-fear-NM:PV old-DECL 1PL.IRR-be-TI-NM:PO
nem-peywa =xa ek-tah-a =nak
1PL.PART-words =DMSTR F.PART-be-NM:IP =TC:VIS

'It used to be dangerous to say something like that.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There are no distinctions in the first person pronominal prefixes between dual, paucal, and plural. For example, despite the overt distinction between a two-count and three-count 'us' in (3.12a) and (3.12b), there is no difference in the first person plural pronominal indicates: the stative prefix *eg-*, the independent pronoun *negko'o*, or the distributive participial prefix *nél-*. Powys (1929) asserts some distinction between dual and plural first persons in the use of the distributive affix described in section 3.3.1, and while there are instances where speakers have a tendency to use the distributive version of the 1PL affixes for verbs with large numbers of first person plural arguments (§10.2), this is not a discrete inflectional or agreement distinction.

(3.12) a. egqánet axta negko'o nelxega
eg-qanet =axta **negko'o** **nel**-xeg-a
1PL.STAT-two =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART.DIST-go-NM:IP
'The two of us went'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. egqántanxo axta nélántépak negko'o escuela
eg-qantanxo =axta **nel**-antep-ak **negko'o** escuela
1PL.STAT-three =TC:PST 1PL.DIST-emerge-SCND 1PL school
'The three of us left the school'

EDP enx047 03:33

Furthermore, there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first-person plural. For example, the first person plural irrealis pronominal prefix is the same in (3.13a) and (3.13b), even though the first person reference in (3.13a) is clearly exclusive, and that in (3.13b) clearly inclusive.

(3.13) a. Háxko antéhek negko'o anxekmósek xép megkatnaha nenteme?
haxko **an**-teh-ek negko'o **an**-xekmos-ek xep
how 1PL.IRR-be-NM:PO 1PL 1PL.IRR-show-NM:PO 2SG.M
m-egka-tn-aha nen-tem-e
NEG-F.IRR-be-AMB.NM:IP 1PL.PART-be.TI-NM:PV
'How can we show you we didn't do it?'

TA Genesis 44:16

b. nók anxog mók nekha
nók **an**-xog mok nekha
LETS.GO 1PL.IRR-go.NM:PO F.other side
'Let's go to the other side'

EDP enx040 07:55

Non-first person: masculine and feminine

Outside of the first person, there are prefixes marking non-first person masculine and feminine. The term non-first person includes both second and third person referents, and refers to the fact that the pronominal marking morphology does not mark any distinction between second and third persons, like the masculine examples in (3.14a) and (3.14b) respectively. Where the second person needs to be distinguished from the third person, this is done through the use of second-person independent pronouns, like in (3.14a), but these are by no means grammatically required for verbs in the second person, as in (3.14c).

(3.14) a. [*Context: speaking to cameraman while pointing to dam*]
apwet'ak xép yámmáxek
ap-wet'-ak xép yámmáxek
M-see-DECL 2SG.M tajamar
'you see the tajamar'

EDP enx001 29:12

b. [*Context: a character's actions in a story*]
apwet'ak axta apmenek
ap-wet'-ak =axta ap-menek
M-see-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-foot
'He saw his footprints'

EDP enx006 03:26

c. apweteyaya xa enxet nak?
ap-wet-ey-a =ya =xa enxet =nak
M-see-COMPL-DECL =TC:Q =DEM man =TC:VIS
'Do you know that guy?'

Notes 2018.8.14

This is equally true of the feminine. The distinction between the second and third person can be indicated through the use of a second person pronoun, as in the difference between (3.15a) and (3.15b), but there is no requirement for second person feminine pronouns in the second person, as in (3.15c).

(3.15) a. **wa'ak** sa' agkok **xeye'** ekyentaxno
ø-wa'-ak =sa' =agkok **xeye'** ek-yentaxn-o
F-arrive-DECL =TC:FUT =TC:COND 2SG.F F.PART-heavy-NM:PV
'If you come into sadness...'

EDP enx039 31:42

b. wa'ak axta nata
ø-wa'-ak =axta nata
F-arrive-DECL =TC:PST bird
'A bird arrived'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. kexake' axta
k-exak-e' =axta
F-get.rid-DECL TC:PST

'You sold it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The gender distinction in the non-first person inflections between MASCULINE and FEMININE is based on either inherent gender of persons or the grammaticalized gender of the nouns which serve as the thematic argument of the verb (for more on nominal gender, see §4.2.2). This dissertation follows the convention in the existing EE literature of referring to MASCULINE and FEMININE genders, but it is important to note that MASCULINE is a marked gender while the FEMININE is more of a default gender used for anything that is not MASCULINE. Children, up to a certain age, are often referred to in the FEMININE regardless of sex/gender. Groups of mixed gender are referred to in the FEMININE. FEMININE nouns far outnumber MASCULINE ones. Unspecified arguments, as in questions (3.16a) or when referring to 'no one' (3.16b), are marked in the FEMININE.

(3.16) *Feminine gender of unspecified arguments*

a. yaqsa axta **ekyepta** weykcha'áhak
yaqsa =axta **ek**-yept-a weykcha'áhak
what =TC:PST F.PART-rip-NM:IP book
'Who ripped the page out of the book?'

EDP enx044 05:34

b. méko axta **awanchek kamagkok**
meko =axta **a**-wan-chek ka-m-agk-ok
NEG =TC:PST F.STAT-able-DECL F.IRR-have-COMPL-NM:PO
'No one could catch him'

TA Mark 5:4

This feminine grammatical gender could therefore as accurately be called 'neuter', but the term FEMININE is used to conform to other sources. With that said, when speaking to a group of individuals, a speaker might use both MASCULINE and FEMININE forms, indicating that one cannot be interchanged for the other, as in (3.17).

(3.17) yaqsa ektaha eyáneyaxko nak **xé' kay'ókxa'** tén han **ey'ókxak xép**

yaqsa ek-tah-a ey-aney-axk-o =nak xe'
what F.PART-be-NM:IP F.PART-attend-MID-NM:IP =TC:VIS 2SG.F
ka-y'o-kx-a' ten =han **e-y'o-kx-ak** xep
F.IRR-follow-DUP-NM:PO then =AND M.IRR-follow-DUP-NM:PO 2SG.M

'Why do you (F) follow him, and why do you (M) follow him?'

EDP enx039 40:12

There are a number of instances where semantic arguments of a verb are not lexical nouns with discrete grammatical number/person/gender. For example, the participial nominalizations of verbs described in section 3.4.3 generally function as feminine nouns in terms of their agreement behaviors. In (3.18), the argument of *massek* 'it goes down' is *sektegya'a yántápak* 'my looking for firewood', and nominalized verbs like this are in almost all cases feminine.

(3.18) **massek** sektegya'a yántápak

ø-mas-sek sek-tegya'-a yantapak
F-diminish-DECL 1SG.PART-search-NM:IP firewood

'I don't look for firewood anymore' (literally 'My looking for firewood has gone down')

EDP enx047 20:32

It is important to note that the most common form of the feminine prefix in declarative verb is null, as in several examples in this section. While on occasion I do gloss put a null marker in the segmented Enxet Sur line of examples and gloss it as F, I often do not include overt glossing of this null feminine marker, for reasons explained further in §3.3.4 and §3.4.1.

Another important quality of the non-first person inflectional categories is that they do not inherently distinguish number — they can be used for both singular and plural subjects, as in (3.19a) and (3.19b) respectively. Although other morphology may be used to indicate plurality of a verbal argument, the feminine and masculine prefixes themselves do not change form based on number.

(3.19) a. Apketsekkek Lázaro
apk-etsek-kek Lázaro
M-die-DECL Lazarus
'Lazarus died'

TA John 11:14

b. Apketsekkek ñat apxámokxoho énxet'ák
apk-etsek-kek =ñat ap-xámok-xoho e:nxet-'ák
M-die-DECL =TC:RPST M.PART-many-INTS man-PL
'Many men died'

López Ramírez (1996)

This latter point, that MASCULINE and FEMININE prefixes are not inherently specified for number, is an important one to point out, considering that previous sources, including both Powys (1929) and Sušnik (1977), describe a paradigmatic distinction between singular and plural prefixes in the MASCULINE and FEMININE. What these sources refer to is in fact the distributive (section 10.2), which is both 1) non-obligatory for the marking of plural arguments and 2) has semantic values beyond argument plurality.

Second person plural and Impersonal

There is a fifth person category, *kél-* in most pronominal paradigms, which has two distinct functions. The first and more common is that it can indicate a second person plural argument, as in (3.20) — this is its most common function in the text sources in the corpus.

(3.20) Kélchetamchek sa' agkok kéxegke m'a, kólwetekxak sa'

ke:l-chetam-chek =sa' =agkok ke:xegke =m'a // **ko:l**-wet-ekx-ak
2PL-search-DECL =FUT =IF 2PL =DEIC // 2PL.IRR-see-THERE.AGAIN-INDEF
=sa'
=FUT

'If you all look for it, you will find it'

TA 2 Chronicles 15:2

It also has impersonal or passive-like functions. For example, (3.21a) has *étakpoho* 'you will be seen' with a masculine pronominal prefix and a middle voice suffix with a passive function (§11.3), while (3.21b) has essentially the same meaning but uses the impersonal pronominal prefix [6]. A third person example is given in (3.22).

(3.21) a. ná éphagwomho eyáxñexa, **étakpoho**

ná= e-ephag-wom-ho ey-áxñ-exa //
PRHB M.IRR-appear-TERM-INTS.NM:PO F.PART-clear-NM:OB //
e-et-akp-oho
M.IRR-see-M.MID-INTS.NM:PO

'Don't go out into the clearing, you will be seen'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ná éphagwomho eyáxñexa, **kólwetho**

ná e-ephag-wom-ho ey-áxñ-exa //
PRHB M.IRR-appear-TERM-INTS.NM:PO F.PART-clear-NM:OB //
ko:l-wet-ho
IMPR.IRR-see-INTS.NM:PO

'Don't go out into the clearing, you will be seen'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(3.22) **Kélakhak** axta keso neptána.

kél-akh-ak =axta keso neptána
IMPR-kill-DECL =TC:PST this jaguar

'The jaguar was killed'

[6] Powys notes the use of this prefix as a "substitute for the passive", and says it has an "indefinite" use.

López Ramírez (1996)

Similarly, the examples in (3.23) show an alternation between a verb with a first person pronominal prefix indicating the agent of the verb and the same verb with the impersonal use of *kél-*, which has the function of fully grammatically suppressing the agent of the verb.

(3.23) a. antena **énegkásak**
antena **ey**-enagk-ás-ak
antenna 1SG-put.up-VAL-SCND
'I'm putting up an antena'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. antena **kélchenegkásak**
antena **kélch**-enegk-ás-ak
antena IMPR-stand-VAL-SCND
'an antenna is being put up'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is strong evidence that this fifth pronominal inflection category is a relatively recent development in Enxet Sur, and it does not pattern with other pronominal prefix categories in some paradigms. It is described as early as Powys (1929) for Enxet Sur, but is not found in any other EE language. All EE languages have a cognate for the independent second person plural pronoun *kéxegke'*, but it's value varies: Enlhet Norte *kellheep/kellheya'* is strictly second person plural, while Sanapaná *hlengkap/hlengka'* can be either second or third person plural (pc: Jens van Gysel). Within ES, *kél-* does not pattern like the other inflectional categories. For example, positional nouns (§9.2.1) like *neyseksa* 'amongst, amidst' have pronominal prefixes inside of a locative *n-* prefix, like those in (3.24). However, in such items, the 2PL *kél-* does not pattern with the other inflectional categories and is instead outside of the locative *n-*. Presumably, this is because these items, despite having regular pronominal alternations, were fused at some point prior to the development of the *kél-* pronominal prefix.

(3.24) n-e-yseksa among them (feminine)
n-ep-yeseksa among them (masculine)
n-eg-yeseksa among us (1pl)
kél-n-eyseksa among you all

The development of this category likely involved some kind of fusion of a **ke-* element with the distributive prefix *el-* (§10.2), since the other four pronominal prefixes can co-occur with a distributive prefix, but the distributive does not occur with *kél-*.

3.3.2 First person patient marking

Enxet Sur uses a type of limited hierarchical argument selection in which a first-person semantic argument of the verb, regardless of its semantic role, must be indicated by the

pronominal prefix. This selection hierarchy can be represented as 1 > 2/3[7] (see §5.2.3 for more on indications of verbal alignment). The pronominal prefix system includes two sets of first person pronominal prefixes: 1) unmarked first person prefixes, which typically mark the first person argument of a monadic, monovalent verb or a more agent-like argument of a polyadic, multivalent verb (glossed simply 1SG and 1PL), and 2) what I call patient first person prefixes (glossed 1SG.PAT and 1PL.PAT) which indicate that there is a first person participant of some multivalent verb event, and that they are not in an agent-like role, typically an affected patient but also possibly a goal or benefactor. This alternation can be seen with first person singular and second person arguments in (3.25a-3.25b, and with first person singular and third person arguments in (3.26a-3.26b)..

(3.25) a. **ektekpogkek** xép
ek-tekpog-kek xép
1SG-hit-DECL 2SG.M
'I hit you'

b. **étekpogkek** xép
é-tekpog-kek xép
1SG.PAT-hit-DECL 2SG.M
'You hit me'

EDP enx035 12:44

(3.26) a. Remigio **ekweyhenchásak**
Remigio **ek**-weyhenchás-ak
Remigio 1SG-give.idea-SCND
'I gave the idea to Remigio'

b. Remigio **eweyhenchásak**
Remigio **e**-weyhenchás-ak
Remigio 1SG.PAT-give.idea-SCND
'Remigio gave me the idea'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

These alternations also exist for the first person plural, as in the alternation seen in (3.27-3.28).

(3.27) negwet'ak agkok kelasma'
neg-wet'-ak =agkok kelasma'
1PL-see-DECL =TC:COND fish
'if we see a fish...'

[7] We could use "-1" to represent non-first person, which I actually prefer over "2/3" since I find that this implies there is a meaningful distinction between second and third person in the verbal pronominal prefix system which is not really present. However, I concede that "-1" could be confusing to some readers.

EDP enx009 04:17

(3.28) egwet'ak agkok chá'a

eg-wet'-ak =agkok chá'a
1PL.PAT-see-DECL =TC:COND they

'if they see us...'

TA Psalm 44:14

First person patient marking is available to all productive verb forms, including those that make use of irrealis and participial pronominal prefixes. Contrastive examples for patient marking can be seen in the irrealis pronominal prefixes in (3.29) and in the participial pronominal prefixes in (3.30) .

(3.29) a. cham'a ekyexna nak, egwanchek **antók**

cham'a ek-yexna =nak // eg-wan-chek **an-t-ók**
that F.PART-fruit =TC:VIS // 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO

'it's fruit (referring to *nósa* 'mistol'), we can eat it

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. hakte cháxa aqsok nak ma'a kelyekhama agko'... awanchek eyke **hentók**

hakte cháxa aqsok =nak =ma'a kelyekhama =agko' //
because that thing =TC:VIS =DMSTR demon =TC:F.DEG //
a-wan-chek =eyke **hen-t-ók**
F.STAT-able-DECL =TC:ASR 1PL.PAT.IRR-eat-NM:PO

'That thing is a real demon, it can eat us!'

EDP enx006 06:37

(3.30) a. nentáhak axta **negáneya**

nen-táh-ak =axta neg-áney-a
1PL-be-DECL =TC:PST 1PL.PART-put-NM:IP

'We told it to them'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Náwatsam sa' élmeyekxak... axta aptahak **segáneya**

Náwatsam =sa' él-mey-ekx-ak // axta ap-tah-ak
Concepción =TC:FUT M.IRR.DIST-head.to-DUP-NM:PO // TC:PST M-be-DECL
seg-áney-a
1PL.PAT.PART-put-NM:IP

"Y'all will go to Concepción' he told us'

EDP enx047 21:18

Verbs which are distinctly monadic cannot take first person patient prefixes on their own, but can if a valency increasing suffix is added (see 11.2). For example, *-megqe'-* 'feel ashamed, vengeful', seen with an agent first person prefix in (3.31), cannot take a first person patient prefix and the form **emegqakkek* is impossible. However, with the valency increasing suffix *-as*, a patient role is available, and when this patient is first person, this is the participant marked on the verb, with the first person singular patient prefix in (3.32).

(3.31) **ekmegqakkek** ahagko' ko'o

ek-megqak-kek =ahagko' ko'o
1SG-shame-DECL =TC:DEG.1SG 1SG

'I am very ashamed'

TA Ezra 9:6

(3.32) **emegqássek** xeyk Mario

e-megq-'as-sek =xeyk Mario
1SG.PAT-shame-VAL-DECL =TC:HOD Mario

'Mario embarassed me'

Notes 2018.8.11

That said, many verbs which generally present as being semantically monadic can actually take first person patient prefixes without the need for any kind of valency increasing operation. In (3.33a), one would assume *-yesw-* 'urinate' to be a fully monadic verb, but a first person patient prefix can indicate a kind of goal argument without any overt changes to the valency of the verb stem. In fact, the first person patient prefix can indicate a range of semantic roles of the first person participant, including goal roles (3.33b) and benefactor/malefactor roles (3.33c).

(3.33) a. **eyesweyk** xeyk semheg

e-yesw-eyk =xeyk semheg
1SG.STAT-urinate-DECL =TC:HOD dog

'A dog just peed on me'

Notes 2018.8.11

b. qat han **semhagko** Campo Largo

qat han **se**-mhag-ko Campo Largo
far AND 1SG.STAT.PART-head.to-NM:PV Campo Largo

'He came a long way, from Campo Largo, to come to me'

EDP enx001 46:16

c. **nahetókas** aqsok seneyekxa
na-**he**-tok-as aqsok se-ney-ekxa
NEG-**1SG.STAT.IRR**-eat-VAL thing 1SG.PART-plant-NM:PV
'Don't eat the things I planted' (literally 'Don't eat from me the things I planted')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The first person patient marking does not extend to instances where a body part is affected. This is true both when the body part is the marked argument, as in 3.34a, and when an external actor affects a speaker's body part, as in 3.34b.

(3.34) a. **kéltókagke'** empehek
kél-tók-agk-e' **e**-mpehek
IMPR-eat-AMB-DECL 1SG.POSS-skin
'My skin is irritated' (literally 'my skin is being eaten')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **apchóssessek** eyapok páye
ap-chós-ses-sek **e**-yapok páye
M-suffer-CAUS-DECL 1SG.POSS-shoulder mosquito
'The mosquitoes are irritating my shoulder' (literally 'The mosquitoes make my shoulder suffer')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Somewhat similarly, the hierarchical selection effect does not extend to instances where the first person is indicated in a nominalized verb which functions as a semantic argument and grammatical dependent of the head verb. For example, in (3.35), although the 1SG is marked as the subject/possessor in *setnahakxa'* 'where/how I am', the head semiverb *asagkók* 'it is very bad' is marked with the feminine stative prefix *a-* and not a first person stative prefix.

(3.35) Asagkók agko' ko'o setnahakxa'
a-sag-kók =agko' ko'o **se**-tnah-akxa'
F.STAT-bad-INTS.DECL =TC:DEG.F 1SG 1SG.PAT.PART-be-NM:OB
'I am in great distress' (literally 'where I am is very bad')

TA 1 Chronicles 21:13

Similar pronominal-marking patterns in nearby Tupi-Guaraní languages (Payne, 1994) and Matacoan languages (Fabre, 2018) have been described as "inverse" systems or as having "inverse alignment". The Enxet Sur morphological person hierarchy is distinct from

the prototypical "inverse" system (like that of most Algonquian languages, cf. Russell, Genee, Van Lier, Zúñiga, et al. 2012) in that there is no discrete inverse marker separate from the bound pronominal morphemes. Furthermore, unlike many of its regional neighbors from other language families (see van Gysel (2019a) for Guaykuruan examples, Payne (1994) for Guaraní,), Enxet Sur's limited +1 > 2/3 hierarchy has no portmanteau pronominal prefixes or other special morphological patterns for clauses which indicate both speech act participants (SAPs), first and second person simultaneously in either direction.

However, it is possible to see what I call "patient" prefixes as being a type of portmanteau prefix which indicates a non-first person agent acting on a first person patient (using the typical notation, this would be a 2/3>1 marker), rather than simply an indication of a first person participant in a patient role. There are a couple of arguments in favor of a portmanteau analysis. The first is that, as I argue in §5.2.3, Enxet does not really have an active-stative alignment system, and so this first person patient prefix is not really used to indicate patient-like participants of monadic verbs, only patient-like arguments of polyadic verbs. Furthermore, as described in §11.3, when a middle voice marker decreases the valency of a semantically dyadic verb, removing the agent, the pronominal prefix indicating the first person patient is the regular first person form and not the first person patient form.

3.3.3 Pronominal prefix paradigms

There are three paradigms of pronominal prefixes for lexical verbs in Enxet Sur, referred to in this dissertation as the **declarative**, **irrealis**, and **participial** pronominal prefixes. Table 3.3 presents a list of their basic forms. These forms are considered the basic forms of these prefixes and are used as citation forms because they are the most common, and allomorphs are best derived using phonological processes acting on these forms, rather than the other way around. These are also the forms which are used with any consonant initial verb stem, like the base *-taw-* 'eat', shown with each of the pronominal prefixes in table 3.4.

Person	Declarative	Irrealis	Participial
1SG	*ek-*	*a-*	*sek-*
1PL	*neg-*	*ag-*	*neg-*
F	*ø-*	*ka-*	*ek-*
M	*ap-*	*e-*	*ap-*
2PL/IMPR	*kél-*	*kól-*	*kél-*
1SG.PAT	*e-*	*he-*	*se-*
1PL.PAT	*eg-*	*heg-*	*seg-*

Table 3.3: The declarative, irrealis, and participial pronominal prefixes in their most common forms

The velar nasal of the *1pl* prefixes (agent and patient) undergoes simple nasal assimilation (§3.3.4), but otherwise the primary allomorphy of pronominal prefixes is conditioned by whether or not the verb stem they attach to is consonant initial or vowel ini-

Person	Declarative	Potential	Perfective
1SG	ektókek	atwok	sekto
1PL	nentókek	antók	nento
F	tókek	katwok	ekto
M	aptókek	etwok	apto
2PL/IMPR	kéltókek	kóltók	kélto
1SG.PAT	étókek	hetwok	seto
1PL.PAT	entókek	hentók	sento

Table 3.4: Declarative, Potential Nominalization, and Perfective Nominalization paradigms of *-taw-* 'eat', using the declarative, irrealis, and participial pronominal paradigms, respectively

tial. The vowel initial pronominal prefixes are listed in table 3.5, and table 3.6 provides a full paradigm for the base *-aqh-* 'kill'. Some of this allophony follows common, productive phonological processes. For example, the insertion of epenthetic consonants at a morpheme boundary between a consonant and a vowel is common throughout verbal morphology (§2.4.3), and [k]/[y] alternations like *ek-*/*ey-* in the first person singular are consistent with the broad strokes of the morphophonology of the glottal stop (§2.4.4). Other allomorphy, like the vowel-to-glide alternations of the first person irrealis *a-*/*w-* are not really motivated by a common and productive phonological process and are more accidents of history.

Person	Declarative	Irrealis	Participial
1SG	*ey-*	*w-*	*sey-*
1PL	*neg-*/*negk-*	*ag-*/*o-*	*neg-*/*ne-*
F	*k-*/*ch-*	*ka-*	*ey-*
M	*apk-*/*apch-*	*y-*	*apk-*/*apch-*
2PL/IMPR	*kél-*	*kól-*	*kél-*
1SG.PAT	*ey-*/*ek-*	*hey-*	*sey-*/*sek-*
1PL.PAT	*eg-*	*heg-*	*seg-*/*se-*

Table 3.5: Allomorphs of declarative, irrealis, and participial pronominal prefixes which occur with vowel-initial verb stems

In the remainder of this section, I described the details and idiosyncracies of each of these paradigms, followed by some summary of the different kinds of homophony which exist across the system and could potentially lead to some confusion if not clearly identified.

The declarative paradigm

The declarative paradigm is used for verbs with declarative grammatical suffixes, either the basic declarative ending or the second position ending, both described in §3.4.1. Aside from imperatives, all other verb types are nominalizations (Ch. 15), meaning that only verbs with declarative pronominal prefixes are true finite verbs. §3.4.1 below gives a

Person	Declarative	Potential	Perfective
1SG	eyaqhak	waqhak	seyaqhe
1PL	negaqhak	agaqhak	negaqhe
F	chaqhak	kaqhak	eyaqhe
M	apchaqhak	yaqhak	apchaqhe
2PL/IMPR	kélaqhak	kólaqhak	kélaqhe
1SG.PAT	eyaqhak	heyaqhak	seyaqhe
1PL.PAT	egaqhak	hegaqhak	segaqhe

Table 3.6: Declarative, Potential Nominalization, and Perfective Nominalization paradigms of *-aqh-* 'kill'

more significant overview of the semantic and grammatical function of declarative form verbs, and this section focuses primarily on the allomorphy of prefixes in this paradigm.

In the glossing scheme in this dissertation, declarative pronominal prefixes are glossed using only the pronominal category (e.g. 1SG 'first person singular declarative'), as opposed to most other pronominal prefixes, which are marked with the pronominal category and the particular paradigm the prefix belongs to (e.g. 1SG.IRR 'first person singular irrealis'). Some examples of verbs with declarative pronominal prefixes are given in (3.36).

(3.36) *Some verbs in the declarative form with declarative pronominal prefixes*

a. natámen **nen**tegya'ak negko'o ektaqmela áwa'
natamen nen-tegya'-ak negko'o ek-taqmel-a a-awa'
then 1PL-search-DECL 1PL F.PART-good-NM:IP F.POSS-leaf
'So then, we look for the good leaves.'

EDP enx041 11:10

The feminine prefix has the most complex allomorphy of the declarative pronominal prefixes, probably of any pronominal prefix. Underlyingly or historically, it is essentially *g-*, with nasal place of articulation assimilation. However, in the utterance initial position it almost always is deleted and therefore surfaces most often as phonetic zero [ø] (I answer why below). But, the second-position declarative verb (§3.4.1), if it follows a vowel, will maintain the nasal *g-* form. Orthographically, writers put a dummy vowel ahead of the nasal (§2.3.1). Therefore, in (3.37), the declarative verb *tahak* 'be/say' in the clause initial position has a null pronominal prefix, but when it occurs after the vowel final clitic *axta*, it takes the form *entahak* with the feminine declarative prefix *en-*.

(3.37) **Tahak** axta: — Kempakhakma apkelxegakmok lapaha, — axta **entahak** nata

ø-tah-ak =axta // kempakhakma ap-kel-xeg-akm-ok lapaha // axta
F-be/say-DECL =TC:PST // battle M-DIST-go-TERM-SCND there // TC:PST
en-tah-ak nata
F-be/say-DECL bird

'It said, "They went over there to the battle", said the bird.'

López Ramírez (1996)

With vowel initial stems, as with the masculine declarative, an epenthetic **ky* is inserted (§2.4.3 between the nasal of the feminine prefix and the verb stem prior to the deletion of the initial nasal. This means that for vowel initial stems, there is a [ch-] or [k-] before the stem in the feminine declarative form, as in (3.38a). This is glossed in this dissertation as being the feminine prefix, but as it is in fact the result of a regular predictable phonological process occuring at morpheme boundaries, there is not really any meaningful distinction between assigning it to the stem versus the prefix. Like with consonant-initial stems, the nasal segment in the feminine shows up in the second position after vowels for vowel-initial stems, as in (3.38b).

(3.38) a. **chaqhak** ñat weyke taqáxchók énxet
ch-aqh-ak =ñat weyke taqáxchók énxet
F-kill-DECL =TC:RPST cow yoke man
'The yoked cows killed the man'

EDP enx047 30:26

b. yámakyéwa exnéxta **enchaqhak** semheg
yámakyéwa =exné =xta ench-aqh-ak semheg
viper =TC:REP =TC:PST F-kill-SCND dog
'Supposedly, it was a viper that killed the dog.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This deletion of feminine declarative *g-*/*n-*/*m-* is curious for a number of reasons, the first being why it happened in the first place. Based on transcriptions and implications from other EE sources (Unruh et al., 2003), the feminine form in other EE languages actually has a clear word initial cluster [gk] or [nt] or [mp]. Despite the fact that it gets written in the Enxet Sur second position forms as *eg-* or *en-* or *em-*, it likely does not actually phonological contain an initial vowel, and so the deletion of the nasal in utterance initial positions may be a purely phonological matter — homosyllabic consonant clusters are not permitted in Enxet Sur.

However, a phonologically null feminine prefix has some interesting and complicated implications. As described in §3.3.4 below, in many varieties of Enxet Sur and other EE languages, pronominal prefixes are often dropped when their referent is a continuous topic in the discourse. What this means is that this likely discursively functional dropping of pronominal prefixes is neutralized in varieties of Enxet Sur which have null feminine declarative prefixes — there is no way to tell if the prefix has been dropped or not. This interesting allomorphy may be a major motivating factor for the apparent reduction or loss of pronominal prefix dropping in the majority varieties of Enxet Sur studied for this dissertation, given that there is now, in most contexts an inability to distinguish between feminine verbs with or without a pronominal prefix.

Other allomorphy in the declarative paradigm is mostly straightforward and follows productive rules. For example, the final nasal consonant in the first person plural *neg-* assimilates to the place of articulation of adjacent stops and fricatives, either bilabial as in 3.39c or alveolar as in 3.39b. The underlying/unmarked form is the one with the velar nasal, like in 3.39a, as this is the form that appears before vowels and other nasals, as in (3.39d).

(3.39) a. **negmeyókek** negko'o táxa naxma'
neg-meyo-kek negko'o táxa naxma'
1PL-prohibit-DECL 1PL fire forest
'We prohibit fire in the forest'

EDP enx001 26:33

b. **nentaxneyk** negko'o kañe'
nen-taxn-eyk negko'o kañe'
1PL-enter-DECL 1PL inside
'We go inside'

EDP enx008 02:37

c. **nempekkenchek** negko'o kya kelhánma
nem-pekken-chek negko'o kyá kelhánma
1PL-place-DECL 1PL always trap
'We put a trap here'

EDP enx009 06:01

d. keso panakte s'e, **negmáha** negko'o
keso panaqte =s'e // **neg**-m-aha negko'o
this medicine =PROX // 1PL-have-AMB.DECL 1PL
'This medicine here, we use it'

EDP enx004 17:41

In the first person singular, there is an alternation between pre-consonantal *ek-* and pre-vocalic *ey-*. This is somewhat similar to the phonological interactions that *-e'* final bases have with following morphemes (see §2.4.4, except that there is no corresponding *eg-* allomorph before [w], [k], or [y]. One possibility is that this form is in fact underlyingly like an *e'-* string, but an otherwise phonologically regular *eg-* allomorph is not possible because of lexical blocking, as *eg-* is the declarative first person plural patient prefix.

The first person singular patient form *e-* has an inserted glide for *ey-* before vowels, meaning that the first person singular subject and patient forms are homophonous before vowels.

The irrealis paradigm

The irrealis (IRR) paradigm is used in two verb forms: imperative verbs which take no grammatical ending, and potential form nominalizations, which denote actions which are hypothetical, including those which are habitual or in the future. These verb forms are described more fully in §3.4.2. The irrealis pronominal prefixes are also required for all forms of verbal negation (§14.2.1), and in some constructions, can indicate negation on their own with no need for a separate overt negator morpheme.

Unlike the declarative and participial pronominal prefixes, which all have syllabic codas, the first person singular, masculine, and feminine irrealis prefixes are vowel final. Given that most of the major phonological processes in Enxet Sur involve the maintenance or creation of closed syllables, this fact leads to significant differences in the shape of irrealis verbs versus their declarative counterparts.

For example, in table 3.4 above, in four out of the seven potential forms of *-taw-* eat, the apocope which is triggered by the vowel-final prefix leads the verb root to be represented by a consonantal string *-tw-* with no syllable nucleus of its own.

This also leads to a rather different set of allomorphic alternations based on whether or not the prefix is followed by a vowel. The most interesting is probably the vowel-to-glide alternation of the 1SG and the MASCULINE, which in the pre-consonantal position are *a-* and *e-*, respectively, but which become *w-* and *y-*, respectively, in a preconsonantal position. This is a more symmetrical alternation when we consider that in the early 20th century, the pre-consonantal 1SG form was *o-*(Powys, 1929, p. 31), and that, in a vowel system lacking high vowels, [w] and [y] function phonologically as consonantal forms of /o/ and /e/, respectively[8].

There are two other important notes on allomorphy with the *w-* and *y-* forms of the irrealis 1SG and *masculine* prefixes. The first is that they typically occur with an extra vowel as *wa-* and *ya-*, respectively, before most *h*-initial stems[9]. The second is that they occur preceded by a velar nasal *g-*, when they are preceded by a vowel-final morpheme in the same phonological word, typically a negator like *me-* or the prohibitative *ná* (§14.2.1). Both of these allomorphic variations can be seen in (3.40), where the negator *me-* plus the 1SG irrealis before an *h*-initial stem has the surface form *magwa-*.

(3.40) **magwahaxnawok** apkelpeywa énxet

ma-gwa-haxn-awok	apk-el-peywa	enxet
NEG-1SG.IRR-listen-INTS.SCND	M.PART-DIST-words	man

'I didnt listen to what they said'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The irrealis 1PL *ag-* sometimes surfaces as *o-* with vowel initial stems, which is part of a fairly regular (but morphologically restricted) process where //VNV// strings reduce

[8]The Enxet Sur [w], as described in §2.2.1, is very much phonetically a consonantal [o] — [y] has a higher target height than [e], however.

[9]Why they do this is not clear, although, in general, the Enxet Sur *h* has a lot of unusual phonological behaviors — see §2.4.4, §2.2.1.

to a single vowel, usually [o]. See §2.4.6 for more examples of this process. A comparable alternation, however, does not occur with the 1PL.PAT irrealis prefix *heg-*, which has the same coda segment — why is unclear although the different vowel, likely conditioned by the initial [h], is probably the culprit.

Finally, it is important to note that, like the feminine declarative prefix, both the irrealis feminine *ka-* and the irrealis 2PL *kól-* have the forms *gka-* and *gkól-*, respectively, when they occur after vowels. This is most prevalent when they are preceded by negators — the negative prefixes in these two pronominal categories are *megka-* and *megkól-* respectively. This nasal segment also shows up with these prefixes when they are preceded by another vowel final word or clitic, not just with bound morphology. This velar nasal is not, however reflected in the orthography except for when the vowel final morpheme which precedes it is written as part of the same orthographic word.

Participial pronominal prefixes

The three nominalization forms other than the potential — the perfective, imperfective, and oblique nominalizations (described in §3.4.3 and Ch. 15) — take prefixes from a distinct paradigm that I refer to in this dissertation as the participial (PART) pronominal prefix paradigm. This name comes from earlier descriptions of Enxet Sur (Powys, 1929) which labeled these three verb forms as "participles" and thus labeled their prefixes "participial prefixes". In this dissertation, I refer to these verb forms as nominalizations and not participles, because their functions encompass but extend beyond those generally associated with the term "participle". I also identify the potential form as a nominalization, and this verb form takes irrealis rather than participial prefixes.

These pronominal prefixes are used with nominalized verbs and often, at least translationally, indicate semantic possessors. For example, *sek-máyhekxa* 'my girlfriend' or *apmáyhekxa* 'his girlfriend' might be interpreted as having *possessive* prefixes, and some previous descriptions (Grubb, 1911, Powys, 1929) did in fact describe them this way. However, as described in the chapter on nominalization, even though such an analysis seems semantically convenient in some words with participial prefixes, in general they denote semantic arguments of a verb, such that *sek-máyhekxa* is not so much 'my girlfriend' as it is 'that which I want', from the verb base *-mayhe'-* 'to want', and the prefix *sek-* indicates the agent or "subject" of the verb.

Analyzing the participial prefixes as possessive prefixes would make them conform to a cross-linguistic tendency for the participants of nominalized verbs to be represented as possessors (e.g. English '*Her arrival* was early'). However, participial prefixes in Enxet Sur bare no resemblance to the possessive prefixes used for related nouns (§4.4.1) or the forms in the possessive pronouns (§4.5.2). Furthermore, in many of the construction types which use participial forms, there is not really any construction-specific motivation for ascribing possessive semantics to the pronominal prefix. For example, in (3.41), the participial feminine prefix *ek-* in *ekha* cross-references the following nominalization *apmopwána* 'his power', but it is hard to conceive of how 'his power' might reasonably consider the possessor of some nominalization *-ha* 'sitting'.

(3.41) Yetneyk énxet **ekha** apmopwána nepyeseksa

yetneyk énxet **ek**-h-a ap-m-op-wán-a nepyeseksa
EXIST man F.PART-SITNM:PV M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:PV M.amidst

'There was a man with power (literally 'a man for whom it sits his power') amongst them'

López Ramírez (1996)

Enxet Sur has the most clearly defined participial prefix paradigm of the Enlhet-Enenlhet languages. Sanapaná, Angaité, Enenlhet, and Guaná apparently only display a distinction between declarative and participial pronominal prefixes in the feminine (see Unruh et al. (2003, p.283) for Enenlhet, Unruh and Kalisch (1999b, p. 74) for Guaná), and Enlhet Norte, with its more optional use of pronominal prefixes and use of both *s-* and *sek-* forms in the participial 1SG likely represents a more archaic or incipient form of the system which is now quite clearly defined in Enxet Sur.

The allomorphy for participial pronominal prefixes is fairly straightforward. The 1PL allomorphs simply display place of articulation assimilation in the nasal consonants. The 1SG and F prefixes end in [k] before consonants, and in [y] before vowels. In the 1SG.PAT, a [y] is inserted before vowels. Thus, like in the declarative, there is a homophony between the agent and patient forms of the first person before vowel-initial verb stems. The feminine participle prefixes are homophonous with the first person singular realis prefixes.

Another formal property of note is that the first person plural, the masculine, and the impersonal/second person plural are homophonous with their counterparts in the realis paradigm. Therefore, in these pronominal inflections, it is only the verb endings which mark the distinction between declarative and one of the nominalized verb forms.

A note on homophony in pronominal prefixes

It should be noted that across the verbal pronominal prefixes paradigms of Enxet Sur, the possessive nominal prefixes discussed in §4.4.1, and the stative pronominal prefixes in §8.2, there is a fair amount of homophony of different inflectional categories across and within different paradigms.

For example, the first-person singular declarative prefix *ek-* is identical to the non-first person feminine participial prefix *ek-*, even in its allomorphic variation. In the absence of pronouns or nominal expressions within the clause that might help disambiguate, the distinction between these identical person markers is indicated by the suffixes which indicate the grammatical category of the verb, and there is no major formal ambiguity. It is also interesting that for some inflectional categories — the first person plural, the masculine, and the second person plural — the declarative and participial paradigms are essentially the same. Again, however, there is no real possibility of formal ambiguity between declarative verbs and the participial nominalizations because of the significant differences in the forms of their final suffixes.

The only possible true homophony occurs with the ambulative stem forming suffix (§12.2.5), whose temporal indefinite declarative ending is homophonous with the perfective nominalization ending. However, the distinction between the declarative and nominalized forms for these verbs in a PREDICATE position, which is the only position where

both are possible, would not usually correspond to a major semantic distinction, since these distinctions have more to do with focus, information structure, and continuity of topic and action than they do core semantics (§15.2.5).

However, there is an important homophony of the first person singular agent and patient prefixes which does in fact create a significant degree of formal ambiguity in verbs. Before vowel initial stems, some of the declarative and participial pronominal prefixes in the first person are homophonous in the agent and patient forms, such that the semantic argument structure is ambiguous, as in (3.42) — the two examples are phonologically the same but have different yet homophonous pronominal prefixes.

(3.42) a. **élhaxneyk** xeyk
ey-el-haxn-eyk =xeyk
1SG-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:HOD
'I waited for him'

b. **élhaxneyk** xeyk
ey-el-haxn-eyk =xeyk
1SG.PAT-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:HOD
'He waited for me'

EDP enx034 50:44

In some instances of homophony, stem forming morphology with directional semantics can help distinguish between a first person agent and a first person patient. For example, in (3.43), the first person participial prefixes for agent and patients are the same, but the complexive suffix, which sometimes indicates motion outward from the agent, is used for the first person agent, while the terminative is used for the first person patient. While such alternations in stem morphology correspond to differences in semantic role of the prefix-marked semantic argument, there is no known systematic relationship that approaches anything like agreement, and such alternations, where they do exist, are mostly lexically idiosyncratic. Both the first person agent/patient homophony and the use of directional morphology to disambiguate are understudied, though I would argue that neither is central to an understanding of the basic grammar of the language.

(3.43) a. hem axta **setámegko**
hemaxta se-tam-egk-o
yesterday 1SG.PART-search-COMPL-NM:IP
'I attacked him yesterday'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hem axta **setamokmo**
hemaxta se-tam-okm-o
yesterday 1SG.PAT.PART-search-TERM-NM:IP
'He attacked me yesterday'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

3.3.4 Verbs lacking pronominal prefixes

The description thus far has maintained that the pronominal prefix is a critical and obligatory component of verbal morphology. This is a helpful generalization for understanding the structure of verbs, but in reality there are several different instances in which lexical verbs may lack pronominal prefixes. These instances of pronominal prefix-less verbs can be divided into two categories: 1) productive, grammatical dropping of pronominal prefixes in instances of discursive continuity of topics, and 2) the lexicalization or grammaticalization of verbs leading to the loss of pronominal prefixes.

Grammaticalized verbs

A number of lexical items which historically descend from verbs and retain grammatical suffixes, some with productive alternations of grammatical suffixes, lack pronominal prefixes. I refer to such items as being the result of a process of grammaticalization, in that they originated in lexical verbs which have lost their original semantics and now have a function more "grammatical" than "lexical". While such a semantic distinction can be subjective, it is validated in these cases by the loss of the pronominal prefix as a marker of morphological productivity.

For example, the PREDICATE *yetneyk* (§5.2.1) comes from the verb root *-yetn-* 'to lie down', but now is used for existential constructions as well as some possessive constructions. Although we would expect a null ∅- prefix for the active feminine for this verb (§3.3.3), it does not take any prefix at all regardless of the gender of its semantic argument. For example, in 3.44, the speaker lists a number of tree/plant types — *mémog*, *échaha*, *nósa*, *antáwa* — all of them female nouns, and then includes the masculine noun *námok* 'palo borracho tree' at the end. The existential *yetneyk* does not change form based on the different nominal genders.

(3.44) yetneyk mémog, yetneyk échaha, yetneyk nósa, yetneyk antáwa, xámok témakxa, antáwa', **yetneyk námok**

yetneyk me:mog // yetneyk échaha // yetneyk nósa // yetneyk antáwa //
EXIST palo.santo // EXIST algorrobo // EXIST mistól // EXIST bean //
∅-xámok ek-te:m-akxa // antáwa // **yetneyk** námok//
F-many F.PART-be-NM:OB // bean // EXIST palo.borracho

'...there's palo santo, there's algorrobo, there's mistól, there's wild beans, lots of kinds of things... beans... there's palo borracho...'

EDP enx001 51:44

The negative counterpart to *yetneyk*, the negative existential *méko* (§14.4) is the imperfective nominalization of a no-longer productive verb base *-meyk-* 'to lack', which similarly lacks a pronominal prefix. In this case, however, all forms are one of the three nominalizations which take participial pronominal prefixes, none of which are phonologically null. In (3.45), there is no pronominal prefix on *méko* even when its semantic argument is the masculine noun *yatnáxeg* 'horse'.

(3.45) nempekkenchek negko'o ámay, méko camion, **méko yatnáxeg**

nem-pekken-chek negko'o ámay // méko camion // **méko** **yatnáxeg**
1PL-place-DECL 1PL road // NEG.EXIST car // NEG.EXIST horse

'We put these roads [but] there's no cars, there's no horses

EDP enx001 24:25

These existential PREDICATE items, in both the affirmative and negative forms, can be used in a possessive sense, as in 'there is X for me'. Typically, even if the 'possessor' in these instances is first person, there is no change in pronominal marking, as in (3.46) below. This is true despite the strong tendency to indicate first person participants regardless of their semantic role (§3.3.2).

(3.46) a. wa' **yetneyk** ko'o sawo

wa' **yetneyk** ko'o sawo
so EXIST 1SG knife

'So, I have a knife.'

EDP enx003 01:53

b. natámen, **méko** ko'o fosforo, méko táxa

natamen // **méko** ko'o fosforo // méko taxa
then // NEG.EXIST 1SG lighter // NEG.EXIST fire

'So, I don't have a lighter, there's no fire'

EDP enx001 29:45

Another major grammaticalized verb is *peyk* 'start', which has a nominalized form *peya*, neither of which ever take pronominal prefixes, as in (3.47). It is used for a particular kind of incipient construction, indicating that someone is just about to do something. *Peyk* takes a potential form nominalized verb as its complement to create constructions meaning 'is about to do X', meaning that its "subject" is the nominalized verb in the feminine. Thus, in the declarative, the feminine pronominal prefix would normally be null, but the nominalized form *peya* would normally take the participial prefix *ek-* were it a typical productive verb.

(3.47) a. hakte ekwanakmek han ko'o kaxwo, **peyk** sa' ko'ónek han axnekxak ko'o

hakte ek-wanak-m-ek =han ko'o kaxwo // **peyk** =sa' ko'ónek
because 1SG-grow-TERM-DECL =AND 1SG now // START =TC:FUT I.THINK
=han a-xn-ekx-ak ko'o
=AND 1SG.IRR-sit-DUP-NM:PO 1SG

EDP enx028 07:01

b. **peyk** ansawak makham keso yeyam nak se'e

peyk an-saw-ak makham keso yeyam =nak =se'e
START 1PL.IRR-exhaust-NM:PO still this year =TC:VIS =PROX
'We are about to end this year'

EDP enx039 30:42

c. teyekmek axta apwáxok apleg'a amya'a **peya** emakpok
teyek-m-ek =axta ap-wáxok ap-leg'-a amya'a
fall-TERM-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-innermost M.PART-hear-NM:IP story
peya e-m-akp-ok
START.NM:IP M.IRR-have-MID.M-NM:PO
'His heart sank when he heard the news that he was about to be detained'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Other examples of this pronoun-dropping grammaticalization include the identity negative *háwe* (§14.3) and the purpose clause PREDICATE *yaqwayam* (§15.2.4). The loss of pronominal prefixes is also characteristic of the process of lexicalization of nominalized verbs into non-productive lexical nouns described in §4.3.

Dropping of pronominal prefixes in discourse

In some varieties of Enxet Sur studied for this description, speakers can drop pronominal prefixes if the referent of the pronominal prefix is a clearly identifiable continuous topic. For example, in (3.48a), the referent *táta* 'my father' is activated in the first clause where the nominalized verb to which it is semantically argument has the masculine pronominal prefix *ap-*. The next two PREDICATES would also normally take a pronominal prefix *ap-* in reference to 'my father' as their semantic arguments, but because 'my father' is a continuous topic in all clauses, the pronominal prefix is null or dropped. Because this dropping is generally related to topic continuity, and nominalized verbs as PREDICATES generally indicate continuity of action (§15.2.5), pronominal dropping is most prevalent on nominalized verbs. However, it can also happen with declarative verbs as well, as in (3.48b), where there is no masculine pronominal prefix to reference the semantic argument *táta*.

(3.48) a. **apmakpo** táta, **xegà** m'a Nánaw'a, **kexxegexma** anhan
ap-mak-p-o tata // **xeg-à** =m'a // **kex-xegexma**
M.PART-have-MID.M-NM:IP my.father // go-PVNM =DMSTR // DIST-friend
=anhan
=AND
'My father was taken, he went to Nanawa, his friends as well'

NNE 190 7:22

b. **wegqepke'** táta, kempakhakma
wegqep-ke' táta // kempakhakma
go.far-DECL my.father // war
'My father had gone far away, off to war'

NNE 190 11:32

In the corpus for this description however, this is a minority phenomenon generally associated with older speakers. If we compare texts from various speakers, there is a cline of the prevalence of this pronominal prefix dropping that corresponds with age. The oldest speaker, Elías Gómez (in NNE 190), has more dropped pronominal prefixes than present ones, whereas the youngest major contributor, Asunción Rojas (in EDP enx035) tended to view this kind of dropping or elision as indicative of the speech of elders or even that it is more like Enlhet Norte (see §1.1.4 on views of variance). As the main transcriber for the documentation project, Asunción preferred to write in the pronominal prefixes that speakers had dropped, and felt that writing any kind of formal document with these omissions of pronominal prefixes was not proper writing. This kind of dropping does not occur at all in the Enxet Sur Bible translation.

A majority of the corpus used here has speakers which did not much drop pronominal prefixes, but a fuller documentary corpus with a broader demographic range would be helpful in understanding whether or not this is really a grammatical process that is being lost in favor of always having pronominal prefixes. It appears, based on descriptions of other EE languages, that this kind of prefix dropping in discourse is very common (cf. Kalisch 2009), and a restriction against dropping would therefore actually be somewhat of an innovation in the language.

This is likely the phenomenon described briefly in Sušnik (1977), which she claims is a contact feature in which speakers have developed an incipient second/third person distinction to match that of Guaraní. Her description seems to suggest that speakers of the *Mássepto* variety would only drop pronominal prefixes which indicate third person referents, which amounted to a distinction between third and second persons. She also seems to indicate that this primarily applied to nominalized verbs taking the participial prefixes. The latter generalization conforms to the tendency (but not limitation) described above, but in the available corpus, speakers who dropped pronominal prefixes did it for all person categories, including the first person, as in (3.49).

(3.49) ekwónek ko'o, **meyókek** táta

ek-won-ek ko'o // **meyó-kek** tata
1SG-cry-DECL 1SG // protect-DECL father

'I cried, I wanted to protect my father'

NNE 190 05:26

3.4 Grammatical suffixes

As discussed previously, the minimal verb word contains the stem, a pronominal prefix, and a final suffix which determines the basic grammatical and semantic function of the verb. For convenience, I simply refer to these suffixes as the **grammatical suffixes**. Most carry some kind of aspectual or modal semantics, some carry syntactic information, and several actually function as nominalizers — this is why we cannot give them another name like "inflectional suffixes". These suffixes are canonically paired with one of the pronominal prefix paradigms, such that there is not really any "mixing and matching" of

pronominal prefixes and grammatical suffixes, with the exception of the broad use of the irrealis pronominal prefixes in negation (§14.2.1). This section describes the morphology and the basic functions of these grammatical suffixes, but in general, the complexities of their syntax and semantics are generally dealt with in later sections, and this section is an introduction to their forms.

Please note that, in talking about these grammatical suffixes, I refer to the grammatical suffixes as being defining of the seven basic **verb forms** introduced in the overview (§3.1). For example, when I refer to a "potential form verb", a "potential verb", or a "potential nominalization", these all refer to a lexical verb with the potential nominalizing suffix.

3.4.1 Declarative verb forms

Declarative forms are the only prototypically finite verb forms in Enxet Sur, and other than imperatives (§3.4.2), they are the only verb forms which are uniquely and exclusively PREDICATES. They are never dependents, meaning that they are never in a subordinate position[10]. They almost exclusively denote realis, non-future events or states, although some epistemic modal TAME clitics can be used which create hypotheticals (§6.2.6). Discursively, they carry the most straightforward verbal propositional semantics, relating important, foregrounded events. In narratives, like in the running text in (3.50), they relate the major driving action, delivering new information.

(3.50) a. **apkenyeyk** axta xa xáma wókma'ák
apk-eny-eyk =axta =xa xáma wókma'ák
M-run-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR one boy
'The boy ran away'

b. **apmeyakxeyk** axta néten xápop
ap-mey-akx-eyk =axta néten xápop
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST above earth
'He headed to the high ground'

c. yaqwayam enxohol'a ennapakpok
yaqwayam =enxoho =l'a e-n-nap-akp-ok
for =TC:CONJ =TC:DUB M.IRR-DIST-kill.many-MID.M-NM:PO
'so that he could fight'

d. **apkeláneykxeyk** axta héwa tén yágke yaqwayam ennapakpok
apk-el-áney-kx-eyk =axta héwa tén yágke yaqwayam
M-DIST-make-DUP-DECL =TC:PST lance and arrow for
e-n-nap-akp-ok
M.IRR-DIST-kill.many-MID.M-NM:PO
'He got his lance and arrow ready so that he could fight'

[10]Chapter 15 questions the notion of "subordination" as it is applied to the function of nominalized verbs in Enxet Sur, but in general, a suborinated verb would be a verb that is structurally dependent to another PREDICATE, which is never true of declarative form verbs.

EDP enx006 04:04

There are two different endings for declaratives — the unmarked **declarative** marker (glossed DECL) and the second position marker (glossed SCND). The distinction marked by these two different suffixes is a syntactic one affected by choices in information structure, and it is not a semantic distinction. Although there is a pragmatic motivation for the constructions which use a second-position rather than first-position verb (see the focus section in the syntax chapter), the difference between the two has no particular bearing on mood or other semantics of the verb itself.

Clause initial declarative *-eyek*

With no additional stem forming morphology other than the verb base, there are five basic allomorphs of the initial-position declarative suffix. The one that occurs with glottal stop final bases is discussed further below, but the other four are *-eyk*, *-kek*, *-chek*, and *-sek*. Various stem-forming morphology has idiosyncratic interactions with the declarative, and this is also reviewed further below.

It seems clear that the historical and possibly underlying form of the declarative suffix is *-eyek*. There is abundant evidence for this: 1) it is indicated in the transcriptions of older sources, especially Powys (1929), 2) many older speakers actually pronounce many declaratives this way, 3) this is the most common form of the declarative in EE sister languages including Enlhet Norte and Sanapaná, and 4) phonological derivation of the other allomorphs is most logical starting from a base form *-eyek*. When this form occurs after a consonant cluster, there is no apocope of the first vowel of the suffix, and speakers either pronounce it as [eyek] or the [eye] string gets reduced to the long vowel [e:] (see §2.4.6). To account for variable application of the glide reduction rule, the modern orthography writes this string as *-eyk*, which can then be pronounced either [e:k] or [eyek] — this orthographic convention should not be mistaken for a consonant cluster in the syllable coda. This form therefore occurs with verb bases that end in a consonant cluster, or in consonants that behave like clusters, like *w* (§2.2.1), as in (3.51).

(3.51) a. **eksakxeyk** weykcha'áhak
ek-sakx-**eyk** weykcha'áhak
1SG-carry.there-DECL book
'I carried the book'

EDP enx047 32:34

b. **apkelmetmeyk** pómap yaqwayam ének yegmen
ap-kel-metm-**eyk** pómap yaqwayam e-en-ek yegmen
M-DIST-dig-DECL boar for M.IRR-drink-NM:PO water
'The boars dig holes in order to drink the water'

EDP enx009 11:05

c. **kelpáweyk** axta nata

kel-páw-eyk =axta nata
F.DIST-speak-DECL =TC:PST bird
'The birds were singing'

López Ramírez (1996)

If the verb base ends in a *-VC* string, the first vowel of *-eyek* gets deleted through the apocope process, and the [y] becomes a consonant, as it sometimes does (§2.2.1). This was historically a palatal or palatalized *ky-*, but for most modern speakers it is either *k-* or *ch-*, based on the preceding consonant. This is typically [ch] after coronals and labials and [k] otherwise.

(3.52) a. **nenxegkek** chá'a mók nekha
nen-xeg-**kek** chá'a mók nekha
1PL-go-DECL always F.other F.side
'We always go to the other side'

EDP enx041 11:56

b. **apnaqténchek** axta axta'a
ap-naq-te:n-**chek**=axta axta'a
M-PL.ABS-sleep-DECL=TC:PST night
'They slept through the night'

EDP enx006 01:18

c. **nempekkenchek** negko'o yámet naw'a
nem-pekken-**chek** negko'o yámet naw'a
1PL-place-DECL 1PL tree edge
'We put the branch here by the edge'

EDP enx007 01:34

d. **negmeyókek** negko'o táxa naxma'
neg-meyo:-**kek** negko'o táxa naxma'
1PL-prohibit-DECL 1PL fire woods
'We don't allow people to burn fires in the woods'

EDP enx001 26:33

The *-sek* allomorph occurs when the initial consonant of the *-kek*/*-chek* form occurs after a final [s] in the base or stem and assimilates to it, a process which occurs in other morphological environments and is generally regular (§2.4.7). It is most commonly seen after the valency increaser *-es*, but it also occurs with any stems which are [s]-final, as in (3.53). This particular kind of assimilation appears to be fairly recent, based on text sources as recently as Sušnik (1977) that lack this allomorph in declarative environments in which it occurs in the modern language.

(3.53) **mássek** axta apkennapekpo

ø-más-**sek** =axta apk-ennap-ekp-o
F-deplete-DECL =TC:PST M-kill.many-M.MID-NM:IP

'His fighting ceased'

EDP enx006 05:32

All of the [k] final forms described here may alternatively have a final glottal stop instead of [k]. As discussed in the phonology chapter, there are instances where [k] and [ʔ] form minimal pairs, but in the case of the declarative, the two phones are essentially in free variation. While the word-final [k] form tends to come before vowels and the word final [ʔ] form tends to come before consonants or when utterance final, there is no strict phonological rule. Orthographically, writers of Enxet Sur may write the glottal stop (with an apostrophe) instead of <k>. This dissertation uses the spelling from individual sources as given, including the spellings given by consultants for the documentary corpus. Powys (1929) makes a claim that the presence of the final [k] versus the glottal stop has some morphosyntactic function, but analysis of texts and direct questioning of consultants has yielded no discernable distinction.

(3.54) **apxénche'** peya exog

ap-xen-**che'** pey-a e-xog
M-SHOW-DECL START-NM:IP M.IRR-GO.NM:PO

'He said he's about to go.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(3.55) natámen ma'a apxénchek aqsok katnehek agwetak

natamen =ma'a ap-xen-**chek** aqsok ka-tneh-ek ag-wet-ak
F.after =DMSTR M-SHOW-DECL thing F.IRR-be-NM:PO 1PL.IRR-see-NM:PO

'Then he told us what things we would see'

EDP enx047 00:39

Second position verb endings

When nouns, adverbs, or other elements of a clause are moved ahead of the verb, typically for the purpose of focus, the declarative marker changes form, usually to *-ak*. Compare the forms of *-etsap-*[11] 'die' with the typical declarative marker *-kek* in (3.56a) and (3.56c) to those with the second position declarative marker *-ak* in (3.56b) and (3.56d). The syntax of constructions which use this form are discussed further in §5.2.4.

[11] The root-final /p/ assimilates to [k] before the [k] in the declarative suffix.

(3.56) a. **ketsekkek** nahan sakcha'a l'etkawok
k-etsek-**kek** =nahan sakcha'a l'etkawok
F-die-DECL =AND child small.INTS
'small children also died'

b. Kaxwo' ko'o **ketsapak** hatte kelwána
kaxwo' ko'o k-etsap-**ak** hatte k-elwán-a
now 1SG F-die-SCND my.child female
'My daughter has just died'

c. **apkeletsekkek** axta quinientos mil sẽlpextétamo
apkel-etsek-**kek** =axta quinientos mil
M.DIST-die-DECL =TC:PST five.hundred thousand
sẽl-pextét-amo
1PL.STAT.DIST.PART-tie.up-NM:PV.INTS
'Five hundred thousand soldiers died' (*sẽlpextétamo* 'soldiers' is literally 'those that tie us up')

d. setenta mil énxet axta **apkeletsapak**
setenta mil e:nxet =axta apkel-etsap-**ak**
seventy thousand man =TC:PST M.DIST-die-SCND
'Seventy thousand men died'

Formally, this suffix typically surfaces as *-ak* with essentially all regular bare bases and with several of the stem forming suffixes (see §3.6) with which it may be adjacent. This includes stems which end in the valency increaser suffix, the cislocative, the duplicative, and most forms of the temporal indefinite.

With stems that end in either of the middle voice suffixes, the terminative, or the complexive, the distinction actually surfaces as a distinction between a declarative suffix *-ek* and a second position declarative suffix *-ok*. This is generally explainable as a vowel assimilation phenomenon (§2.4.5), since with these suffixes the *-ok* second position suffix occurs after *p*,*k*, or M. However, bases which are generally understood as ending with these phonemes do not have *-ok* SCND suffixes in the absence of other stem-forming morphology — it only occurs with these suffixes. This suggests that the morphophonology related to the second position suffix is not straightforward and possibly fusional.

Verb stems with no DECL/SCND distinction

There are a number of verb stems which, for various phonological or morphophonological reasons, lack a formal distinction between an initial position declarative and second position declarative verb. For example, there is no alternation in the initial and second position forms of the verb stems *-sapan-* 'diminish' and *-e'-* 'fear' in (3.57) and (3.58), respectively.

(3.57) a. **Sapanak** axta nahan ma'a táxa nak
ø-sapan-ak =axta =nahan =ma'a táxa =nak
F-diminish-DECL =TC:PST =AND =DMSTR fire =TC:VIS

'and the fire subsided'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekhem **ensapanak**
ekhem en-sapan-ak
sun F-diminish-SCND
'the sun is fading' (said of a solar eclipse)

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(3.58) a. **apkekak** axta negmasse

apk-ek-ak =axta negmasse
M-fear-DECL =TC:PST disease
'They were afraid of this disease'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. éten ko'onek **kekak**
éten ko'ónek k-ek-ak
smoke I.THINK F-fear-SCND
'I think they are afraid of the smoke'

EDP enx027 35:13

Bases which lack an alternation are generally those which take a *-ak* initial declarative form as the result of a glottal-stop final base (see §2.4.4). This is also the case with stems ending in the associated motion suffix *-wa'*, for the same reason. That such homophonies are simply phonological in nature is supported by comparative data: other EE languages maintain formal distinction between initial and second position declaratives with cognate verb stems (cf. Sanapaná DECL *aska'aye'* vs. SCND *aska'ak*, pc: Jens van Gysel), but regular innovative phonological reductions in Enxet Sur (specifically reductions of intervocalic glides) would neutralize such distinctions.

However, there is also a lack of initial and second position declarative forms in stems which end in the ambulative and intensive suffixes. As described in the sections on these two suffixes (§10.4 and §12.2.5, respectively), they have declarative forms which are wholly fusional/suppletive, and there is not really a clear remnant element of the *-eyek* declarative form. Thus, not all DECL/SCND form homophonies are entirely the result of phonological processes.

The fact that a substantial minority of verb stems make no formal distinction between the DECL and SCND forms provides further support for the description made here, that the distinction between the two forms is not a discrete semantic one, and simply an inflectional distinction based on position in the clause.

In this dissertation I still make a glossing distinction between the DECL and SCND suffixes with such stems that do not make a formal distinction between the two, but this is based on the position in the clause and not on morphology.

3.4.2 Irrealis verb forms

Not including negated forms (described in Section 14.2), verbs taking irrealis pronominal prefixes can take one of two irrealis suffixes: the potential marker (glossed NM:PO) and the imperative marker (glossed IMP). Unlike the two declarative ending types, these two irrealis endings have distinct functions, and are not overlapping.

Potential nominalization ending *-ek*/*-ok*/*-ak*

Verbs in the potential nominalization form have three primary uses: predicate verbs in the future tense (3.59a), denoting hypothetical events (3.59b), and denoting habitual or customary actions (3.59c). As grammatical form of verb stems, it is very interesting, as most of its uses are easily understood as nominalizations (Ch. 15), but unlike other nominalized verb forms, it is very often used as a predicate in constructions like that in (3.59a), where it is difficult to see it as anything but a finite verb.

(3.59) a. **aktamók** sa' sekxo'
a-ktam-ok =sa' sekxo'
1SG.IRR-search-NM:PO =TC:FUT first
'I will look for it first'
EDP enx025 11:56

b. *Context: referring to palo santo*
awanchek **kamaseksek** elmaske egexchakok
a-wan-chek ka-mas-eks-ek el-mas-ke
F.STAT-able-DECL F.IRR-diminish-VAL-NM:PO F.ART.DIST-diminish-NM:PV
eg-exchakkok
1PL.POSS-bone.PL
'It can relieve aching bones'
Schoolbook Grade 1

c. [*Context: talking about the native chili pepper, nátekhet*]
kayehe', ketsek **ampekkenek** nento
kayehe' // k-etsek am-pekken-ek nen-t-o
F.strong // F-small 1PL.IRR-place-NM:PO 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV
'It's strong, we just put a little bit in our food'
EDP enx001 10:46

It most often has the form *-ek*, although all three vowel qualities are possible based on the stem to which it attaches, producing *-ek* (3.60a), *-ok* (3.60b), and *-ak* (3.60c) in a distribution consistent with the broad effects of vowel assimilation (§2.4.5).

(3.60) a. nenmeyanteyk axta, axnagkok negókxa yaqwayam **anxek**
nen-mey-an-t-eyk =axta // a-xnagkok neg-ókxa
1PL-head.to-COMPL-CISL-DECL =TC:PST // F.STAT-new 1PL.PART-country
yaqwayam an-x-ek
for 1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO

'We came here, to our new territory, to live'

EDP enx028 00:59

b. **alkok** sa apyempehek
a-lk-ok =sa ap-yempehek
1SG-release-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.POSS-skin
'I'll remove its skin'

EDP enx003 02:04

c. **anlegak** sa'
an-leg-ak =sa'
1PL.IRR-hear-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'We will listen'

EDP enx039 37:42

Verb stems ending in *-eg* have potential forms that do not use the more typical *-ek* suffix, and instead show alternations of quality in the rightmost vowel of the stem, typically changing it from [e] to [o]. In at least one example, *-tekpog-* 'to hit', this leads to a homophony of the potential and imperative forms, as in (3.61a) and (3.61b). Some examples of this are given in table 3.7.

(3.61) a. Dios sa' **etekpog** xép
Dios =sa' e-**tekpog** xép
God =TC:FUT M.IRR-hit.NM:PO 2SG.M
'God will strike you'

TA Acts 23:3

b. **Etekpog** sa' kaxwók xapop
e-**tekpog** =sa' kaxwók xapop
M.IRR-hit.IMP =TC:FUT now earth
'Now strike the earth!'

TA 2 Kings 13:18

Although most verb stems which end in glottal stop have [-ak] as their potential suffix, some stems which have an additional consonant cluster before a final glottal stop effectively have the potential suffix [-k], as in (3.62), but this surface form is predictable by regular phonological reduction of //ey+ek// to [e:k].

(3.62) **kamegqeyk** axta ekweykmoho siete ekhem
ka-megqey-**k** =axta ek-w-eykmoho siete ekhem
F-shame-NM:PO =TC:PST F.PART-arrive-TERM.INTS.NM:PV seven day

Stem	Gloss	DECL	NM:PO
-xeg-	'to go'	ekxegkek	axog
-mateg-	'to be killed'	ekmatñeyk	amatog
-nexteg-	'to jump into'	eknextegkek	anextog
-tekpag-	'to hit'	ektekpogkek	atekpog

Table 3.7: Declarative and Potential forms with [-og]

'She would be ashamed for seven days'

TA Numbers 12:14

Unlike declarative form verbs, the potential form has no alternations based on its position in the clause, as can be seen in the different constructions in (3.63). As argued in the chapter on nominalization (Ch. 15), this is because potential verb forms are in fact grammatical nominalizations, able to fill semantic argument positions as in (3.64), and therefore have a different relationship with other grammatical dependents of the clause than do declarative verbs.

(3.63) a. **agketmok** sat han haxko agwet'ak ketekma'
agk-etm-ok =sat =han haxko ag-wet'-ak ketekma'
1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO =TC:FUT =AND where 1PL.IRR-see-NM:PO cactus.fruit
'We will look for where we can find some cactus fruit'

EDP enx001 07:09

b. xama ekhem sa' **agketmok** haxko negaqhakxa axta
xama ekhem =sa' ag-ketm-**ok** haxko neg-aqh-akxa
one day =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO where 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB
=axta
=TC:PST
'One day we will look for where we killed it'

EDP enx025 10:37

c. agyepkónek hana **agketmok** se'e kañe nak
ag-yepkón-ek =hana ag-ketm-**ok** =se'e kañe =nak
1PL.IRR-try-NM:PO =TC:PLZ 1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO =PROX inside =TC:VIS
'Let's try to look in here'

EDP enx025 10:57

(3.64) askehek **hegyexqa'**
askeh-ek **heg**-yexq-a'
painful-DECL 1PL.PAT.IRR-pierce-NM:PO

'It is painful when something enters the eye (enters our eyes)', literally 'Our being pierced is painful'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

As a final semantic note, when the potential form verb denotes a habitual action, it can do so in the past tense, as in (3.65).

(3.65) **Etegyegkok** axta sekxo' péyem naxma yakwayam elának anmen apagkok

e-tegy-egkok =axta sekxo' peyem naxma yaqwayam
M.IRR-search.for-COMPL.NM:PO =TC:PST first wasp woods for
el-án-ak anmen apagkok
M.IRR.DIST-attend.to-NM:PO alcohol M.POSS

'First, they would look for wasps in the woods in order to make their alcohol'

López Ramírez (1996)

Imperative ending

The imperative form of verbs is constructed using irrealis pronominal prefixes, the verb stem with other non-inflectional suffixes, and a null verb ending. Generally, I do not indicate the imperative with some kind of null morpheme in the gloss. This imperative form can be used in the second person (3.66a), where it can take masculine and feminine singular prefixes or a second person plural prefix, but it is also used in the first person plural (i.e. 'let's do it'), as in (3.66b), and with a prohibitive marker *ná* in the negative, as in (3.66c).

(3.66) a. **élano** á!

e-el-an-o =á
M.IRR-DIST-attend.to-INTS =PROX

'Look over there!'

Notes 2018.8.16

b. *Context*: *Following bees back to their nest for honey*
anlan han negko'o yawhan

an-l-**an** =han negko'o yawhan
1PL-DIST-attend.to =AND 1PL bee

'Let's deal with the bees'

EDP enx025 17:29

c. *Context*: *Preaching to young men about not misbehaving*
ná **exekmos** aptémakxa apnámakkok

ná= e-**xekmos** ap-té-m-akxa ap-námakkok
NEG= M.IRR-show M.PART-be-TI-NM:OB M.POSS-other.PL

'Don't show your [bad] behavior to your family'

EDP enx039 53:56

When stem elements or other suffixes would otherwise create a word-final consonant cluster, imperatives have an [-a] affixed to the right edge of the word. For the sake of morphological transparency, this [-a] is glossed as an imperative marker with IMP, but this is likely best understood as a purely phonological process to avoid coda clusters rather than a true distinct morpheme.

(3.67) *Context: to a child, upon coming across a wasps nest*
exakxa m'a teyp, takxeyk péyem

e-x-akx-a =m'a teyp // ø-takx-eyk péyem
M.IRR-sit-DUP-IMP =DMSTR M.other.side // F-bite-DECL wasp

'Go sit over there, the wasps sting'

EDP enx025 25:54

It should be noted that, as in likely any language, many verb stems do not occur in the imperative form, or if they do, they only occur in the prohibitive (negative imperative). This is generally a semantic or functional restriction, and typically applies to semantically stative verbs. For example, *-yens-* is 'be injured', and cannot really be construed as a command. However, such items may still occur in the imperative, but with some kind of valency increasing morphology, as in (3.68).

(3.68) ná **eyenses**

ná e-yens-es
NEG M.IRR-hurt-VAL

'Don't hurt him'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

3.4.3 Participial verb forms

There are four basic verb forms which are nominalizations, and the ones which take participial pronominal prefixes are referred to as a group here as the **participial verb forms**. Like the declarative and irrealis forms, participles have a unique pronominal prefix paradigm and series of three suffixes that go with them:

- Imperfective [NM:IP]: can denote events or event participants, and views the event as incomplete or takes the vantage point of some internal component of the event
- Perfective [NM:PV]: can denote events or event participants, and views the event as a completed whole

- Oblique nominalization [NM:OB]: denotes where, when, or how the event occurs

These three verb forms can be seen in the examples in (3.69), with the verb *-aqh-* 'kill'. These examples are meant to show the different forms, and their semantic differences, especially between the imperfective and perfective forms, are described more extensively in the chapter on nominalization.

(3.69) a. naqsok axta anhan **apchaqha** makham
naqsok =axta =anhan apch-aqh-a makham
truly =TC:PST =AND M.PART-kill-NM:IP still
'and of course, he killed it again'

EDP enx006 05:17

b. hawe ko'o **seyaqhe**
hawe ko'o sey-aqh-e
NEG 1SG 1SG.PART-kill-NM:PV
'I wasn't the one who killed him'

EDP enx006 07:57

c. haxko **negaqhakxa** axta m'a
haxko neg-aqh-akxa =axta =m'a
where 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB =TC:PST =DMSTR
'Where did we kill it? (Where is the place that we killed it?)'

EDP enx025 04:30

The morphological distinction between the imperfective and perfective is very complex, exhibiting not only extensive allomorphy, but homophony between allomorphs of the two suffix types. They are therefore described together in §3.4.3. The oblique nominalization form, by contrast, is clearly recognizeable, and the derivation of surface forms from the constituent morphemes is therefore rather straightforward.

An important generalization regarding all three participial forms concerns the temporal indefinite (TI) suffix described in the next section (§3.5 below), which in declarative verbs can provide either habitual or remote past semantics. The perfective form requires the presence of the TI suffix in stems, thus voiding the ability to create productive alternations with remote past semantics in this verb form. The other two participial forms, the imperfective and oblique nominalizations can display productive alternations with this stem suffix, although in the imperfective, it can only provide remote past semantics and not habitual semantics.

Perfective and Imperfective Nominalizations

The imperfective and perfective forms of verbs are often difficult to formally distinguish from one another — in terms of their morphophonology, their semantic value, and their

morphosyntactic function. Much of the discussion on nominalization and its subordination-like function (Ch. 15), however, depends on an understanding that with few exceptions the two forms are in fact distinct and their forms are generally predictable based on the verb stem/base. Both forms can metonymically denote various entities associated with their verb stem, including both events and participants. The distinction between them is indicated by their name — they carry different aspectual values, as can been seen in (3.70), but the aspectual distinction is in relation to their function as nominalizations, and the same perfectivity distinction is actually not available to the more finite declarative verb forms. The semantics and uses of these forms are discussed extensively across the chapter on nominalization.

(3.70) a. cháxa yátapawa **seknexpagà** axta ko'o
chaxa yatapawa **sek-nexpag-à** =axta ko'o
that blanket 1SG.PART-weave-NM:PV =TC:PST 1SG
'That's the blanket I weaved'

Skype 2020.4.14

b. cháxa yátapawa **seknexpaga** axta ko'o
chaxa yatapawa **sek-nexpag-a** =axta ko'o
that blanket 1SG.PART-weave-NM:IP =TC:PST 1SG
'That's the blanked I was weaving'

Skype 2020.4.14

Because the complex allomorphy of the forms leads to homophony in some cases, the NM:IP and NM:PV forms and their morphophonology are described together here. This description begins with some basic examples of their usage, before turning to a discussion of their morphology.

While there are alternations between the two forms in the same construction, as in the alternation in (3.70) above, there are other constructions in which only one of the two forms is grammatically possible, and these have been used to confirm whether a given form is the perfective or imperfective form when there is confusion. For example, certain temporal ordering PREDICATES like *keñe* 'then, afterwards' (§15.2.3) are only ever followed by imperfective form verbs, as in (3.71a). Non-restrictive identity constructions involving participant denoting nominalizations, as in (3.71b), always use the perfective form of the verb, and the imperfective is ungrammatical in such constructions..

(3.71) a. ekyésessek axta nepkesek keñe **seknexpaga**
ek-yeses-sek =axta nepkesek keñe sek-nexpag-a
1SG-cut.hair-DECL =TC:PST sheep after 1SG.PART-weave-NM:IP
'I sheared the sheep then I wove (its wool)'

Skype 2020.4.14

b. ko'o axta **seknexpagà**

ko'o =axta sek-nexpag-à
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.PART-weave-NM:PV
'I'm the one who weaved it'

Skype 2020.4.14

The allomorphy involved in the form of these two grammatical suffixes is complex, and can be confusing at first. Generally, we could say that the imperfective suffix is usually *-a* but is sometimes *-o*, and that the perfective form must have the temporal indefinite suffix *-am*/*-ay* (described in §3.5 below) and a perfective suffix that is often *-a*. These two elements of the perfective form might not be adjacent due to the presence of stem-forming morphology, but if these two components are adjacent they coalesce in complex ways. To the degree that the imperfective and perfective suffixes can be fully segmented apart from stems, there is significant homophony between the allomorphs of the two suffixes for different verb stems.

The two are however, formally distinct for any given verb stem, although there are instances where the perfective form and the temporal indefinite form of the imperfective are homophonous for the same verb stem, as the perfective form morphologically requires the temporal indefinite suffix. All documented allomorphs of the NM:IP/NM:PV paradigms, including the temporal indefinite imperfective forms, are listed in table 3.8. This table and the categories it delineates are referred to frequently in the following description.

Verb Stem	Gloss	NM:IP	TI.NM:IP	NM:PV
A. Unmarked		*-a*	*-ma*	*-ma*
-paxqat-	'cut in half'	ekpaxqata	ekpáxqatma	ekpáxqatma
-paqn-	'disperse'	ekpaqna	ekpánma	ekpánma
-sepken-	'swallow'	eksekkena	eksekkenma	eksekkenma
B. Unmarked, reduced		*-a*	*-ama*	*-o*
-le'(l)-	'emit'	ekleya	ekleklama	ekleklo
-més	'give'	ekmésa	ekméssama	ekmésso
-esp-	'smoke'	eyespa	eyespama	eyespo
-taxn-	'enter'	ektaxna	ektaxnama	ektaxno
C. Explicit ʔ-final		*-a*	*-(e/a)ya*	*-e*
-wa'-	'arrive'	ekwa'a	ekwaya	ekwe
-elane'-	'prepare'	élána	éláneya	élane
-wete'-	'see'	ét'a	éteya	éte
-lege'-	'hear'	ekleg'a	eklegeya	eklege
D. Implicit ʔ-final		*-a*	-ama	*-e*
-aqh-	'kill'	eyaqha	eyaqhama	eyaqhe
-ánt-	'mount'	eyánta	eyántama	eyánte
E. Nasal-final		*-a*	*-(a/o)ma*	*-à* (low tone)
-xeg-	'go'	ekxega	ekxegama	ekxegà
-nexteg-	'jump into'	eknextega	eknextegma	eknextegà
-patem-	'carry'	ekpatma	ekpatmoma	ekpatà
-yetem-	'fill (water)'	ekyetma	ekyetmoma	ekyetà
G. Stem affixes				
*-me'-*DUP	'head back there'	ekmeyakxo	ekmeykekxo	ekmeykekxa'
*-wa'-*CISL	'arrive back here'	ekwakto	ekweykto	ekweykta'
- /haxn/+INTS	'listen'	ekhaxnawo	ekháxenmo	ekháxenmo

Table 3.8: Imperfective, temporal indefinite imperfective, and perfective forms, categorized by surface form paradigm

The allomorphs seen in table 3.8 appear to be the result of profound phonological and morphological changes that have happened quite recently in the history of the language — they generally look quite different even from the corresponding morphology in the closely related Enlhet Norte, and some of the modern forms contrast with attested forms from the mid 20th century, some of which are preserved in the language of contemporary elders. Describing and accounting for the allomorphy in these forms is, therefore, perhaps best done by explaining the diachronic processes which appear to have lead to the current forms.

The more morphologically conservative Enlhet-Enenlhet languages, like the Enenlhet described in Unruh et al. (2003), have a more transparent, agglutanitive system in which the imperfective suffix is *-o* and the perfective is formed with the temporal indefinite suffix (TI) and a perfective suffix *-a*[12]. Some examples from Enenlhet showing this simple

[12]In this dissertation, where the NM:PV suffix is adjacent to the TI suffix which it requires, the two are typically glossed as a single NM:PV morpheme.

paradigm, as well as the temporal indefinite form of the imperfective, are given in table 3.9.

Base	Gloss	NM:IP	TI-NM:IP	NM:PV
-yetn-	'lie'	akyetno	akyetnemo	akyetnema
-pe'-	'start'	ampo'o	ampay'o	ampay'a
-tekpog-	'hit'	aktekpogo	aktekpomo	aktekpoma
-xeg-	'go'	akxego	akxegamo	akxegama

Table 3.9: NM:IP, TI.NM:IP, and NM:PV forms in Enenlhet (Unruh et al. 2003:289) (adapted to Enxet Sur orthography; Unruh et al. refer to these forms as 'subjunctivo', 'subjunctivo pasado', and 'infinitivo', respectively)

This older, more conservative version of the paradigm, with imperfective *-o* and perfective TI plus *-a*, can still be seen in Enxet Sur when other stem forming suffixes — including pluralizers, the middle voice, and directionals — are present between the TI morpheme and the NM:PV or NM:IP suffixes, as in part G of table 3.8. That the NM:PV forms have consonants after the vowel of the NM:PV suffix suggests that they are fused forms. The older paradigm is also preserved to some degree in the nominalized forms of some semiverbs (Ch. 8).

However, at some point in the fairly recent history of the language, the NM:IP suffix for most stems became *-a*, as is true of imperfective forms in parts A through E of table 3.8[13] What this would have meant is that for most verb stems with nothing to come between the TI suffix and the grammatical suffix, the TI.NM:IP form would have been completely homophonous with the perfective form, as both would have been comprised of verb stems ending in the TI suffix followed by a suffix *-a*[14]. Verb stems in part A of table 3.8, where apocope deletes the vowel of the TI suffix, maintain such a homophony between the TI.NM:IP and NM:PV forms.

In another category of stems, like those in part B of table 3.8, an innovative phonological process, the reduction of certain [VmV] strings to [o] (part of a broader phonological process described in §2.4.6), led the [ama] strings comprised of the TI and NM:PV suffixes to reduce to a single vowel *-o*. The change led to the current situation where for some verb stems, like *ektaxna/ektaxno* the NM:IP/NM:PV distinction is indicated by a *-a/-o* alternation and nothing more — quite the opposite of the ancestral pattern. In other examples, like the alternation between *ekmésa/ekmésso* 'give', there is not only a difference in the final vowel, but an inserted consonant – the second [s] in the 'give' example — which remains from the vowel initial TI suffix in the perfective form (see §2.4.3).

A comparable process occurred with glottal stop final verb bases, for which the modern paradigm generally contrasts a NM:IP suffix *-a* with a NM:PV suffix *-e*, as in category C

[13]Why this would have happened is a matter for further diachronic inquiry, although a move from [o] to [a] is apparent in other inflectional morphology — what are now the *a- ag-* of the first person singular and plural irrealis prefixes (respectively) are alternatively *o-* and *og-* according to Powys (1929).

[14]Just such a situation is highly apparent in Powys (1929), who fails to distinguish the two forms or their functions, even though they were not homophonous for all verb stems at the time of his writing. The evidence from Powys also makes it clear that it was the imperfective suffix change from *-o* to *-a* which occurred before the development of the perfective form *-o*.

or table 3.8. As described in section 3.5, the TI on such verb bases typically surfaces as *-ay* or *-ey*, as opposed to the *-am* typical of other bases. Like the items in category B, the NM:PV/TI.NM:IP homophony was resolved via phonological reduction of the [eya] or [aya] strings of the perfective forms to *-e*. This is vaguely related to a broader historical process where [ay] segments became [e:].

Category D in table 3.8 also have an *-e* perfective suffix, but the TI suffix in the TI.NM:IP forms is of the shape *-am* rather than *-ay*. This is a feature of bases ending in certain segments — /h/, /t/, /n/, /x/ — and is related to what I call the "implicit glottal stop" (§2.4.4), which is where such segments often behave as though they have additional //-e'// codas in some morphological environments. Related to this is the fact that some bases, especially those ending in coronals, have essentially free variation between the *-e* and *-ma* forms of the perfective ending, where the *-e* form shows the implicit glottal stop behaviors and the *-ma* form is what occurs when such a phonological process is not applied.

A third prominent kind of reduction occurred with verb bases ending in non-coronal nasals /m/ and /g/, as in category E of table 3.8. For those which are /g/-final, the TI+REL endings coalesced to [a], but with suprasegmental prominence and a marked low tone, indicated by the accent grave *-à*. The low tone that some consultants identify in such forms may just be part of the suprasegmental features, given that the final *-à* in these perfective forms is "stressed" while that of the imperfective form is not — prominence is on the final syllable of the verb base. In other words, for imperfective/perfective alternations like *ekxega*/*ekxegà* 'go', the only surface distinction between the imperfective and perfective forms is in more or less a "stress difference", while segmentally they are the same. The same reduction is observable in some /m/-final bases, except that the base /m/ is lost in the perfective form reduction as well, as in the alternation between *ekpatma*/*ekpatà* 'carry on the shoulders'.

As is further shown in the description of the functions of these two forms, the great deal of functional overlap and intersection between the imperfective and perfective forms of verbs makes the degree of homophony between NM:IP/NM:PV suffixes and between TI.NM:IP/NM:PV full forms all the more interesting, especially from the perspective of, say, a child learning the language. Nonetheless, the morphophonological maneuvering the Enxet Sur language has made to maintain the perfective and imperfective forms as distinct from one another, including innovating phonological reductions not seen elsewhere in the language (like the low tone *-à*), indicates the grammatical and semantic importance of the distinction between these two verbal inflections; it can be contrasted with the frequent homophony of initial and second position declarative form verbs described above.

Oblique nominalization endings

The oblique nominalization is so named out of convenience, since it has the function of denoting properties of the event or state referenced by the verb which might (in other languages) be indicated through oblique arguments of a clause, primarily the place, time, or manner of the event or state. This label, however, comes with an important warning: there is not really such thing as a grammatical oblique argument in the grammar of Enxet

Sur. As described in §5.1, the clause contains a single position of NOMINAL COMPLEMENT rather than distinct argument positions like SUBJECT/OBJECT/OBLIQUE, so nominal expressions which might constitute obliques in other languages are entered into the grammar of Enxet Sur either as the dependent NOMINAL COMPLEMENT, or as a distinct PREDICATE in a separate clause.

Functions of this form are described in more detail in the chapter on nominalization, but some basic examples can be given here. The oblique nominalization most often refers to the place where the event indicated by the verb occurs, as in (3.72).

(3.72) neymhok **éttawanyexa**

n-e-ym-hok e-et-tawany-exa
PRHB-M.IRR-arrive.purpose-INTS F.PART-VBLZ-deep-NM:OB

'Don't play around in the deep part (of the water)' literally 'Don't go to where it is deep'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It is also used to indicate the time when the action or state indicate by the verb takes/took place. This can denote the time of a particular event like *eknewexchexa máneg* 'when *máneg* is danced' in (3.73b), or a generalized event, as in (3.73a).

(3.73) a. **apnaqxamákpexa** yátepepe

ap-naqxa-m-ákp-exa yátepepe
M.PART-harvest-TI-MID.M-NM:OB cotton

'the time when cotton is harvested'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Tenhan ma'a nelháxaqxo nak yaqwayam kolmaha **eknewexchexa máneg**

tén =han =ma'a nél-háx-akx-o =nak yaqwayam
then =AND =DMSTR 1PL.DIST.PART-curve-DUP-NM:PV =TC:VIS for
kól-m-aha ek-new-exch-exa máneg
IMPR-haveAMB.NM:PO F.PART-play.dance-MID-NM:OB máneg

'We also [use the bird feathers] for a crown to use when we dance *máneg*'

Schoolbook Grade 1

Formally, the oblique nominalization suffix is mercilessly simple. Its base form is *-exa*, as in (3.73a) above, but this particular form is quite rare. Rather, oblique nominalizations are most often recognized in verb forms ending in *-kaxa* or *-akxa*. The *-kaxa* form is derived by simple and consonant insertion when *-exa* attaches to a stem ending in the complexive suffix (§2.4.3), with an expected change in vowel quality. With the *-akxa* form, the original [e] is lost to apocope (§2.4.2), while the *-ak* element is always part of the end of the verb stem, either because of glottal stop final verb bases or the still poorly understood coda forming process referred to as the "implicit glottal stop" (§2.4.4). Some examples of each allomorph are given in table 3.10.

Stem	Oblique Nominalization
-ap- 'cover' + MID	eyápexch**exa**
-samag- 'cold'	apmopsamág**exa**
-meyk- 'lack'	meyk**exa**
-yetset- 'count, read' + DUP	apyetsátekx**exa**
-h- 'sit' + COMPL	ekhág**kaxa**
-tamh- 'attend to' + COMPL	ektamhág**kaxa**
-wanme'- 'be silent' + COMPL	ekwanmég**kaxa**
-h- 'sit'	ekh**akxa**
-metm- 'dig'	ekmetm**akxa**
-wa'- 'arrive'	ekw**akxa**
-eñam- 'come from'	éñam**akxa**
-pey- 'start'	pey**akxa**

Table 3.10: Oblique Nominalization forms showing range of allomorphy for the oblique nominalizer suffix

3.5 The Temporal Indefinite suffix

One of the more common verbal morphemes in Enxet Sur, and one which is critical to understanding the morphological distinction between the perfective and imperfective forms described in (3.4.3), is referred to in this dissertation as the **temporal indefinite**[15] — I explain the name below, after an account of the shape of the morpheme. This affix, when used productively in verb forms other than the perfective (with which it is obligatory), most often indicates either the remote past tense or habitual aspect. Examples of the temporal indefinite form of *-taw-* 'eat' are given below, with the habitual aspect usage exhibited in (3.74) and the remote past form shown in (3.75)[16].

(3.74) *Some habitual uses of the temporal indefinite -taw- 'eat'*

a. **nentamchek** negko'o xápen
nen-ta-**m**-chek negko'o xápen
1.PL-eat-TI-DECL 1.PL rhea.bird
'We eat rhea bird (customarily)'

[15]The term used in Powys (1929) is the "preterit", which is misleading, and Unruh et al. (2003) refers to this bit of morphology simply as the *ampliación radical* or "root extension", which does not much refer to its semantic value and is problematic since other stem forming morphology can separate it from the root/base

[16]Both of these examples come from the New Testament of the Enxet Sur Bible translation. One of the lead translators, Asunción Rojas, made a stylistic decision to write the New Testament primarily with the temporal indefinite form of verbs, which I assume insinuates that the events of the Bible occurred in the distant past. What these examples primarily serve to show is that the events these temporal indefinite form verbs indicate are specific, individual events and not habitual ones. Many languages in South America with a distinction between past and remote past tenses will use the latter for talking about events in "mythic time", and I assume that some similar understanding of the temporal indefinite underlies Rojas' stylistic choice to use the temporal indefinite.

Notes 7.4.2015

b. **aptamchek** eñekhe apto, makke emlék
ap-ta-**m**-chek =eñekhe ap-t-o m =akke e-mle:-k
M-eat-**TI**-DECL =TC:FRUST M.PART-eat-NM:PV NEG =TC:ASR M.IRR-fat-NM:PO
'Although he eats, he does not get fat.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(3.75) a. **aptamchek** axta nahan nápaqta'awo'
ap-ta-**m**-chek =axta =nahan na-ap-aqt-a'-awo'
M-eat-**TI**-DECL =TC:PST =AND LOC-M.POSS-eye-PL-INTS
'And he ate it right in front of them'

TA Luke 24:42

b. **aptamchek** axta yetlo apkelxegexma'a m'a pan kélpagkanchesso axta Dios
ap-ta-**m**-chek =axta yetlo apkel-xegexma-'a =m'a pan
M-eat-**TI**-DECL =TC:PST with M.DIST-friend-PL =DMSTR bread
kél-pagkan-ches-so =axta Dios
IMPR-set.aside-VAL-NM:PV =TC:PST God
'He ate, with those that went with him, the sacred loaves reserved for God'

TA Mark 2:26

Something approaching a semantic minimal pair for the habitual reading of the temporal indefinite can be seen in (3.76), where the base copular verb *-teh-* 'be, say' *ektaha* refers to a present, observed state (further indicated by the VIS evidential *nak*), whereas the temporal indefinite form *ektéma* refers to a more general state of being which is not limited to the present.

(3.76) ekya'ásegkok **ektéma** xa **ektáha** nak

ek-ya'áseg-kok ek-tém-a =xa ek-táh-a =nak
1SG-know-DECL F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP =DMSTR F.PART-be-NM:IP =TC:VIS

'I know it's like that' (literally 'I know that how it is (habitually) is how it is (at present, as I see it now)')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The temporal indefinite form is not obligatory in the presence of other morphological indices of either remote past tense or habitual aspect, as seen in (3.77). Despite the presence of the remote past clitic *ñat* or the adverb *chá'a* 'always', the temporal indefinite morpheme is not present in the verb. In a way, this conforms to the way many erstwhile "inflectional" or "agreement" suffixes are used in the language — rather than

needing to "agree" with other items in the syntactic environment, speakers actually avoid morphological indication of "inflectional" features when the same semantics are being accomplished elsewhere in the clause, and they often do not use items like person-marking or TAME clitics when such information is well established in the discourse.

(3.77) **negkexyekmek** ñat negko'o chá'a axto'o

neg-kexy-ekm-ek =ñat negko-o chá'a axto'o
1PL-return-TERM-DECL =TC:RPST 1PL always morning

'We would always return in the morning'

EDP enx047 30:08

That said, there is often some "agreement" between verbs with regards to the temporal indefinite, in that if a declarative main verb is marked in the temporal indefinite, nominalized verbs which are semantically related to it, either as semantic arguments or concurrent actions, will also be marked with the temporal indefinite. In (3.78), the addition of the TI in the declarative verb co-occurs with its addition in the nominalized verb which denotes a concurrent action, and in (3.79), the addition of the TI to the declarative verb triggers a change from the imperfective form to the perfective form, which inherently includes the TI suffix (see 3.4.3).

(3.78) a. **apyaqnenchek** énxet **sekyega**

ap-yaqnen-chek énxet sek-yeg-a
M-fall-DECL man 1SG.PART-push-NM:IP

'The man fell when I pushed him'

Skype 2020.3.20

b. **apyaqnenmeyk** axta énxet **sekyegama** axta

ap-yaqnen-m-eyk =axta énxet sek-yeg-am-a =axta
M-fall-TI-DECL =TC:PST man 1SG.PART-push-TI-NM:IP =TC:PST

'The man fell when I pushed him'

Skype 2020.3.20

(3.79) a. **masse' ekwakto**

ø-mas-se' ek-wak-t-o
F-diminish-DECL F.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP

'she doesn't come anymore'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **massegke' ekweykta'**

ø-mas-seg-ke' ek-wey-k-t-a'
F-diminish-TI-DECL F.PART-arrive-TI-CISL-NM:PV

'she doesn't usually come anymore'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The temporal indefinite is frequently found in declarative verbs, and in imperfective and oblique nominalizations, and is a requisite part of the morphology for perfective verbs. It is rare in imperative verbs and in potential form nominalizations, but not strictly impossible. The copula *-teh-* is frequently used in the temporal indefinite potential (*antemek*) or temporal indefinite imperative (*kólteme*) when in reference to changes in behavior or identity. However, potential or imperative examples with other verb stems have not yet been found. Attestation and semantic values for the temporal indefinite in combination is listed in table 3.11. The important generalization here is that while the habitual semantics are well attested with any verb form that contrastively uses the temporal indefinite, the remote past reading does not appear to occur with the irrealis-marked verbs (which is quite logical) or with the oblique nominalization (which seems more arbitrary).

Verb form	Attested with TI?	Semantic value
DECL	Yes	remote past, habitual
NM:PO	Yes, rare	habitual
IMP	Yes, rare	habitual
NM:IP	Yes	remote past
NM:PV	Obligatory	no contrasting semantic value
NM:OB	Yes	habitual

Table 3.11: Occurrence and semantic value of temporal indefinite with different grammatical verb forms

The form of this morpheme is variable, and it is possible that the variant forms are lexicalized, and not just the result of regular phonological processes[17]. In general, the distribution of the allomorphs of this morpheme fit fairly well with something like an underlying //-e'// form which follows the unusual phonological behavior of the glottal stop (§2.4.4) — it is most often a nasal consonant or a glide, and sometimes surfaces as a lengthened vowel in phonological environments that produce similar allomorphy of glottal stop final bases.

For many verbs, the TI morpheme surfaces as *-(e)m*, with progressive nasal assimilation often changing the articulation of the nasal and apocope deleting the vowel. Some examples of *-(e)m* and related TI allomorphs are given in table 3.12. With a base ending in *-VC* like *-menxen-*, the TI stem is *-menxenm-* in *ekmenxenmeyk*. With a base ending in *-CC*, like *-yexn-*, the TI stem might be *-yexneg-*, as in *ekyexnegkek*, or *-yexanm-*, as in *éxanmak*, depending on the phonological environment

In table 3.13, there are verbs whose TI form in the DECL is some variation on the *-(e)m* allomorph, with easily accounted for alternations in vowel quality (§2.4.5) and nasal place of articulation, similar to the forms in 3.12, but when followed by the SCND suffix, the TI suffix coalesces with the vowel of the *-ak* suffix to produce a single vowel, long

[17]In Enxet Sur, however, the form of the temporal indefinite does not seem as irregular as indicated for Enenlhet in Unruh et al. (2003).

Stem	DECL	DECL.TI	SCND	SCND.TI
-menxen- 'lead'	ekmenxenchek	ekmenxenmeyk	ekmenxenak	ekmenxenmak
-meñex- 'rob'	ekmeñexchek	ekmeñexmeyk	ekmeñexak	ekmeñexmak
-teyen- 'sleep'	ekténchek	ekteyenmeyk	ekténak	ekteyenmak
-xeyen- 'show'	ekxénchek	ekxeyenmeyk	ekxénak	ekxeyenmak
-yexen- 'hang up'	eyexneyk	eyexnegkek	ekyexnak	éxanmak

Table 3.12: Temporal indefinite surfaces as *-(e)m*

Stem	DECL	DECL.TI	SCND	SCND.TI
-m- 'have'	ekmeyk	ekmomchek	ekmak	ekmák
-mateg- 'be killed'	ekmatñeyk	ekmatñegkek	ekmatñak	ekmatñák
-watn- 'burn'	ekwatneyk	ekwatnegkek	ekwatnak	ekwatnók
-wón- 'cry'	ekwóneyk	ekwónegkek	ekwónak	ekwónók
-xatm- 'fill (solid)'	ekxatmeyk	ekxatmomchek	ekxatmak	ekxaták
-xeg- 'go'	ekxegkek	ekxegamchek	ekxegak	ekxegák
-yen- 'drink	ekyenchek	ekyamchek	ekyenak	ekyák
-yept- 'rip in half'	ekyepteyk	ekyeptegkek	ekyeptak	ekyeptók
-yesw- 'urinate'	ekyesweyk	ekyeswomchek	ekyeswak	ekyeswók
-yetm- 'fill (liquid)'	ekyetmeyk	ekyetmomchek	ekyetak	ekyetak
-átawany- 'bury'	eyátawanyeyk	eyátawanyegkek	eyátawanyak	eyátawanyeyk
-asñ- 'grimace'	eyasñek	eyasñegkek	eyasñak	eyasñeyk

Table 3.13: Long vowel in the SCND.TI form

in almost all cases. For example, the TI.SCND form of the verb *-m-* 'have' is underlyingly something like //ek-m-em-ak//, but the //-VMV// string is reduced to a single long [a:] in the surface form *ekmák*. This surface form could be the result of any number of phonological processes attested in other parts of the language. Intervocalic nasals, meaning *-VNV-* strings, are often reduced to a single vowel (§2.4.6), and this reduction sometimes absorbs additional nasal segments which precede the *-VNV* strings, which can be seen in the loss of the base *m* when *-xatm-* 'fill with solids' is in the TI.SCND form *ekxaták*.

However, there is also a common process where intervocalic glottal stops or glides also reduce to long vowels, and, as I show in table 3.14, there is reason to see another allomorph of the TI suffix as acting like a surface glottal stop. The TI.SCND forms ending in *-eyk* at the bottom of this table (*eyasñeyk*, *eyátawanyeyk*)[18] have final [e:k] codas, which cannot be formed by reduction of *-VNV-* strings (this reduction always produces either a back or low vowel, never a front vowel).

In table 3.14 the declarative TI forms of verbs with final glottal stops (or implicit glottal stops, §2.4.4), show quite a different paradigm. For example, the base *-wete'* 'see' (second vowel deleted through apocope) alternates with the TI stem *-wetay*. Understanding this alternation requires reference to cognate forms in other EE languages, for example

[18]Note that in such cases, there is homophony of the DECL and TI.SCND forms. In the DECL of these stems, the final *-eyk* is the DECL suffix, while in the TI.SCND forms, the *-ey* is the TI suffix.

Stem	DECL	DECL.TI	SCND	SCND.TI
-maxa'- 'delouse'	ekmaxak	ekmaxeyk	ekmaxak	ekmaxeyk
-mele'- 'get fat'	ekmel'ak	ekmelayak	ekmel'ak	ekmelayak
-wete'- 'see'	ekwet'ak	ekwetayak	ekwet'ak	ekwetayak
-xa'- 'receive'	ekxakak	ekxawayak	ekxawek	ekxawayak

Table 3.14: TI stems surface with *-ay*

the Enenlhet cognate to Enxet Sur *apwetayak* would be *apwetay'ak*[19] (cf. Unruh et al. 2003, p. 288). The glottal stop found in Enenlhet forms but lost in Enxet Sur forms appears to correlate directly with the TI morpheme. If we take the underlying morphemic structure of *apwetayak* to be //ap-wete'-e'-ak//, we can derive the surface form from productive rules. The intervocalic glottal stop of the base would become a [y], giving //ap-wetey-e'-ak//, and apocope would delete the vowel of the TI suffix yielding //ap-wetey-'-ak//. Vowel assimilation leads the glottal stop to lower the preceding vowel, giving //apwetay'ak//, and in a number of phonological environments, we see deletion of onset glottal stops, even if this is not fully or regularly applied (§2.4.4).

So, although the TI suffix never surfaces in Enxet Sur as a glottal stop, it seems that the allomorphy of this form can best be accounted for by positing its original form as *-e'*. This glottal stop either reduces in intervocalic positions, is deleted in an onset position, or becomes a glide or velar nasal, the latter of which then assimilates to a bilabial nasal in accordance with adjacent consonants and vowels. This morphophonological account still leaves a fair amount of lexical idiosyncracy, and the coda-forming behaviors of what is called the coda glottal stop (§2.4.4) are still very much an open question in terms of the precise mechanisms of their phonological behaviors. However, it seems probable that most, maybe all TI stems can be accounted for in this way, even if it is through a somewhat complex string of phonological processes. As I say regarding much of the morphophonology of Enxet Sur, however, these phonological derivations may be as much the result of diachronic processes as they are synchronic grammatical ones, and speakers may very well have TI forms of stems as distinct lexical entries.

While an account of the morphophonology is necessary for some of the claims related to the morphosyntactic effects of the TI, its semantic function is a topic of great interest and complexity as well, and stands to contribute to the typology of temporal semantics. Its simultaneous functions of marking both habituality and remote past tense seem counter-intuitive, almost mutually exclusive. Unruh et al. (2003)[p. 284] refers to this form as a "root extension" that marks the "past" but says nothing about habituality. More recent work by Hannes Kalisch (cf. Hannes Kalisch 2019), glosses this morpheme as "*indefinido*" or 'indefinite'. This latter account is likely more on track.

While the notion of definiteness is typically associated with noun phrases (Hawkins, 2015, Lyons, 1999), there have been some studies which apply a similar notion at the level of the clause or verb, referring to a property of *temporal definiteness*. As a property of nominal referring expressions, definiteness is generally understood as indicating that the nominal expression refers to one particular referent in the possible set of referents

[19]This is using the Enxet Sur orthographic conventions. The Enenlhet transcription would be *apvetai'ak*.

selected by the nominal expression. So, with the noun *dog*, indefinite *a dog* can refer to any one entity that has the property of being a dog, whereas definite *the dog* selects one specific entity which has the property of being a dog. Temporal definiteness, instead, is a morphological category which indicates something about both the reality status and specificity of an event or state indicated by a verb, and has been described in Mohawk (Baker and Travis, 1997), in the Koro language of Vanuatu (Cleary-Kemp, 2015), and in Matsigenka of southeastern Peru (Dohn, 2016). A verbal expression is temporally definite if it indicates a particular event whose temporal relation to other events is clearly defined.

The temporal "indefiniteness" of the TI suffix in Enxet Sur indicates that the verb event is not specific or particular, and cannot necessarily be placed in a defined chronological position. Thus, it can have a habitual reading because it does not present the event as a singular specific event, and therefore the event can be interpreted as occurring many times. It can also have a "remote past" reading, because "remote past" is associated with limited speaker accessibility to knowledge of when exactly the event occurred. In fact, in other South American languages with remote past markers, the remote past can be used to speak about things which happened recently but about which the speaker has limited knowledge (cf. Tallman and Stout 2018), and the remote past is often associated with "mythic time", which happens outside of normal, conventionally understood time. Thus, both habituality and a remote past reading can be accounted for under the semantic umbrella of "temporal indefiniteness", because they are an indication that the event indicated by the verb is not clearly defined in time. Some Enxet Sur consultants, when asked what the difference is between verbs with and without the TI suffix, say that TI verbs are used for things that happen "far away", which again corresponds with a notion of events which are poorly defined or individuated in the mind of the speaker.

3.6 Overview of stem forming morphology

In this dissertation, the Enxet Sur **verb stem** consists of all morphemes within the verb proper other than the pronominal prefix (3.3) and the grammatical suffixes (§3.4). Therefore, all of the highly productive affixes which can be added to bases to form new stems are referred to throughout this dissertation as **stem-forming morphology/affixes**. These stem forming affixes are grouped into four distinct categories:

- *Verbal plurals*: the distributive [DIST] *el-*, the complexive [COMPL] *--ey*, and the intensive [INTS] *-awo/-oho*; all described in Ch. 10
- The *temporal indefinite* [TI] *-e'*, described in §3.5 above
- *Directionals and associated motion*: the 'arrive' associated motion [ARR] *-wa'*, the terminative [TERM] *-m*, the cislocative [CISL] *-t*, the duplicative [DUP] *-akx*, and the ambulative [AMB] *-ha*; all described in Ch. 12
- *Valency or voice manipulators*: the valency increasing suffix [VAL] *-es*, and the middle voice marker which has a generic form [MID] *-exk* and a masculine marked form [MID.M] *-(ak)p*; both are described in Ch. 11

Post-base affixes	*-taw-*	'to eat'
NM:PV	nento	'eating'
COMPL.NM:PV	nentéyak	'many people eating'
VAL.NM:PV	nentókasso	'to feed' or 'to eat something which belongs to someone else'
MID.NM:PV	nentámaxche	'to be eaten' or 'to have a feast, eat with others'
INTS.NM:PV	nentomo	'to eat something often' or 'to eat with someone' or 'to eat to fullness'
ARR.NM:PV	nentaswe	'to eat upon arriving here'
DUP.NM:PV	nenteykekxa'	'to eat again'
ARR.DUP.NM:PV	nentasweykekxa'	'to eat upon returning there'
ARR.CISL.NM:PV	nentasweykta'	'to eat upon returning here'
COMPL.CISL.NM:PV	nenteykenta'	'to eat while returning here'
ARR.TERM.NM:PV	nentaswayam	'to go eat somewhere else'

Table 3.15: Some stems formed from the base *-taw-* 'eat'

Among these various categories of affixes, there is only one true stem prefix[20], and ten stem forming suffixes. Although this is not a particularly large inventory as far as polysynthetic languages go, several of these stem forming affixes may be present on the same stem. Although typical Enxet Sur verbs are three to five morphemes in length, verbs with more than 10 total morphemes (not including clitics) have been attested, as in (3.80) below.

(3.80) **ẽlásekhássásamákpekxók** axta apagko'

eg-el-ásekh-ás-sás-am-ákp-ekx-o:-k =axta =apagko'
1PL.STAT-DIST-love-VAL-VAL-TI-MID.M-DUP-INTS-DECL =TC:PST =TC:M.REFL

'We were reconciled to him' (literally 'He made us feel great love for him again)

TA Paul 5:19

Any given base may occur with a majority of the stem forming affixes, although most bases have some limitations. For example, the base *-taw-* 'eat', some of whose various derived stems are shown in table 3.15, cannot take the distributive or ambulative affixes. Sometimes there are clear semantic or morphosyntactic motivations for such morphological restrictions, but often times a combination is not used and there is no clear reason for its absence. For example, the ambulative suffix means to 'do something while going about', and I know of no particular reason why it could not be applied to the 'eat' verb base to talk about going and eating food at lots of different houses.

As can be seen in the descriptions of various stem forming morphemes, the semantic modification they make vis a vis the base can range from the fairly predictable (like the almost entirely consistent use of *-wa'* ARR as an associated motion marker) to highly multifunctional and occasionally ambiguous (like the intensive *-o'*, which can be, among other

[20]I do not include in this count the verbalizing prefixes used to derive productive verbs from semiverbs

things, a comitative, an accidental marker, a degree marker, or something of a completive aspect marker).

Furthermore, there is variation in how much the presence of one stem forming affix affects the interpretation of others. For example, in (3.81a), the base *-tey-* 'fall' typically takes the terminative *-m* to indicate that someone fell all the way to the ground (without the terminative, it might be to stumble or lean over). When a causative *-es* is added in (3.81b), the stem now means 'to knock someone to the ground', but the affect of the terminative *-m* on the base has not changed. In such cases, the multiple stem forming affixes are semantically independent of each other.

(3.81) a. **apteyekmek** náxop
ap-teyek-m-ek naxop
M-fall-TERM-DECL on.ground
'He fell to the ground'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **apteyássekmek** náxop
ap-tey-assek-m-ek naxop
M-fall-VAL-TERM-DECL on.ground
'He knocked him to the ground'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, there are a number of instances where the presence or addition of one stem forming affix affects the interpretation of another. For example, the distributive is often sensitive to plurality of "absolutive"[21] arguments — the subjects of monadic verbs or patients of dyadic verbs. Therefore, when a valency increasing morpheme changes a monadic verb stem into a dyadic verb stem, the distributive changes from indicating plurality of the pronominally marked subject to plurality of the patient of the verb, as in the contrastive pair in (3.82).

(3.82) a. **apkeltenchek** axta'a
apk-el-ten-chek axta'a
M-DIST-sleep-DECL night
'They slept through the night'

b. **apkelténchessek** sakcha'a
apk-el-ténch-es-sek sakcha'a
M-DIST-sleep-VAL-DECL child
'He put the kids to sleep'

Elsewhere, as described in Ch. 12 two of the directional suffixes, terminative *-m* and duplicative *-akx*, have aspect-like effects on non-motion verbs, indicating achievement and repetition, respectively. However, if the associated motion suffix *-wa'* is used, the

[21] As described in §5.2.3, there is not any real sense in which arguments are categorized on an ergative-absolutive alignment.

interpretation of the terminative and duplicative is only ever in relation to the motion semantics of *-wa'*, indicating arrival in a new place or return to another location. Once *-wa'* is used, these directionals loose their ability to have independent semantic effect directly on the base itself.

Despite the fact that some stem forming affixes modify or restrict the interpretation of others when they co-occur, Enxet Sur does not have a generally productive process of alternating the order of stem affixes for semantic effect, what Mattissen (2017) refers to as a scoping morphological type. Therefore, in the directional vs. associated motion example just given, the associated motion *-wa'* suffix always precedes the duplicative *-akx*, and the duplicative must always be analyzed in terms of the associated motion suffix. There is no process by which the duplicative could be placed before the associated motion suffix in a way that would change the semantic scope of either, and a form like the hypothetical one in (3.83) is not grammatically possible.

(3.83) **wetákxagwa'ak

ø-weta'-akxag-wa'-ak
F-see-DUP-ARR-DECL

**'She found it when she arrived here'

That is to say that the order of stem forming affixes in the verb as well as their semantic relationships to one another is, for the most part, pre-determined, and verbal morphology is determined by a morphological template like that in figure 3.1.

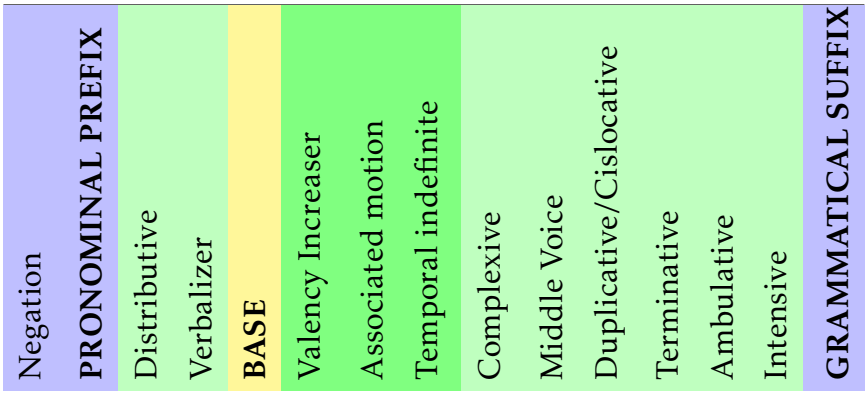

Figure 3.1: A maximal Enxet Sur verb template. The stem area is in green, with the inner stem in dark green.

Within the verb stem, we can define a region of the "inner stem" as consisting of the base, valency increasing morphology, the associated motion marker *-wa'*, and the temporal indefinite suffix, which could be thought of more as the border between the inner and outer stem than part of the inner stem itself. It is that which occurs inside the inner stem that fundamentally affects the semantic argument structure of the stem, and the instances of stem forming affixes affecting each others interpretation generally only occurs in relation to the presence of inner stem morphology

The prefixing region of the stem template is fairly straightforward. The verbalizer prefix only applies to semiverbs which must take it in order to have access to all other verbal morphology (§8.6). The distributive is very common and highly productive, and since there are no other major stem prefixes, there are no questions regarding the order of the distributive relative to other prefixes. There are, however, some outstanding questions and ambiguities regarding when it is and is not lexicalized as part of the base — many stems formally begin with the distributive but do not alternate with a non-distributive form. Its interaction with first person plural prefixes that precede it is also markedly phonologically fusional. See §10.2 for more discussion

The order of stem form suffixes after the base is also generally predictable. However, compared to stem prefixes, stem suffixes and their relationships with both the base and the grammatical suffix are more complicated. First, representing the suffixes with the templatic structure in figure 3.1 does not accurately represent mutual exclusivities across stem-forming suffixes. These include:

- The duplicative is mutually exclusive with the terminative and the cislocative, but the cislocative and terminative can co-occur
- The cislocative never co-occurs with the intensive
- The associated motion and complexive suffixes never co-occur
- The ambulative cannot co-occur with most stem forming suffixes, and has only been attested co-occurring with valency increasers, the temporal indefinite, the complexive, and the intensive

Given how small the inventory is, these mutual exclusivities significantly reduce the number of combinatorial possibilities for productive stems. It also makes some of the ordering shown in figure 3.1 somewhat arbitrary. However, some "slots" are less arbitrary that others. For example, there's little reason to argue that the ambulative and the terminative occupy or "compete" for a single slot, whereas the duplicative and cislocative, at least when combined with associated motion, are essentially in direct opposition to one another semantically.

A second complication is that suffix combinations are sometimes quite **fusional** in a number of ways. The most consequential is the degree of fusion that exists between stem suffixes and the grammatical suffixes. In some cases, like with the ambulative, there appears to be outright suppletion of the grammatical suffix in favor of a multiexponential ambulative suffix. Compare the declarative form and the ambulative declarative forms in (3.84), which shows the ambulative with no phonological remnant whatsoever of the regular declarative suffix.

(3.84) a. **apmeyk** xa
ap-m-eyk =xa
M-have-DECL =DMSTR
'He has that'

b. **apmaha** xa

ap-m-aha =xa
M-have-AMB.DECL =DMSTR
'He uses that'

Where the proposed suffix order does not hold, it appears to be in conditions where a suffix from farther to the right of the template has been lexicalized onto a root/stem. The examples in (3.85) show the duplicative and cislocative suffixes between a base -*saw*- 'carry' and the valency increasing suffix, which does not follow the typical suffix order. However, such deviations from the order never display productive alternations in order for semantic effect, and in these particular examples, there are irregular interactions between the base and the directional suffixes which point to lexicalization and a fusing of the suffixes to the base.

(3.85) a. **asákxések** sa'
a-s-akx-e:s-ek =sa'
1SG.IRR-carry-DUP-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'I'll take it there for you'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

b. **esantagkasek** makham ma'a aptéyak xeyk pan
e-s-an-tag-kas-ek makham =ma'a ap-t-eyak
M.IRR-carry-COMPL-CISL-VAL-NM:PO again =DMSTR M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
=xeyk pan
=TC:HOD bread
'They would bring the bread back'

EDP enx047 14:16

3.7 Directions for further research

In the chapter on phonology, I point out that there is still a lot left to be understood about segmental phonology and the role that suprasegmental phonology plays in allophony and allomorphy. This is especially true in the context of the verbal morphology and especially the ways that stem-forming suffixes interact with verb bases on their left and grammatical suffixes on their right. I have posited a "fusional" explanation for many morphological patterns which do not appear to follow regular phonological patterns, but because regular phonological patterns are not fully understood and are mostly exemplified in this complex verbal morphology, it is very possible that the suffixes actually display more regularity than what is currently recognized.

Hannes Kalisch (pc) has suggested that the verbal morphology is more regular in other EE languages, and the available data seems to support this, which could mean that Enxet Sur verbs display more fusion than other EE languages, but it could also mean that there are just some unusual phonological patterns that are obscuring what is otherwise a very

regular system. Therefore, it appears that there is still a lot to learn about morphophonology in the Enxet Sur verb.

The dropping of pronominal prefixes mentioned in this chapter plays a role in the discussion of clausal syntax in §5.1, but there is a lot more to understand about it, both in terms of the conditions in which pronominal prefixes are lost and variation in the application of this dropping process across different dialects and across the EE family. As I describe, Enxet Sur, at least in El Estribo, appears to be losing the ability to drop pronominal prefixes. Furthermore, while the dropping of pronominal prefixes is apparently a widespread phenomenon across EE requiring further study, there is also some minor evidence that grammatical suffixes might also get dropped.

Chapter 4

Nouns and Pronouns

4.1 Overview of nouns and nominal morphology

This chapter describes the formal properties of different word classes which generally fit the cross-linguistic semantic and functional profile of nouns and pronouns. Section 4.2 describes a class of non-related nouns, followed by a description in §4.3 of how many non-related nouns have clear etymologies in perfective form verbs. Section 4.4 describes the morphology of what I call related nouns, which are essentially obligatorily, inalienably possessed nouns. §4.5 describes personal and possessive pronouns. I begin, however, with an overview of the distinction between the two major noun classes.

Enxet Sur has at least three distinct morphological classes of nouns:

- nouns that never appear with bound possessor prefixes (***non-related nouns***)
- nouns with obligatory possessor prefixes (***related nouns***)
- nouns which are derived from verbs, either through a highly productive nominalization process (Ch. 15) or through the lexicalization of deverbal nominalizations (see §4.3)

This chapter on nouns discusses primarily the first and second of these classes: related and non-related nouns. For verbally derived nouns, deverbal nominalization is discussed thoroughly in its own chapter, but diachronic lexicalization of deverbal nominalizations is discussed here. While the three classes listed here are salient for the purpose of description, there are a few cases which straddle the boundary between non-related nouns and related nouns, and quite a lot of examples which blur the distinction between non-related nouns and nominalizations. This chapter focuses on describing core characteristics of the first two noun classes, and looks briefly at issues at the boundaries of all three noun classes.

The description of noun classes in this chapter is primarily a morphological one, describing the possible and obligatory prefixes and suffixes which can be applied to nouns in each class. All nominal forms have in common a lack of any morphological indication of their dependency to a clausal PREDICATE — there are no case markers or determiners, and the grammatical relationships between verbs and their supposed argument nouns

is in fact quite complex (§5.1.3). The focus here is instead on the differences between noun classes. Non-related nouns have quite limited morphological options (simulatives, locatives, limited plurality marking), while related nouns are considerably more morphologically complex (obligatory possessor prefixes, possessor/possessee pluralization, locatives, complex stems). The primary difference between the two, however, has to do with possession.

It is impossible to talk about noun classes and bound nominal morphology in Enxet Sur without talking about nominal possession, although the syntax of possessive constructions is described more in depth in §13.4. The related/non-related class distinction I make in Enxet Sur nouns is strongly connected to the comparative concept of alienable and inalienable possession types (cf. Aikhenvald 2013, Nichols 1988). Possessive constructions in natural languages may cover a range of different semantic relationships between two entities, including ownership (*Kimo's car*), association (*Kimo's dentist*), whole-part relations (*Kimo's fingernails*), and kinship (*Kimo's niece*). Although some languages, like English, use the same possessive construction with all of these types of relationship, many languages code the latter two categories, whole-part relations and kinship, using a different possessive construction than what they use to code ownership or association. The closer or "indissoluble" connection (Chappell and McGregor, 1996, p. 4) represented by whole-part or kinship relations is referred to as inalienable possession, and the same term is generally used to refer to the possessive constructions used primarily to encode such relationships. Inalienable possession is then contrasted with alienable possession, typically referring to constructions which encode ownership or association.

In Enxet Sur, we can identify inalienable possession with the use of a bound possessor prefix, as in the whole-part relation in (4.1a) where the possessed noun *-whak* has a feminine possessor prefix *a-* that cross-references the possessor noun *kentem'* 'caraguatá'. Alienable possession is expressed with the more analytic use of a possessive pronoun co-occurring with the possessed noun, as in the use of the masculine possessive pronoun *apagkok* in (4.1b).

(4.1) a. nento negko'o **awhak kentem'**
nen-t-o negko'o **a-whak** **kentem'**
1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV 1PL F.POSS-root caraguatá
'*The roots of the caraguatá plant* are food for us'

EDP enx001 16:17

b. apkelsantek axta m'a **héwa apagkok**
apk-el-sant-ek =axta =m'a **héwa apagkok**
M-DIST-carry.here-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR lance M.POSS
'He brought *his lance* back'

EDP enx006 11:16

While in some languages, a large number of lexical nouns can be possessed with either an alienable or inalienable possessive construction depending on the semantic context, this is not really the case in Enxet Sur. In Enxet Sur, a given noun lexeme can only occur with one type of possession construction or the other, which is the primary basis

for separating the nominal lexicon into the two major classes. Related nouns are obligatorily possessed using the inalienable possessive construction (bound possessor prefix), while non-related nouns, when they are possessed, are used in an alienable possessive construction (co-referential possessive pronouns). Thus, while the alienable/inalienable distinction typically refers to different possessive constructions in a language, in Enxet Sur, the distinction is essentially realized as a class division within the nominal lexicon[1].

The different possessive constructions in Enxet Sur are generally not contrastively exploitable for semantic effect. For example, some languages with contrastive alienable/inalienable possession constructions might represent the possession in 'a cow's milk' using an inalienable construction while representing 'the woman's milk (i.e. that she bought from the store)' with an alienable possessive construction. Such a semantic distinction cannot be accomplished through contrastive possession types in Enxet Sur, and instead must be accomplished additively through multiply embedded possession (§13.4.5), as in (4.2). Here, 'milk' is expressed as 'cow's teat's liquid' (already using multiply embedded possession[2]), so a more alienable possessor cannot simply supplant the inalienable possessor, as the meaning of the nominal referent ('milk') depends on a particular inalienable possessor. In other words, the concept of 'milk' cannot be expressed without an inalienable possessor.

(4.2) émenyek weyke námagkok **apyegmenek agkok**

é-meny-ek	[[[weyke nám-agkok] **ap-yegmenek**] **agkok**]
1SG.STAT-want-DECL	[[[cow teat-F.POSS] M.POSS-liquid] F.POSS]

'I'm looking for her milk (that she bought)', literally 'I want the cow's teat's liquid that is hers'

Skype Notes 4.28.2021

Alienable possession of related nouns is generally accomplished through this additive strategy of multiply embedded possession, a product of both the inflectional requirements of related noun stems and of their semantics. For example, the word *ápetek* is often simply translated as *carne* 'meat', but it is, in fact, a related noun with an unspecified feminine possessor prefix *a-* and the word might more literally be translated as 'its flesh'. In English, *a cow's meat* and *a cow's flesh* express the same kind of inalienable possessive relationship. However, while *Maria's meat* can be interpreted as alienable possession (i.e. as 'meat that Maria bought from the store'), *Maria's flesh* cannot be interpreted as such and can only really be read inalienably as part of Maria's body. This is not a product of the

[1] We could just as easily use terms like "alienably/inalienably possessed nouns" to distinguish the two classes, were such terms not so clunky. I originally referred to these classes simply as "alienable nouns" and "inalienable nouns", which is sometimes seen in the literature on this topic (see Krasnoukhova 2012, p. 87), but I have opted not to use them in order to maintain a distinction between different lexical classes on the one hand and different possessive constructions on the other. I use the terms related/non-related following the terminology used to describe a similar (though still somewhat different) lexical contrast in Nivaclé in Seelwische (1975).

[2] The word *nám/neme* 'teat' is itself an irregular noun which has an irregular possession paradigm, taking reduced forms of the possessive pronoun. It is also a masculine noun, hence the masculine possessor on *apyegmenek*.

possessive construction, but of the semantic properties of the noun *flesh*. Similarly, Enxet Sur *ápetek*, as a member of the related noun class, has semantic properties which only allows it to be inalienably possessed, but, unlike English *flesh*, possession is inflectionally obligatory.

While we can generally sort Enxet Sur nouns into either the related or non-related class based on what possessive constructions they are used in, there are some issues at the margins. First, there are a handful of examples of related/non-related noun pairs which might be analyzed as a single lexeme which can take multiple possession types. For example, *-yempehek* is a related noun meaning 'skin', which generally requires a possessor prefix, as in (4.3a). However, *yempehek* can also be used without a possessor prefix, typically referring to a bag made out of the dried hide (i.e. 'skin') of a rhea bird, and this noun is possessed using the alienable, possessive pronoun construction, as in (4.3b).

(4.3) a. *Context: peeling a cactus fruit*
natámen alkok sa **apyempehek**
natámen a-lk-ok =sa **ap-yempehek**
F.after 1SG.IRR-emit-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.POSS-skin
'Then I'll take off its skin'

EDP enx003 02:31

b. *Context: two boys go to collect food in the woods using a rhea-skin bag*
apxatmegkek axta m'a **yempehek apagkok**
ap-xatm-eg-kek =axta =m'a **yempehek apagkok**
M-fill.solid-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR skin.bag M.POSS
'They would put it in their rhea-skin bags'

EDP enx006 03:11

There are a handful of similar examples, but it is preferable to view such cases as instances of etymologically connected but lexically distinct nouns. For example, the non-related noun *yempehek* is probably a distinct lexicalization from the original related noun *-yempehek*, since the former is both more semantically specific and because it maintains the *-ek* ending that is ubiquitous (and maybe historically productive, see §4.4) on related nouns.

Even more confounding is that some nouns have mixed possessive paradigms with some forms acting like non-related nouns (taking the possessive pronouns), and others taking pronominal prefixes like related or derived nouns. For example, *hátem* 'aunt' has a rather irregular paradigm, shown in table 4.1 below. Despite being a term for a familial relation, which is typically the domain of inalienable possession and thus related nouns, it mostly is possessed with possessive pronouns like *ahagkok* 'mine'. However, in the 2PL form, a possessive prefix *kél* is used instead of the possessive pronoun *kélagkok* 'y'all's'. There is some kind of alternation in the form of the noun in the first person and non-first person possessive forms, but with a named possessor, like *María*, there is no possessive pronoun or possessive pronominal prefix, just the possessor.

Another mixed example is *pexmok* 'fat, grease' in (4.4), which acts like an non-related noun with a FEMININE possessor, using the possessive pronoun *agkok* 'its/hers', yet with a MASCULINE possessor, it takes a bound possessive prefix (4.4a-4.4b).

Possessor	'Possessor's aunt'	Gloss
1sg	hátem ahagkok	'my aunt'
1pl	hátem egagkok	'our aunt'
f	chátem agkok	'her aunt'
m	chátem apagkok	'his aunt'
2pl	kélchátem	'y'all's aunt'
María	María chátem	'Maria's aunt'

Table 4.1: Possessive paradigm for *hátem 'aunt'*

(4.4) a. yatektáhag pexmok ankok nak
yatektahag pexmok agkok =nak
capybara fat f.poss =tc:vis
'capybara fat'

Schoolbook Grade 4

b. yáteyem aptepexmok
yateyem ap-tepexmok
caiman m.poss-fat
'caiman fat'

Schoolbook Grade 4

These mixed possessive paradigms do not seem to follow any predictable semantic pattern, and are probably more related to complex diachronic changes in morphophonology which have neutralized the phonological forms of some possessor prefixes in related nouns. Nonetheless, the presence of nouns with such mixed paradigms actually strengthens the generalization made here that the possessive constructions used for various nouns is fundamentally specified in the lexical entry for a noun rather than semantic properties of the different possessive constructions.

4.2 Non-related nouns

This section describes Enxet Sur nouns which do not take possessive prefixes, and which can occur without a possessor. This class of words is referred to as **non-related nouns**, in contrast to the obligatorily-possessed related nouns described in the next section. Non-related nouns can be distinguished from related nouns and deverbal nominalizations through at least three major morphological criteria:

- They take no pronominal inflection, and possession occurs through the use of possessive pronouns (§4.5.2)

- They have highly restricted pluralization; prototypical non-related nouns take no pluralization, but a handful can take the plural suffix *-ak* or *-eyk*.
- They do not typically end in *-ek* or *-ok*, as most related nouns do.

This description begins with some generalization about the semantic content of the class. Next, nominal gender is a grammatical property of nouns that is generally not indicated on the noun word proper but shows up in pronominal prefixes which are co-referent with nouns. The remaining subsections describe the four affix types which are applicable to non-related nouns: simulatives, plural markers, the locative, and the *-áto* 'sufferer' suffix. All of these have nominal outputs, but are generally more like derivational rather than inflectional morphology.

4.2.1 Semantic content and formal qualities

Semantically, the non-related nouns typically fall into only a few major categories: plant, animal, and fish names, tools, natural phenomena, some body parts (mostly internal ones), and some loan words. Sušnik (1977) proposes this class of nouns falls under an autochthonous Enxet category of *aqsok*, generally translated as *cosa* 'thing', but which can refer to just about anything whose name is a non-related noun, even humans in the right context. Some examples of non-related nouns in major semantic categories are given in tables 4.2 through 4.5[3] to give a sense of the typical shape of items in this class. I have excluded from these examples any non-related nouns which bear formal properties suggest reconstructable verbal etymologies (discussed further in §4.3).

amáma	Piranha (*Serrasalmus sp.*)
menxay	Mbokaja catfish (*Hoplosternum littorale*)
lolaq	South American lungfish (*Lepidosiren paradoxa*)
qále	Mandi'i catfish (*Pimelodus sp.*)
qamáta'	Karimbata fish (*Prochilodus lineatus*)
penyet	Stingray (*Potamotrygon sp.*)
kelánet	Wolf fish (*Hoplias malabaricus*)

Table 4.2: Non-related nouns in the category *kelasma* 'fish'

These non-related nouns (again, not including those with apparent verbal etymologies) are most often bisyllabic, although some are trisyllabic and a few are monosyllabic. Longer names are most often names for birds, and many of these are likely onomatopoeic in origin. They also almost never end in [k]. There are a few examples of final [k] in this category — like *penek* 'type of frog' or *yenek* 'caracara eagle' — but in such cases, the *-ek* ending doesn't alternate with a plural form as it does in related nouns (§4.4.3), and these examples don't negate the general trend for non-related nouns to avoid final [k].

[3]Animals and plants in these tables are identified with English common names and scientific names based initially on Rojas and Curtis (2017) and Polini et al. (2015), and confirmed independently by consultants looking at pictures from field guides or Wikipedia.

popyet	Gray brocket deer (*Mazama gouazoupira*)
pomap	White-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*)
páwa	Chaco peccary (*Catogonus wagneri*)
yálwa	Giant armadillo (*Priodontex maximus*)
yápa'	Seven banded armadillo (*Dasypus septemcinctus*)
xenaq	Marsh deer (*Blastocerus dichotomus*)
peyem	Green iguana (*Iguana iguana*)
wáwo	Maned wolf (*Chrysocyon brachyurus*)
tomhag	Brazilian cottontail (*Sylvilagus brasiliensis*)
xápen	Greater rhea (*Rhea americana*)
neym (or nayem)	Giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*)

Table 4.3: Non-related nouns in the category *aqsok nawhak* 'wild animals'

námok	Palo borracho (*Chorisia insignis*)
tewes	White algarrobo (*Prosopis alba*)
échaha	Black algarrobo (*Prosopis nigra*)
mémog	Palo santo (*Bulnesia sarmientoi*)
máset	Red quebracho (*Schinopsis balansae*)
yeyt (or yayet)	Guaraniná (*Sideroxylon obtusifolium*)
teyt (or tayet)	Viñal (*Prosopis ruscifolia*)
nósa	Mistol (*Ziziphus mistol*)
náw'a	White quebracho (*Aspidosperma quebracho-colorado*)
pakyam	Guayacán (*Caesalpinia paraguariensis*)

Table 4.4: Non-related nouns in the category *yámet* 'tree, plant'

Historically, Enxet Sur speakers have been somewhat resistant to loanwords, preferring instead to develop novel terms using existing lexical material to create new terms. There are many avenues for such lexical expansion, including new compounds, the use of simulative morphology, new metaphorical extensions of existing words, and deverbal nominalizations which describe the item in some way or what it does. There are, however, a handful of recent loanwords, mostly from Spanish via Guaraní.

Enxet people have taken Spanish names, both given names and surnames, for several generations, at least since the middle of the twentieth century. Prior to this shift, the indigenous names were typically derived from verbs and verb phrases (e.g. *Tamayasek*, literally 'salt-eater'; *Tegweykekxa*, literally 'born on the way there') or involved animal names (*Poyet* 'type of frog (onomatopoeic)'; *Kyémap Yatnáxeg* 'orphaned by a horse')[4]. Both the indigenous (4.5a) and Spanish (4.5b) names function equally like nouns in terms of their syntactic distribution, and the fact that the indigenous names may be composed

[4]I have had a number of conversations with older Enxet over the years about names and naming conventions. Most would agree that it was at one point quite common for one person to have multiple names, or to gain new names through particular types of life events. Many older-middle-age and elderly speakers have both Spanish and Enxet names, and most have what might be called 'home names' — a name used for children which they carry into adulthood, but which is only used to refer to an adult by intimate relations or co-residents.

peyekyek	Wattled jacana (*Jacana jacana*)
paqsawalwal	Nacunda nighthawk (*Podager nacunda*)
wátesa'	White-faced whistling duck (Dendrocygna viduata)
waq	Black-crowned night heron (*Nycticorax nycticorax*)
seyána	Maguari stork (*Ciconica maguari*)
wáx'ay	White-tipped dove (*Leptotila verreauxi*)
sátawe	Nanday parakeet (*Nandynus nenday*)
hápo'	Great egret (*Ardea alba*)
kásek	Monk parakeet (*Myiopsitta monachus*)
tempela	Southern screamer (*Chauna torquata*)

Table 4.5: Non-related nouns in the category *náta* 'bird'

of verbal elements does not really affect their syntactic function.

(4.5) a. Apheyk hekñat xama inglés nepyeseksa énxet apwesey axta **Tamayásek**

ap-h-eyk hekñat xama ingles nepyeseksa enxet ap-wesey
M-live-DECL REMTC:PST one english M.inside indigenous M.PART-name
=axta Tamayasek
TC:PST Tamayasek

'An Englishman named Tamayásek (literally 'salt-eater') lived amongst the Enxet'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. apwetágwokmek axta xama énxet apwesey axta **Mateo**

ap-wet-ag-wokm-ek =axta xama enxet ap-wesey =axta
M-see-EXTS-ARRIVE.THERE-DECL =TC:PST one man M.PART-namej =TC:PST
Mateo
Matthew

'upon arriving he saw a man named Matthew'

Matthew 9:9

4.2.2 Nominal gender

The first morphologically significant feature of nouns is that they are categorized into one of two grammatical genders: MASCULINE and FEMININE. Gender of nouns is generally not directly observable or marked on the noun itself; rather, it is typically observable only in the pronominal marking of verbs, semiverbs, adjectives, or possessed nouns which indicate the gender of their argument or complement nouns, as in 4.6a and 4.6b below. That *ketchen* is a feminine noun and *salla'* a masculine one is not discernible from the form of the noun itself, and is only observable in the differential possessor marking which cross-references these nouns.

(4.6) a. ketchen **axempenek**

ketchen a-xempenek
roseate.spoonbill F.POSS-wing

'wing of the roseate spoonbill (*Ajaia ajaja*)'

b. salla' **apxempenek**

salla' ap-xempenek
barred.antshrike M.POSS-wing

'wing of the barred antshrike (*Thamnophilus doliatus*)'

Other referring expressions which might indicate nominal gender[5] do not in Enxet Sur: demonstratives are not marked for gender, and there are no true third person pronouns which would possibly indicate gender of their referent. Second person pronouns are marked for gender, but this does not involve any agreement with the grammaticalized gender categories of nouns.

Grammatical gender for animals, which can be of either biological sex, is often, though not obligatorily, determined by animal type rather than the sex of the specific animal. This yields noun phrases like that in (4.7), where the pronominal marking on 'female' is the masculine *ap-*, in agreement with the masculine noun *yatnáxeg* 'horse':

(4.7) yatnáxeg **apkelwána**

yatnáxeg ap-kelwána
horse M-female

'a female horse, filly'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In a few cases, where names for animals are compounds of common nouns and there is no real base noun, nominal gender can still be contrastive. For example, *aqsok élyawe apaqtek* is the name either for a kind of large rat or kind of frog (*Leptodactylus buhonius*), while *aqsok élyawe aqtek* is the Great Horned Owl (*Bubo virginianus*), known in Paraguay as *ñakurutú*. Both names literally mean 'the thing whose eyes are big', and the only distinction is in *apaqtek*/*aqtek* 'its eyes', where the former is masculine and the latter feminine. Similarly, *latsáhaktek apwokmo*' is a kind of spider while *latsáhaktek awokmo*' is a flying insect — both names mean 'its stomach is a corn kernel', differing only in the gender of the possessive pronominal prefix.

Because grammatical gender is something which is a applied to all nouns and not simply humans or animates based on biological sex, we might ask if there are semantic properties which govern the assignment of gender. Gender of nouns is not distributed equally between the MASCULINE and FEMININE across the Enxet Sur lexicon: in Rojas and Curtis (2017), there are over 2200 entries for feminine nouns but less than 700 masculine nouns. As is discussed in regards to gender marking in verbal pronominal prefixes (see §3.3.1), MASCULINE is the marked gender, and the FEMININE is as much an unmarked

[5]Such items, especially demonstratives and determiners, do indicate nominal gender in other Chaco language families, but this does not appear to be the case in any EE language.

neuter or neutral gender as it is markedly feminine. It is therefore only of particular interest to determine formal or semantic criteria for the marked masculine gender of nouns, if we assume the feminine gender is the default.

The largest category of masculine nouns is a phonological one: nouns with word-initial [p]. Table 3 below gives examples of masculine nouns which are not demonstrably multi-morphemic. Given that the masculine pronominal prefix of many different paradigms is *ap-*, it is almost certain that at least some of these forms are [p]-initial because at an earlier stage of the language, the [p] in these words was the masculine marker *ap-*. Across the EE family, the initial vowel of the masculine marker *ap-* is often dropped, except when doing so would create a word-initial consonant cluster[6], and what may have been a more synthetic, transparent, and more verb-like name for some animals or plants with a masculine pronominal prefix may have been lexicalized and reduced, something which appears to be a constant and cyclical lexical process in the language (§4.2.3).

This analysis is supported by a comparison with lexical items with initial [p] which are of the FEMININE gender (some examples are listed in table 4.7), and their interaction with the simulative prefix *yam-* (next section §4.2.3). MASCULINE [p]-initial nouns typically take the simulative allomorph *yáta-*[7], which would include the vowel from the /ap-/ prefix so frequently dropped. Feminine /p/-initial nouns take [ya:m-], with no intermediate vowel. These data suggest that there are a large number of [p]-initial masculine nouns because this initial [p] is a remnant of the masculine prefix *ap-*. However, even if this is the case, the question of the source of masculine gender in the earlier base form would still be an open question.

This association of initial [p] with the masculine gender apparently extends to loan words like *pán* 'bread' (from Spanish *pan*), as can be seen in the masculine pronominal marking on the modifying stative verb *apmapsesa* in (4.8).

(4.8) pán **apmapsesa**

pán ap-m-ap-ses-a
bread M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-SWEET-NM:PV

'sweet bread (*pan dulce*)'

Table 4.8 shows some categories of non-living things which are represented by masculine nouns. Note that some of these are actually verbal derivatives, like *negyexanmo* 'mosquito net', literally something like 'we hide ourselves in it'. Many words for crafted items, things made by hand, are masculine. Very few body parts are masculine but those that are are either parts of the body which are impermanent, like 'wart' or 'dandruff', or are related to child birth and rearing, like 'vagina', 'breast', and 'breastmilk' are. For reference, *entexla* 'penis' is a feminine noun (and has an otherwise unattested *xl* string).

[6]Not all EE languages and varieties have an absolute constraint against onset consonant clusters, including Toba-Enenlhet (Unruh and Kalisch, 2003) and Sanapaná (pc: Jens van Gysel). Enxet Sur, however, strongly avoids homosyllabic consonant clusters.

[7]Some masculine nouns, like *popyet* 'brocket deer', appear variably as *yampopyet* or *yatapopyet*, but feminine nouns never have a variant with *yáta*. Masculine nouns which take the *yám* allomorph likely do so because of reanalysis.

Enxet Sur	Gloss
pag	Toothpick cactus (*Stetsonia coryne*)
pagqalwok	Short-necked turtle (*Phrynops sp.*)
paha'	Paradoxical frog (*Pseudis paradoxus*)
pakkateyneg	Thorned fruit tree
pakkel'a	Type of manioc with black stems
paktámhe'	Verde olivo tree
paktem	Pacara earpod tree (*Enterolobium contortisiliquum*)
pakyam	Guayacan Negro tree (*Caesalpinia paraguariensis*)
paskagkam	Type of odorous ant
pa'ag	Carandilla palm (*Trithirinax biflabellata*)
pálwa	Aromita bush (*Acacia caven*)
pána'	Cocoi heron (*Ardea cocoi*)
pápa'	(bee's) wax
pápeyaw	Espartillo grass (*Elionurus muticus*)
pátex	White woodpecker (*Melanerpes candidus*)
páto'	Type of Woodpecker
páwa	Chacoan peccari (*Catogonus wagneri*)
páye	Mosquito
pegke	Thistle
pegyáxña'a	Cope's mabuya (skink) (*Notomabuya frenata*)
pegyet	Stingray
pehen	Aromita bush (*Acacia aroma*)
pekhan, pekheg	Golden billed saltator (*Saltator aurantiirostris*)
pekmen	Tick
pelko'	Short-crested flycatcher (*Myiarchus ferox*)
pelten	Moon
pelwápa'	Ringed teal (*Callonetta leucophrys*)
pelwet	Type of bird
pemhet	Rainbow
penxaqpog	Tataupa tinamou (*Crypturellus tataupa*)
pepyet	Type of hare
pesqap	Dragonfly
petxásep	Blue-crowned parakeet (*Thectocercus acuticaudatus*)
pexchep	Crowngrass (*Paspalum repens*)

Table 4.6: Masculine non-related nouns with initial /p/

Enxet Sur	Gloss
pakxa'ay	South American coati (*Nasua nasua*)
palhelátog	mbokaja fish (*Cicihlidae sp.*)
palye	cooked algarrobo fruit
paqsawalwal	Nacunda nighthawk (*Podager nacunda*)
paxpáye	type of yellow frog
pa'at	grass
pála	shovel (Spanish *pala*)
pályát	type of tree (*Piptadenia paraguayensis*)
pánaqte	medicinal plant, herb, medicine
pátal	Sacha membrillo bush (*Capparicordis tweediana*)
pegyámet	plant with yellow flowers
pehe'	batata
pelóta	ball (Spanish *pelota*)
penek	Cururu toad (*Rhinella schneideri*)
pexmenmen	sayaca tanager (*Thraupis sayaca*)
pexmok	fat
pexnánek	burnt area

Table 4.7: Feminine non-related nouns with initial /p/

Note that both the crafted items and female body parts relate to 'creation'. Some natural phenomena, like 'lighting', 'star', 'moon', and 'south wind' are masculine.

Among plants and animals, masculine nouns tend to fall into one of the following categories, and these categories are composed primarily or entirely of masculine nouns: lizards, *tuna* fruit (*Opuntia*), birds of prey, bees, woodpeckers, ducks, armadillos, spiders, beetles (escarabajo), apex predators, fabaceous trees, acacia trees, thistles (cardo), parrots (loro), wild cats, manioc varieties, owls, and wild pigs. All of the forest spirits and spirit owners of plants and locations are masculine (*Chó naxma* 'forest spirit, etc.).

An investigation into the semantic coherence or cultural salience of masculine nouns as a class would be very interesting, and my sense, based on some of the data presented here, is that inclusion in the *masculine* gender category is motivated by some culturally specific attitudes to particular plants, animals, body parts, and objects.

4.2.3 Simulatives

Enxet has two highly productive simulative morphemes which can attach to independent (non-related) nouns: a bound prefix *yám-*/*yáta-* and a more clitic-like *hó=*. At present, the semantic difference between the two is unclear, since both mean 'thing that is like X', but they have different syntactic properties, since *yám-* can only attach to a simple, non-related noun, while *hó=* binds to whole noun phrases, which can be complex. The more closely bound *yám-* is found in all EE languages, while *hó* is apparently unique to Enxet Sur, not even really attested in Enlhet Norte. Both are noun-forming morphology, meaning their input is a noun and their output is a noun.

Enxet	Gloss
Crafted items	
apáwa	clothes, cloth
axpog	native violin
áyen sonseghe'	type of bag
kelpasmaga	biscuit
keltaxno	clothes
keltaxno apatña'ak	buttons
nahápa	bag made of caraguata fiber
nélatchesso egyayak	pants
negyexanmo	mosquito net
nempeywa axagkok	church
tegma	house, building
wáxwa	clay pot
weygke	pot
Body	
hekma	wart
axchamok	dandruff
ápok	vagina
nam'agkok apyegmenek	milk
neme	breast, teat
Natural phenomena	
takha'	lightning
Takha' apkelyenma	thunder
yaw'a	star
yeyam, apyeyam	south wind
pelten	moon

Table 4.8: Masculine nouns referring to non-living things

Yám- or its MASCULINE counterpart *yáta-* are used to create names or labels, not to predicate the similarity of one thing to another. For example, in (4.9), when the Englishman says as a nominal PREDICATE *yámpesqap*, composed of the simulative and *pesqap* 'dragonfly', he is not saying 'it is like a dragonfly', but instead is making up a name 'like-a-dragonfly' and identifying what he sees as such. The degree to which such a morpheme is "productive" is actually an interesting question then. *Yannápóxeg*, from *napóxeg* 'tapir' cannot be liberally applied to anything that is similar to a 'tapir', and instead exclusively means 'elephant'. This is true for essentially every example of the use of this morpheme, many examples of which are given in table 4.9. Obviously at some point, speakers come up with new words using the simulative, but it appears as though as soon as a new word is formed using it and accepted by a group of speakers, it is lexicalized with a single meaning and cannot be used for other things. This kind of semi-productive morphological process is actually, I believe, very characteristic of much of the morphological processes in the language, especially the various uses of some of the verbal plurals (Ch. 10) and the only mild productivity of the verb base morphology (§3.2).

(4.9) *Context: In a story from the Chaco War of 1932-35, some Enxet and English missionaries see a war plane*
wánxa enlés aptahak, yámpesqap nak entahak, yámpesqap

wánxa enlés ap-tah-ak // yám-pesqap =nak en-tah-ak //
only Englishman M-be/say-DECL // SIM-dragonfly =TC:VIS F-be/say-DECL //
yám-pesqap
SIM-dragonly

'Just the Englishman said it's a like-a-dragonfly, it's a like-a-dragonfly

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The simulative *yám-* has also helped to retain segments which have otherwise been lost over time. Some nouns have unexpected phonemic segments when the simulative is added – an extra *ak-* or *ap-*, as shown in table 4.10. For many of these, related languages in the EE family retain these segments in the base forms of the words. These segments correspond to the FEMININE and MASCULINE participial prefixes (§3.3.3), and show that the words which preserve them in the simulative forms historically derive from verbal derivatives, a process which is starkly evident in the shapes of some nouns (§4.3), but which is not readily apparent in the shapes of others.

Occasionally, the *yám-* simulative is found with fully formed deverbal nominalizations, as in (4.10), but this is probably only an indication that such forms, even though they have retained a pronominal prefix, are not productive verbal nominalizations and have instead simply been lexicalized as full nouns. In this case, *segyetekhane* is just 'tornado' and does not really, structurally, retain its status as a productive deverbal nominalization. Again, *yám-* does not really function "productively", and so would not be applied to productively formed nominalizations. For example, *sektegye* 'that which I am looking for' would not be used to form **yánsektegye* 'thing that is similar to what I am looking for'.

(4.10) yánsegyetekhane

yan-seg-yetekhan-e
SIM-1PL.PAT.PART-turn.around-NM:PV

'Cyclone', literally 'like the thing that turns us around (tornado)'

The other simulative marker, *hó*, appears to derive historically from the verb *hawok* 'be the same, equal', which appears to be composed of the verb base *-h-* 'sit, be' and the intensive suffix. Unlike the *yám-*/*yáta-* prefix, *hó* attaches to whole noun phrases, as in (4.11-4.13), and therefore is more like a phrasal clitic than a simple prefix. That it is written by speakers as an indepenedent orthographic word supports this assertion.

(4.11) hó wenaq apxagkok

ho wenaq ap-xagkok
SIM jabiru M-house

Base noun	Gloss	With *yám-*	Gloss
pápa'	(bee's) wax	yampápa	chewing gum
áxa	karanda'y palm (Copernicia alba)	yam'áxa	coconut tree
máleg	(Pseudalopex gymnocerccus); zorro de monte (Cerdocyon thous)	yanmáleg	fox
napóxeg	tapir (Tapirus terrestris)	yannápóxeg	elephant
taqalqal	domesticated turkey	yantaqalqal	peacock
sátawe	loro ñanday (ñandayus nenday)	yansátawe	maroon-bellied parakeet (Pyrrhura frontalis)
mátéyak	type of tuna cactus (Opuntia ficus indica)	yámmátéyak	type of tuna cactus (Opuntia quimilo)
máxek	hole, ditch	yámmáxek	levee (tajamar)
paqsawalwal	ñacunda nighthawk (Chordeiles ñacunda)	yampaqsawalwal	Chordeiles sp.
napnekteg	generic for frog (*rana*)	yannapnekteg	*rana rayada* (Leptodactylus gracilis)
qames	domestic cat	yágqames	type of wild cat (mbarakaja marrón)
qamok	aquatic plant	yágqamok	banana
katteye	(Canna coccinea)	yágkatteye	cañacoro (mbery pyta)
kelasma	fish (generic)	yágkelasma	surubí (catfish)
kelán'a	woman	yágkelán'a	female wood spirit
keleyke	common green bean (Phascolus vulgaris)	yágkeleyke	broad beans
kelwána	female	yágkelwána	steer, eunuch, effeminate man
kelyenmaga	sheet	yágkelyenmaga	aluminum sheet
kelyenneyet	chaco monkey	yágkelyenyet	non-chaco monkey, large monkey
kentem ahak	'dried kentem'	yágkentamahak	caraguatá bag
kentem'	*chaguar, caraguatá* (Bromelia serra)	yágkentem	pineapple plant

Table 4.9: Examples of nouns which take the *yám-* simulative prefix

Base noun	Gloss	With *yám-*	Gloss
feminine			
sakpa'ay	woodpecker (*Colaptes campestris*)	yátaksakpa'ay	type of woodpecker
kásek	parakeet (*Myopsitta monachus*)	yátakkásek	small parrot (*Forpus xanthopteygius*)
héna'	tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*)	yámakhéna'	hoary plantain (*Plantago media*)
menasma	(mythological) snake	yámakmenasma	type of snake
méwa	puma (*Felis concolor*)	yámakméwa	African lion
yéwa	snake	yámakyéwa	yararáa snake (*Bothrops neuwiedi*)
masculine			
Sewhen	Nivaclé (ethnic group)	Yátapsewhen	Chulupí (ethnic group)
mokwa	peanut (*Arachis hypogea*)	yatapmokwa	type of plant
xásep	cricket	yátapxásep	scorpion
wantep	Jukerí tree (*Acacia praecox*)	yátapwantep	River Tamarind (*Leucaena leucocephala*)
heyáneg	Pheasant cuckoo (*Dromococcyx phasianellus*)	yátapheyáneg	Squirrel cuckoo (*Piaya cayana*)
sógseghe'	bag made of *caraguata*	yátapsógseghe'	type of bag

Table 4.10: Nouns with additional *ak-* or *ap-* at right edge of base noun in the simulative form

'basket' (literally 'like the jabiru bird's nest')

(4.12) hó xápen apyespok

ho xapen ap-yespok
SIM rhea M-throat

'type of herb' (literally 'like the rhea's throat')

(4.13) **hó magya'áseyak aqsok** axta aptáhak

ho= m-ag-ya'as-eyak aqsok =axta ap-tah-ak
SIM NEG-1PL.IRR-know-COMPL.NM:PV thing =TC:PST M-be-DECL

'He pretended to be crazy', literally 'He was something similar to a person who does not know things'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

4.2.4 Pluralization of non-related nouns

A handful of non-related nouns in Enxet Sur take some form of a pluralizing suffix *-ak*. However, most non-related nouns in Enxet never take any pluralizing morphology, and the plurality of nominal referring expressions, if it is indicated at all, is expressed elsewhere, typically in the PREDICATE. For example, in 6.7, the PREDICATE *apxámok* 'there are many' indicates plurality of the noun *páye*, and there is no plural marking on the noun itself.

(4.14) apxámok **páye** neyáwa ságe

ap-xamok paye ne-yawa saage
M-many mosquito F.around lake

'there are a lot of mosquitoes at the edge of the estuary'

Even nouns which can take plural morphology may not if plurality is indicated elsewhere in the clause, as in (4.15). *Énxet* 'man, person', can take the plural form *énxet'ák*, but it does not in (4.15) because the PREDICATE semiverb *apmelyehe'ek* 'they are strong' has the distributive *el-* (§10.2) which indicate the plurality of *énxet*.

(4.15) **Apmelyehe'ek** axta Makxawé **énxet**

ap-m-el-yehe'-ek =axta Makxawé énxet
M-TI-DIST-strong-DECL =TC:PST Makxawaya man

'The men of Makxawaya were strong.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Singular	Gloss	Plural
amyep	'plantation, *chacra*'	*amyepeyk*
énxet	'man, person'	*énxet'ák*
kelán'a	'woman'	*kelán'ák*

Table 4.11: Attested plural forms of non-related nouns; only includes examples found in the corpus or dictionary, not forms which were elicited, since some of these are questionable

A handful of common nouns regularly take some form of the plural suffix *-'ak* (allomorphs *-'a* and *-'ák*), like the words *énxet* 'man' and *kelán'a* 'woman' which have the plural forms *énxet'ák* 'men' and *kelán'ák* 'women'. A table of attested plural forms of non-related nouns is given in table 4.11. At least diachronically, some of the words which take this type of plural marking are potentially more verbal. For example, in Powys (1929), the word for woman is listed as <inkilana> (modern *egkelan'a*) which exhibits the deleted initial *eg-* of the feminine declarative prefix (§3.3). However, the use of these plural suffixes for many of these nouns is consistent across the EE family. For example, Unruh and Kalisch (2003, p. 144) gives the Enenlhet form *enenlhet'ok* 'men (plural)', cognate to Enxet Sur *enxet'ak*. This suggests that such pluralizations are quite old within the family.

However, this pluralization of nouns really is not productive, and only applies to a handful of forms. For example, a very common non-related noun *semheg* 'dog' cannot take any kind of pluralizing morphology, as in (4.16). In working with consultants for this grammar, some would accept pluralizations of plant and animal names using *-'ák* when they were suggested. For example, when one consultant was asked whether *nósa'ák* was an acceptable plural of *nósa* 'mistol (type of fruiting tree), he said that it was and proceeded to say "*nósa'ák*" as he pointed to a stand of mistol trees. Other consultants rejected such forms, however, and therefore unless a given form occurs naturally or a broad group of speakers generally accepts a given plural form as grammatical, I have assumed that the occasional acceptance of some plural forms is more a product of people's willingness to accommodate me as a language learner rather than a statement of felicity of the form.

(4.16) a. semheg
dog
'dog'

b. **semheg-ák
dog-PL
'dogs'

I am inclined to believe that, even where non-related nouns have available plural forms, the pluralizing morphology does not actually function like some kind of standard, inflectional plural, but instead is, like other nominal morphology for non-related nouns, a semi-productive derivational morpheme which produces a new lexical noun. For example, when *énxet* 'man' occurs with a quantifier like *yokxoho* 'all', it generally[8] does not

[8]There are some exceptions but only in text sources, mostly López Ramírez (1996), and not in speech

take a plural form *énxet'ák*, but instead simply occurs as *yókxoho énxet* 'all of the men', as in (4.17). One possibility is to view this, and the general lack of pluralizing morphology on most non-related nouns, as a product of their generally predicative semantics — *énxet* means not simply 'man' but 'be a man', and therefore *yókxoho énxet* is something more like 'all of those who are a man' and *yókxoho énxet'ák* would be 'all of those who are a group of men'. The latter would not be useful in hardly any context, and therefore not be terribly felicitous. However, this may just as easily be a related to the tendency to drop more functional, inflection-like morphology when the information it provides is easily recoverable from context (i.e. plural quantifiers do not co-occur with plural suffixes because this would be redundant).

(4.17) apkelántaxnegkek énxet'ák ma'a kañe', **yókxoho énxet**

apk-elan-taxn-eg-kek enxet-'ak =ma'a kañe' // yokxoho enxet
M-DIST-enter-COMPL-DECL man-PL =DMSTR inside // all man

'The men would go inside [of the church], all of the men'

EDP enx047 13:07

4.2.5 Locative *na-*

Another affix available to non-related nouns is the prefix *na-*[9], which, when combined with a noun 'X' has a meaning of 'the place where there are X', or as in (4.18), where it combines with *tegma* 'house' to mean 'village (place where there are houses)'. I refer to this morpheme as the locative [LOC] A list of examples of nouns formed with the locative *na-* is given in table 4.12.

(4.18) yaqwayam ansakxak **nátegma**

yaqwayam an-sa-kx-ak na-tegma
for 1.PL.IRR-carry-RETURN-SCND LOC-house

'in order to take it back to the village' (literally 'take it back amongst the houses')

There are two important observations to note from the list in table 4.12. First, some locative+noun constructions must take a plural suffix, such as *neychaha'a* 'among the black algarrobo (*echaha*) trees' or *nápaktam'a* 'among the pacara (*paktam*) trees'. There does not seem to be any particular systematicity to which nouns take pluralizers with the locative and which do not, which suggests that the forms are the result of accumulated lexicalization, and that the locative, similar to the simulative (§4.2.3) is only semi-productive. It does not even appear to be productive for forming new compounds which are very similar to already attested ones in frequent use. For example, many attested

recordings. It is arguable that any such instances of noun pluralization which acts more like conventional agreement, generally restricted to texts, is a contact effect and not really constitutive of the core patterns of the language.

[9]Phonologically, the vowel can be long or short, apparently based on the stress or foot structure of the word.

Base noun	Gloss	With *na-*	Gloss
amyep	plantation, *chacra*	namyep	'in, around, towards the plantation'
apye'	'his feces'	nepye'	'abdomen of reptiles and amphibians'
exma	'ambient environment'	naxma	'forest'
máxek	hole in ground	namáxek	'earth oven, imu pit'
menxay	*mbokaja* fish	námenxay	'where there are many *mbokaja*'
náw'a	quebracho blanco tree	nanáw'a	'grove of quebracho trees'
pa'ag	carandilla palm	nápa'ag	'among the carandillas'
pa'at	grass	náp'at	'grassy area'
pálwa'a	*aromita* bush	nápálwa'a	'among the *aromita*'
paktem	*timbó* tree	nápaktam'a	'grove of *timbó* trees'
pápeyaw'	Espartillo grass	napápeyaw'	'area with lots of espartillo'
qamok	k.o. aquatic rush	náqamok	'amongst the rushes
sóta'	k.o. aquatic bush	nasóta'	'amongst the *sóta*' bushes'
tamom'a	k.o. caraguata plant	nántamom'a	'where there is lots of caraguata'
tegma	'building'	nátegma	'village'
wátsam	Río Paraguay	Náwátsam	'city of Concepción, on the east bank of the R
xapop/xóp	'earth, dirt'	náxapop/náxop	'on foot, on earth'

Table 4.12: Nouns formed from nominal base with *na-* locative prefix

uses of *na-* involve trees, and the locative forms refer to a grove of the particular kind of tree, but for the common tree *nósa'* 'mistól tree', there is no corresponding locative form **nánósa'*.

The second observation is that the exact topological relation supplied by *na-* is not highly specified, its meaning dependent to some degree on the noun to which it attaches, and with a degree of variability. Such underspecification (underspecified, at least from the view of a language like English) of topological markers is not particularly unusual, especially for indigenous languages of the Americas, which quite often have smaller sets of multi-functional prepositions/topological markers. The semantic addition to base nouns in table 4.12 shows some range, and some individual locative forms can express several different topological relationships to the base noun, as in the varying uses of *neygmen* 'on/in/by/around the water' are given below.

(4.19) *Uses of neygmen 'on/in/by/around the water'*

a. eknextegke' xeyk ko'o neygmen
   ek-nexteg-ke' =xeyk ko'o ne-ygmen
   1.SG-jump-DECL =TC:HOD I LOC-water
   'I jumped into the water.'

Critically, *na-* is *not* a preposition or any kind of case marker — it is strictly a nominal formative which denotes a place. Nouns formed with the *na-* locative can, for example, be the semantic complements of adpositions, as in (4.20). In Spanish translations, it is often translated with the suffix *-al*, as in *espartizal* 'place where *espartillo* grass grows'.

(4.20) sa' amhagkok á kañe' nateyt'a

sa' a-mh-agk-ok =á kañe' na-teyt-'a
TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-head.to-COMPL-NM:PO =DIST inside LOC-viñal-PL

'I'm going to go there inside the grove of viñal trees'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Some lexical items clearly have the locative prefix, but the remainder of their content does not come from a productive noun form in the language, and the form is therefore fully lexicalized. For example *náxeyam* 'amongst the ruins' has no corresponding base noun **xeyam*.

(4.21) náxeyam etnesásak exchahayam ekyennaqte

náxeyam e-tn-es-ás-ak exchahayam ek-yennaqt-e
ruins 1SG.PAT-be/say-VAL-VAL-SCND north.wind F.PART-strong-NM:PV

'The strong north wind left [my house] in ruins'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

4.2.6 -áto 'sufferer' suffix

The suffix *-áto* or *-'áto* is affixed to a small number of nouns to mean a person suffering from or under the influence of the base noun. Nouns formed with this suffix can take the *-ák* plural form. This morpheme is very similar in form and function to a nominal suffix *-at* in Nivaclé and other Matacoan languages, and given that it is far more productive in those languages that in Enxet Sur it seems likely that it is a morphological borrowing from a Matacoan language into Enxet Sur or some other EE language.

Base noun	Gloss	With *-áto*;Plural	Gloss
anmen	alcohol	anmenáto; anmenát'ák	drunkard, someone drunk at the moment
teyn	sleepyness	teyn'áto; teyn'át'ák	sleepy person
(ek)hem	sun	hem'áto; hem'át'ák	thirsty person, someone suffering from the heat
meteymog	stone	meteymogáto'	shaman killed after revenge rituals
negmasse	disease	negmasseáto	diseased or sick person

4.3 Lexicalized nominalizations

It is abundantly clear that a large portion of the non-related nouns in Enxet have readily recoverable or transparent verbal etymologies. Whether the verbal etymology is completely transparent and recoverable or not, it is clear that many lexical nouns contain an identifiable verb base and in some cases a complex stem.

While many non-related nouns show morphological features which give a vague suggestion of a verbal etymology, like the remnant pronominal prefixes found only in the simulative forms of nouns (§4.2.3), other nouns are very transparently derived from the perfective forms (§3.4.3) of otherwise still productive verb stems. However, unlike the productive grammatical nominalizations of verbs which are used for subordination-like purposes (Ch. 15), these *lexicalized nominalizations* (henceforth LNs) have gone through a process of lexicalization which is apparent in a few major differences between them and their grammatically nominalized counterparts:

- LNs either lose their pronominal marking completely or the pronominal marking becomes fixed and therefore semantically empty. This is different from the productive dropping of pronominal prefixes which occurs in some dialects of Enxet Sur (§3.3.4)
- LNs, if they can be possessed (semantically), are possessed using possessive pronouns (§13.4.2) rather than the possessive-like semantics found with participial pronominal prefixes (§3.3.3)

The processes described here should *not* be considered *productive nominalization* processes in the language, but rather processes whereby high-frequency nominalizations (mostly the perfective form) or collocations involving nominalizations become lexicalized as a unit over time. The different processes described likely come from different historical periods of the development of the language, as we can see different fossilizations of phonological strings that would have undergone regular morphophonological changes in more recent stages of the languages phonology. The description of these items as a distinct subset of non-related nouns is simply intended to highlight trends in their non-productive morphological structure, and to suggest diachronic processes of word formation/lexicalization which explain observable patterns in the shape of some nouns. Put differently, the reader may begin to notice many words that looks formally like verbs are being glossed like nouns, and this section addresses that phenomenon.

Almost all lexicalized nominalizations have lost the participial pronominal prefix on the perfective form of verbs, and in very many cases this is the only difference. This process is perhaps easiest to demonstrate with items that appear to be undergoing the process at present. For example, the verb stem *-tahan-* means 'to be over, be on top of', and is fully productive, being used in finite verbs with productive stem morphology like the accidental intensive used in (4.22).

(4.22) **ektahánawo'** aqsa penek

ek-tahan-awo' aqsa penek
1SG-over-INTS.DECL just frog

'I just accidentally stepped on a frog'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

As with most novel items introduced to Enxet society through trade, chairs were referred to through a deverbal nominalization that described the action associated with the

item, thus *nentaháno* 'that which we get on top of'. In this productive deverbal nominalization, possession is accomplished by the participial pronominal prefixes associated with nominalization as in (4.23), but a form like *sektaháno* is, at least originally, more literally 'that which I sit on top of' than it is 'my chair'.

(4.23) *Nominalized -tahano with participial prefixes*

a. émenyeyk ko'o **sektaháno** ekyettagko nak
e-menyey-k ko'o sek-tahan-o ek-yettagk-o =nak
1SG.STAT-like-DECL 1SG 1SG.PART-over-NM:PV F.PART-soft-NM:PV =TC:VIS
'I want a soft chair'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Lorna **ektaháno**
Lorna ek-tahan-o
Lorna F.PART-over-NM:PV
'Lorna's chair'

Notes 2015.7.20

Over time, however, the form has become lexicalized as a noun distinct from the deverbal nominalization, losing its participial pronominal prefix and thus being able to be used without a possessor to refer to a chair with no particular owner or use, or to chairs in general, as in (4.24).

(4.24) *De-pronominalized uses of taháno*

a. *Context: referring to uses of* mémog *'palo santo' wood*
kalanáxkohok han **taháno**
ka-l-an-axk-ohok =han tahano
F.IRR-DIST-make-MID-INTS.POT =AND chair
'It can also be made into seats'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. yakxegkahasegmoho' hana **taháno** nekha táxa
y-akxegk-ahas-eg-m-oho' =hana tahano nekha taxa
M.IRR-move-VAL-COMPL-TERM-INTS.POT =TC:PLZ chair F.side fire
'Move the chair closer to the fire'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

While some speakers use the de-pronominalized forms for non-possessed chairs and the participial prefix forms for possession, others have developed *taháno* as a fully non-related noun that is possessed using the possessive pronouns instead of participial prefixes, as in (4.25).

(4.25) cháxa **taháno apagkok** Mario

chaxa tahano apagkok Mario
that chair M.POSS Mario

'That's Mario's chair'

Skype 2020.4.4

Another common example is the noun *pánaqte* 'herb, medicine', which traditionally referred to plant medicine, but is now also used to refer to western medicine in the form of pills and other pharmaceuticals. This high frequency lexical item is not cognate to any related items in related EE languages, and is apparently a relatively new innovation in Enxet Sur. Its etymological origin is the semiverb *-panaq-*, which refers to grass or weeds growing wild, often referring to weeds which have overgrown a building or garden. Morphosyntactically, the pronominal prefix or subject of the verb is the plant which grows out of control. It can be used in the declarative form, as in (4.26a), or in the derived perfective form as a modifier in (4.26b).

(4.26) *Productive uses of -panaq- 'to become overgrown'*

a. **pagqeyk** kexa kaxwo
pagq-eyk =kexa kaxwo
overgrown-DECL =TC:DUB now
'maybe it's overgrown now'

EDP enx037

b. neyseksa pa'at **émpanaqte**
neyseksa pa'a eye-m-panaqt-e
F.among grass F.PART-TI.VBLZ-overgrown-NM:PV
'among the overgrown grass'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

From that perfective form, however, the de-pronominalized *pánaqte* is fully lexicalized as a noun, being possessed with possessive pronouns, as in (4.27)

(4.27) a. ekha enxoho **pánaqte egagkok**, egwanchek oltexneyxche'
ek-h-a =enxoho panaqte eg-agkok // eg-wan-chek
F.PART-sit-NM:IP =TC:CONJ medicine 1PL.POSS // 1PL.STAT-able-DECL
ol-texney-xch-e'
1PL.IRR.DIST-enter-MID-DECL
'If anyone has repellent, we can cover ourselves in it.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Apyamchek ma'a **yéwa pánaqte agkok** nak, kaqhek sa' han xa pánaqte nak
ap-y-am-chek =ma'a yewa panaqte agkok =nak // k-aqh-ek
M-drink-TI-DECL =DMSTR snake medicine F.POSS =TC:VIS // F.IRR-kill-NM:PO
=sa' =han =xa panaqte =nak
=TC:FUT =AND =DMSTR medicine =TC:VIS

'He drinks the poison of serpents, and this poison will kill him.'

TA Job 20:16

Some names for plants and animals have been lexicalized from nominalized verbs along with nouns representing their semantic arguments, as in (4.28). In some cases, there is clear phonological reduction of the compound. For example, the animal name *kelpayhamék* 'crab-eating raccoon' (*Procyon cancrivorus*) comes from a nominalized verb + noun string meaning something like 'its hands spread out wide', in reference to the wide spacing of its fingers. Although the composition is evident, there is enough phonological reduction that there is no clear grammatical suffix (presumably the perfective) on the verb base *-elpayh-* 'extend'. Also, the verbal element and 'hands' cannot be separated by a TAME clitic, and speakers both write and recognize it as a single word.

(4.28) *Lexicalized deverbal nominalizations which include semantic argument nouns*

a. Naqsapma tamomhet

*naqsap-ma tamomhet
swallow-NM:PV seriema

'Praying Mantis', literally 'Swallowed by seriema birds'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kelpayhamék

*kel-payh-a-mék
F.DIST-extend-F.POSS-hand.PL

'crab-eating raccoon' (*Procyon cancrivorus*)(lit. 'its hands spread out wide')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

A sizeable group of nouns contain a formative **sok*, which likely is related to *aqsok* 'thing', followed by a perfective verb form. It is unclear if the pronominal prefix *ek-* remains and is simply phonologically deleted by haplology with the preceding [ok], or if it has been completely deleted like the participial pronominal prefixes of most lexicalized nominalizations. All of the words which exhibit this process, shown in table 4.13, refer to items which would have been early trade items with westerners. These terms are not cognate in other EE languages, even in Enlhet Norte, and their prominence is therefore fairly easily datable to the late 19th or early 20th century.

There is another, older formative, *-ay*, which is no longer productive but which appears to have been a historical means of producing nouns from verb stems. For example, the two Enxet Sur names for the mammal known in English as 'coati' or 'coatimundi' both use the verb base *-pakxa'-* 'to gather things for one's home or campsite' — apparently a reference to the way that coatis construct sleeping nests in tree canopies. The first, *pakx-anma neten*, is clearly a depronominalized form of the productive perfective form of this verb, and literally means 'that which puts together a campsite up above'. The other, more common form, *pakxa'ay*, uses this *-ay* formative which does not appear productive but is found in many Enxet Sur nouns, as in those listed in table 4.14.

(4.29) *Terms for coatí (Nasua Nasua), a type of arboreal mammal*

Noun	Gloss	Verb stem	Gloss
sokhaxe	'fishhook'	//hax//	'curved'
sokketáma	'needle '	//etam//	'search'?
sokmasse	'pomelo'	//mas//	'bitter'
sokpayhe	'plate'	//payh//	'spread out'
sokpeyseyam	'glass, bottle'	//peysey//	'black'
sokwenaqte	'sword, machete'	//wen'//	'long'
sokham'ák	'harp'	//ham'//	???

Table 4.13: Lexicalized noun compounds with *sok + perfective verb form

Enxet	Gloss
Chákma'ay yempehek	k.o. snake (Leptophis ahaetulla)
Kelencham'ay	k.o. woodpecker (Picumnus cirratus)
Kesña'ay	Chingolo (Zonnotrichia capensis)
Lám'ay	person that gets mad easily
Mom'ay	k.o. fish, pez sargento'i
Sakpa'ay	k.o. woodpecker (Colaptes campestris)
Segwal'ay	green dragonfly
Ta'aw'ay	green parakeet(Amazona aestira)
Telegwa'ay	Yellow pipit bird(Anthus lutescens)
Waw'ay	k.o. lizard
Wáx'ay	pigeon, dove
Yám'ay	name for (Toba) Qom people (Guaycuruan)
Yátakkeltekyoksa'ay	palo lanza tree (Phyllostylon rhamnoides
Yát'ay	goat
Yetsakwa'ay	k.o. woodpecker

Table 4.14: Nouns using the *-ay* formative

a. **Pakxanma** néten
   coatí mundi
b. **pakxa'ay**
   coatí mundi

It is plausible and perhaps probable that this *-ay* form is simply an earlier form of the perfective suffix found on verb stems that are glottal stop final (see §2.4.4, §3.4.3), which in the modern language is *-e*. The sound change *ay* to *e* is well attested all across the Enxet Sur lexicon, when compared to older Enxet Sur documents and closely related Enlhet Norte. Where a semantically plausable etymology is available, this analysis holds up. For example *kesña'ay* 'Rofous-Collared Sparrow' is comparable to the modern perfective form verb *eyasñe* 'to grimace', and the sparrow of this name has pronounced black lines descending from its beak that resemble the lines of a frowning human face. In another example, *Yetsekwa'ay* is one name for a kind of woodpecker also referred to as *ekmanyasa*

eyempehek 'it's skin is dirty'[10], among other names, and is known for producing a foul odor. The verb *yetsek* means 'bitter, unpleasant, difficult', and combined with the 'arrive' suffix, would produce the modern perfective form *ekyetsekwe* 'to be unpleasant upon arrival' — an appropriate name for a bird that stinks.

Other examples with retrievable etymologies create problems for this analysis, however. *Lám'ay* 'person who gets angry easily' is clearly derived etymologically from *-lam-*, the temporal indefinite form of the verb *-law-* 'to be angry, brave'. The modern perfective form of this verb, however, is *eklo*, from earlier **eklama*, and not anything like a comparable *eklamè*. That said, these forms with preserved final *-ay* clearly lexicalized at a much earlier stage of the language, as evidenced by the fact that most of the forms have root/base formatives that are no longer recognizable or present in the modern language[11], and morphological rules in this earlier stage may have been different.

The fact that these lexicalized nominalizations mostly come from perfective nominalizations fits with the productive function of the perfective (Ch. 15). Whereas potential nominalizations and imperfective nominalizations have semantics related to ongoing or hypothetical actions, the perfective has aspectual connotations related to the event or action in general, and therefore is best suited for names. However, the oblique nominalizations (§3.4.3, §15.5) are also occasionally found having undergone the same depronominalized lexicalization process, as in (4.30). The fact that nouns diachronically originating in perfective nominalizations so outnumber those which come from oblique nominalizations is, in fact, somewhat unusual, and might be worthy of further study.

(4.30) **Payhakxa** negát

payhak-xa negát
locate-LOC 1PL.POSS.face

'forehead', literally 'where our face is' or 'where our face spreads out'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

4.4 Related nouns

The second major class of nouns are those which must obligatorily morphologically indicate a possessor through the use of a bound pronominal prefix. This obligatorily-possessed word class generally corresponds what are cross-linguistically referred to *inalienably possessed* nouns, mostly body parts and familial relations, though some related nouns do not fall into one of these categories. The possessor of related nouns may be made explicit through the use of an independent noun phrase (4.31a) or pronoun (4.31b), but the stem plus pronominal prefix can stand as an independent noun without an overt possessor noun or pronoun, as in (4.32a) and (4.32b) below.

[10] This latter name is a fully productive deverbal nominalization.

[11] Even though the verb bases are not recognizable, there is little doubt that these are historic verbs. For example, *Sakpa'ay*, a type of woodpecker, has the simulative form *Yátaksakpa'ay*, which has the preserved internal *ak-* form of the feminine participial. There is no verb base which resembles *-sakpa'-* in the modern language, however.

(4.31) *Related nouns with overt possessors*

a. askehe' **apmenek Nico**
a-ask-ehe' ap-menek Nico
F.STAT-hurt-DECL M.POSS-foot Nico
'Nico's foot hurts'

Notes 2018.8.18

b. hakte tásek **xép apwáxok**
hakte tás-ek xe:p ap-wáxok
because good-DECL 2SG.M M.POSS-innermost
'because your soul is good'

TA Psalm 54:6

(4.32) *Related nouns with no overt possessor (pro)noun*

a. katxek sa' **egaqtek**
ka-tx-ek =sa' eg-aqtek
F.IRR-enter-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL.POSS-eye
'it will get into our eyes'

EDP enx003 00:43

b. atekpogkasek sa' **apmek**
a-tekpog-kas-ek =sa' ap-mek
1SG.IRR-hit-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.POSS-hand
'I'm going to hit you in the hand'

The subsections below begin with the pronominal prefix paradigm which indicates possessors, followed by a description of related nouns which have no pronominal prefix but are inherently possessed. The next section describes pluralizing morphology, of which there are a few types, and the final subsection includes a number of various other morphological traits of related nouns, mostly regarding composite stems.

First, however, there are a few generalizations to be made about the shape of related noun stems. As with verbs, the term *stem* is used here to refer to the unit which carries the primary lexical information, regardless of whether it is monomorphemic or compositional. Although some stems can take a pluralizing suffix, when they are at their most morphologically basic form, related nouns consist only of a pronominal prefix and stem. However, the vast majority of related noun stems end in a *-V'* or *-Vk* string, as can be seen in tables 4.16 and 4.17 in the next section. Underlyingly, this is likely an *-e'* ending, since when vowel initial suffixes are added the segment is always glottal stop, and the vowels generally vary according to general processes of vowel assimilation. That the final glottal stop variably becomes [k] is consistent with how the same segment works in other word-final contexts (§2.4.4).

Furthermore, this *-e'* ending is formally identical to the potential verb suffix, and even patterns with one of the potential suffix's idiosyncracies: when attached to roots that end

in *-eg*, instead of following normal morphophonological rules, the *-eg-e'* string surfaces as *-og*. Compare, as in (4.33)[12], the verb stem *-xeg-* 'go' with the related stem *-aktege'* 'arm', which in its non-suffixed form is *-aktog*.

(4.33) a. ek-**xeg**-kek // a-**xog**
1SG-go-DECL // 1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO
'I go' // 'I will go'

b. ap-ak**teg**a'-ak // ap-ak**tog**
M.POSS-arm-PL // M.POSS-arm
'his arms' // 'his arm'

This should not be taken to indicate that this *-e'* portion of related noun stems is a productive aspect of their morphology — it cannot be taken off of the stem for any reason. However, its near universal presence in the word class, along with indications of relationships between related noun stems and stems in other word classes, indicates that it may have been a part of the productive formation of related nouns at some previous stage of the language. To the extent that related noun stems can be compared to verb stems, there may be a clear semantic motivation for the historical formation of related nouns, especially body parts. For example, the verb stem (really a pure root, §3.2.1) *-m-* 'have, grab' is probably historically related to the related noun stem *-me'* 'hand', which, if we remove the latter common *-e'* element, is just *-m-*. A potential form nominalization of the verb stem *-m-* would essentially mean 'that which could hold/grab' — a reasonable name for a hand.

Such transparent etymologies are not limited to verb roots, either. The non-related noun *yegmen* 'water' is clearly the source of the related noun *égmenek/apyegmenek* 'its liquid', which might refer to milk, honey, or any kind of naturally produced liquid. However, relatively few related nouns have such obvious etymologies, and it is plausible that related nouns like *apyegmenek* were formed on the basis of analogy with related noun stems which have only ever served that function.

Another general note about related noun morphology is that, unlike other word classes which are inherently multi-morphemic, there is a fair amount of irregularity across paradigms for the individual noun stems, and this irregularity hints at a high degree of lexicalization of related nouns and the fusion of stems and affixes. For example, take the word for 'older brother', whose stem is probably best represented as *-epma'*. Its masculine form, with the prefix *ap-*, is *apepma'* 'my older brother'. Other forms have what is likely an inserted [y], *eg-yepma'* 'our older brother' or *e-yepma'* 'my older brother'. The plural masculine, however, is *apkel-pepma'* — with an added [p] in the stem. This may be due to a type of reanalysis, because [p]-initial stems essentially lose their initial [p] in the masculine, and a geminate [p] is not allowed. Therefore *apepma'* appears to have been reanalyzed as having the stem shape *-pepma'* for the purposes of forming the masculine plural, but this reanalysis did not extend to the entire paradigm for this noun. The second person plural, then — an innovated grammatical category in Enxet Sur within the last couple hundred

[12]The modern surface form of 'his arms' is *apaktegák*, where the [aʔa] string as become [a:]. The morphemic segmentation in (4.33b) does not show this.

years — has two possible forms: *kél-yepma'* and *kél-pepma*. Therefore, while regular, productive rules can be identified, it should be noted that instances of irregularities and ad hoc reanalyses are much more common in this word class than in others, specifically at the boundary between pronominal prefixes and stems.

4.4.1 Person marking for possessors

The primary defining feature of related nouns is the required pronominal prefix which indicates the possessor (R) of the possessed noun (D). Person marking for related nouns appears in the same categories as verbs: first person singular and plural, non-first person feminine and masculine, and as a mixed impersonal/second person plural marker. Feminine and masculine markers, therefore, can refer to either a second or third person possessor. Similarly, the *kél-* prefix can indicate either a second person plural possessor, or a generalized possessor such that the noun becomes, in a way, non-possessed, as in (4.34). *Kélmék*, therefore, can either mean 'y'all's hands' or just 'hands', though note that the first person plural, like *egmék*, can also have a generalized, non-specific possessor.

(4.34) **kélaktog** wetáxchek ámay

kél-aktog wetá-xch-ek ámay
IMPR.POSS-arm see-MID-DECL road

'An arm was seen in the road'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The base of the pronominal prefix paradigm for related nouns, listed in table 4.15, is identical to that used for semiverbs and some adjectives (§8.2), akin to the similarity of form in many languages of possessive affixes and stative verb pronominal affixes. These allomorphs are referred to as the "base" forms because they are the most regular and predictable, they occur with consonant-initial stems, and they are the most common across the word class.

Pronominal category	Possessive prefix
+1.SG	e-
+1.PL	eg-
F	a-
M	ap-
2PL/IMPR	kél-

Table 4.15: Base possessive prefix paradigm for related nouns

A table of related nouns which take the pronominal prefixes in table 4.15 are given in table 4.16 below. Note that this section deals with person marking and not plurality, but that some forms have plural suffixes in the 1PL in cases where a singular noun cannot occur with a plural possessor. There are a few sources of variation in the forms of prefixes or stems in this table:

- The *e-* and *a-* of the 1SG and FEMININE, respectively, are lengthened in some contexts, either when followed by a single syllable stem, or a two syllable stem where the first syllable is not heavy/bimoraic
- Stems that begin with /p/ typically lead to homophony of masculine and feminine forms, since the /p/ of the masculine prefix does not lead to a geminate [pp] when followed by a stem /p/
- Apocope of vowels is present in some forms

Most allophony or irregularity in related nouns concerns stems which begin with a vowel or the glide [y], and the [y] may historically also derive from insertion before vowel initial roots. Some allomorphy is explainable through regular phonological processes, while some is simply irregular, even if the source of the irregularity is apparent.

The most common allomorphy is a null-marked *ø-* for the feminine possessive prefix. Table 4.17 gives examples of related nouns with null-marked feminine forms. Sometimes, as with *-yáp* 'father' or *-yaha'* 'uncle', the rest of the paradigm other than the feminine is completely regular. With some, like *-ephénem* 'cousin' or *-epháyem* 'son-in-law', a [y] that appears to be part of the stem in all other forms is missing in the masculine, which may suggest that the [y] of other forms may be inserted.

There are two patterns which apply to stems which are /a/-initial. The first is that feminine forms appear null-marked, while first person singular forms take the allomorph *ah-* of the pronominal prefix. While other word classes including semiverbs and adjectives make use of a very similar stative pronominal prefix paradigm, this *ah-* allomorph of the first person singular occurs only in related nouns.

For a couple other /a/-initial noun stems, *-aphék* 'finger' and *-akhák* 'rib', the vowels of the 1SG *e-* and the F *a-* appear to replace the stem initial vowel entirely, with no lengthening or intervocalic gliding. With all /a/-initial stems, it is possible to view the FEMININE forms not as being null-marked, but instead as having pronominal prefixes which are entirely fused with the stem initial vowel.

4.4.2 Inherently possessed

Some family member terms in Enxet do not take any possessive morphology, but are inherently possessed. Most of these are in the first person, *méme* 'my mother' in (4.35). These forms are listed in table 4.18.

(4.35) Keso **méme** ekwányam ekwesey Tegweykekxa

keso meme ek-wany-am ek-wesey Tegweykekxa
this my.mother F.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV F.PART-name Tegweykekxa

'This is my old mother named Tegweykekxa'

López Ramírez (1996)

The first person pronoun *ko'o* is sometimes used along with these inherently possessed first person family nouns. This indicates that these are not simply names for individuals,

1SG	1PL	M	F	2PL/IMPRS
-mek	'hand'			
émek	egmek	apmek	ámek	kélmek
-wéhek	'nose'			
ewéhek	egwéhek	apwéhek	awéhek	kélwéhek
-hagák	'spirit, ghost'			
ehagák	eghagák	aphagák	ahagák	kélhagák
-hekhek	'liver'			
ehekhek	eghekhek	aphekhek	ahekhek	kélhekhek
-máxempenek	'armpit'			
emáxempenek	egmáxempenek	apmáxempenek	amáxempenek	kélmáxempenek
-ma'ák	'teeth'			
em'ák	egma'ák	apma'ák	am'ák	kélma'ák
-menek	'leg, foot'			
émenek	egmenek	apmenek	amnek	kélmenek
-wa'	'hair, feathers'			
éwa'	egwa'	apwa'	áwa'	kélwa'
-wáxok	'innermost, inside'			
ewáxok	egwáxok	apwáxok	awáxok	kélwáxok
-wokmo'	'stomach'			
ewokmo'	egwokmo'	apwokmo'	awokmo'	kélwokmo'
-ye'	'excrement'			
éye'	egye'	apye'	áye'	kélye'
-paqpehek	'palate'			
epaqpehek	empaqpehek	apaqpehek	apaqpehek	kélpaqpehek
-páhak	'talon, heel'			
epáhak	empáhak	apáhak	apáhak	kélpáhak
-lapnek	'hamstring'			
elapnek	enlapnek	aplapnek	alapnek	kéllapnek
-tapnek	'knee'			
etapnek	entapnek	aptapnek	atapnek	kéltapnek
-taqla'	'buttocks'			
etaqla'	entaqla'	aptaqla'	ataqla'	kéltaqla'
-táwen	'grandchild'			
etáwen	entáwen	aptáwen	atáwen	kéltáwen
-táwa	'spouse'			
etáwa	entáwa	aptáwa	atáwa	kéltáwa
-taxna'	'belly button'			
etaxna'	entaxna'	aptaxna'	ataxna'	kéltaxna'
-xagkok	'house'			
exagkok	enxagkok	apxagkok	axagkok	kélxagkok

Table 4.16: Examples of related nouns which take the base forms of the pronominal prefix paradigm

1SG	1PL	M	F	2PL/IMPRS
-yaha'	'uncle'			
eyha'	egyaha'	apyaha'	yaha'	kélyaha'
-yáp	'father'			
eyáp	egyáp	apyáp	yáp	kélyáp
-yáxa'	'older sister'			
eyáxa'	egyáxa'	apyáxa'	yáxa'	kélyáxa'
-yáxeg	'younger sibling'			
eyáxeg	egyáxeg	apyáxeg	yáxeg	kélyáxeg
-yexwála'	'mucus'			
éxwála'	egyexwála'	apyexwála'	yexwála'	kélyexwála'
-epma'	'older brother'			
eyepma'	egyepma'	apepma'	yapma'	kélyepma'
-epyáma'	'mother-in-law'			
eyepyáma'	egyepyáma'	apepyáma'	yepyáma'	kélyepyáma'
-epyáta'	'father-in-law'			
eyepyáta'	egyepyáta'	apepyáta'	yepyáta'	kélyepyáta'
-ephénem	'cousin'			
éphénem	egyephénem	apephénem	yephénem	kélyephénem
-epháyem	'son-in-law'			
épháyem	egyepháyem	apepháyem	yepháyem	kélyepháyem
-aktog	'arm'			
ahaktog	egaktog	apaktog	aktog	kélaktog
-axkok	'tongue'			
ahaxkok	egaxkok	apaxkok	axkok	kélaxkok
-aqpehek	'palate'			
ahaqpehek	egaqpehek	apaqpehek	aqpehek	—
-aqtek	'eye'			
ahaqtek	egaqtek	apaqtek	aqtek	kélaqtek
-átog	'mouth'			
ahátog	egátog	apátog	átog	kélátog
-akhák	'rib'			
ekhák	egakhák	apakhák	akhák	kélakhák
-aphék	'finger'			
ephék	egaphék	apophék	aphék	kélaphék

Table 4.17: Related nouns with null-marked feminine forms

Enxet	Gloss
méme	'my mother'
táta	'my father'
mém'ay	'my aunt'
appa'	'my uncle'
hatte	'my child'
egken	'your/their mother'
hawok	'my older brother'

Table 4.18: Inherently possessed nouns

but in fact genitive expressions. Typically the pronoun is to the right of the noun, but occasionally comes before, as in the latter example below. Note that the pronoun here has to be modifying *méme* and cannot be a semantic argument of the verb 'show', otherwise the person marking of the verb would be the 1SG.STAT.

(4.36) *Inherently possessed nouns with overt possessor*

a. chehe Lina agkok, **hatte ko'o** agkok se'e
chehe Lina agkok hatte ko'o agkok =se'e
this Lina F.POSS my.child 1SG f.poss this
'This is Lina's, this is my daughter's'

EDP enx001 43:17

b. ekxéyenma axta **ko'o méme** ekwányam ekwesey axta Tegweykekxa
ek-xeyen-ma =axta ko'o méme ek-wány-am
F.PART-show-NM:PV =TC:PST 1SG my.mother F.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV
ek-wesey axta Tegweykekxa
f.part-name =TC:PST Tegweykekxa
'This is what my old mother said, her name was Tegweykekxa

López Ramírez (1996)

The term for 'mother' in all persons is inherently possessed, and in the non-first person the word *egken* 'your/her/his/their mother' is always inherently possessed, as in (4.37) – it is never a non-possessed 'mother'.

(4.37) essenhan ma'a apyáp **egken** eltennasak ektémakxa

essenhan =ma'a ap-yáp egken el-tennas-ak
or =DMSTR M.POSS-father M.POSS.mother M.IRR.DIST-tell-SCND
ek-tem-akxa
F.PART-do-NM:OB

'And your father, your mother, you will tell them about (our) culture'

EDP enx006 13:43

4.4.3 Pluralization in related nouns

In the morphology of related nouns, there are means of indicating the plurality of both the possessed noun and the possessor. Typically a suffix *-ak* indicates plurality of the possessee, and the distributive marker *-el* (§10.2) is used to indicate plurality of possessor. However, neither of these are applicable to all items in the class, and they rarely occur together.

Many related nouns take some form of the *-ak* plural ending, a suffix similar or identical to that used for non-related nouns and semiverbs. Generally, the *-ak* plural indicates plurality of the possessee — compare 4.38a and 4.38b. However, if the possessee is a body part or familial relation which someone typically only has one of, this plural marker can be used to indicate plurality of possessors as well, as in the contrast between singular and plural 'stomach' in 4.39a and 4.39b, respectively. Here, the plural *-ak* with 'stomach' inherently implies not only multiple stomachs, but, of course, multiple possessors of said stomachs.

(4.38) a. naw'a **ahaqtek** ekwetak apxegakmo
naw'a ah-**aqtek** ek-wet-ak ap-xeg-akm-o
edge 1SG.POSS-eye 1SG-see-SCND M.PART-GO-TERM-NM:IP
'Out of the corner of my eye I saw who was coming'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. weykcha'áhak hánaqteyásak **ahaqta'ák**
weykch'áhak ø-hánaqtey-ás-ak ah-**aqta'**-**ák**
book F-obscure-VAL-SCND 1SG.POSS-eye-PL
'The book made my vision blurry'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(4.39) a. kelyeykhaha **awokmo'** ayay'ak
kel-yeykh-aha a-**wokmo'** a-yay-'ak
F.DIST-pass.by-AMB.DECL F.POSS-stomach F.POSS-muscle-PL
'Her belly covers her legs'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kelyephagwa'awók **awokma'ák** kelán'a étkok
kel-yephag-wa'-awók a-**wokm**-**a'ák** kelán'a e-etkok
F.DIST-swell-ARR-INTS.DECL F.POSS-stomach-PL woman F.STAT-young
'The girls' stomachs were showing'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Formally, there is relatively little allomorphy in the form of this suffix — a list of singular nouns and their plural counterparts with *-ak* is given in table 4.19. As discussed above, the stems of related nouns almost all end in what is underlyingly an *-e'* string, and

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
-ek/-ák alternation			
apaktog	'his arm'	apaktegák	'his arms'
aplapnek	his kneepit	aplapnák	his kneepits
apxempenek	'his wing'	apxempenák	'his wings'
//e'-ak//>*-ák*			
apakhák	'his rib'	apakha'ák	'his ribs'
apáhak	his heel	apáha'ák	his heels
appegkettek	his elbow	appegketta'ák	his elbows
aptaqla'	his butt cheek	aptaqla'ák	his buttcheeks
aptaxna'	his belly button	aptaxna'ák	his/their belly buttons
Apocope			
apqátek	'his head'	apqatkok	'their heads'
apmenek	'his foot'	'apmagkok'	'his feet'
Other, irregular?			
apmek	'his hand'	'apmék'	'his hands'
apxagkok	'his house'	'apxanák	'his houses'

Table 4.19: Related nouns with plural /-ak/, organized by similar phonological derivation of the plural form

much of the allomorphy and apparent stem changes seen in table 4.19 can be accounted for through glottal stop phonology (§2.4.4).

For example, where there appears to be an alternation between singular *-ek* and plural *-ák*, there is in fact no stem alternation and the morphology is fully regular. The plural *apxempenák* can be segmented as *ap-xempena'-ak*, with the [aʔa] string which straddles the morpheme boundary condensing into a long [a:]. In plurals where the related noun stem suffix and the plural suffix create a [aʔak] string that is not reduced to [a:k], as in *apáhak/apáha'ák* 'his heel/(s)', the final vowel is lengthened, and the distinction between these first two morphphonological categories is likely the result of processess of preferred foot or suprasegmental structure that are not yet well understood but typically govern vowel lengthening/shortening and whether or not intervocalic consonants get reduced (§2.5.2, §2.4.6).

Other plurals undergo further phonological processes, but are still essentially regular. For example, with *apmenek/apmagkok* 'his foot/feet', the underlying morphology of the plural is something like //ap-menek-ak//. Apocope leads to //ap-menk-ak//, nasal assimilation to //ap-megk-ak//, and vowel assimilation to the final [ap-magk-ok]. That the plural suffix in this form and related ones is *-ok* and not *-ak* suggests that the typical *-ak* form is only a result of the general adjacency to stem-final glottal stops — vowels typically assimilate to [a] when following glottal stop (§2.4.5).

Still there are some alternations with what generally appears to be the *-ak* suffix which do not seem to follow regular phonological patterns. For example, with the alternation *apmek/apmék*, the long vowel in the plural is generally consistent with a phonological pattern [VʔV] > [V:] that would occur with the underlying string //ap-me'-ek//, but it is not clear why the final long vowel would be [e:] and not [a:] or even [o:], as it is be-

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
a-táwa	'her husband'	a-naqteyegka'a	'their husbands'
eg-mók	'our family member'	eg-námakkok	'our family members'

Table 4.20: Suppletive or irregular plurals of related nouns

tween an [m] and a [k]. More likely than not, such examples which show similarities to predictable, regular processes but do not behave in fully regular ways are lexicalizations or holdovers from previous stages of the glottal stop morphophonology — it is, after all, highly variable both in the individual speaker and across varieties of the language.

A couple of related nouns have plurals which are essentially suppletive, listed in table 4.20. The morphology of the plurals of these forms follows some patterns of morphology for more regular plurals. For example, the plural of *-mók* 'family member, other, acquaintance' appears to take a form of the *naq-/ná-* plural seen in some verbs (§10.2) as well as a phonologically predictable application of the *-ak* plural suffix. However, they do not generally behave morphologically like other related nouns.

4.4.4 Other morphological notes

Similar to the discussion in §3.2.1 about the analyzable but likely unproductive morphology of verb bases, the stems of related nouns contain several clear instances of compositionality or relation to lexical stems from other other word classes which warrant further investigation, but likely have benefit primarily to a reconstruction of the language and the morphological processes of earlier stages of EE than it does to an understanding of the synchronic grammar of speakers.

For example, many related nouns appear to contain stems which elsewhere function as semiverbs, adjectives, or verbs. For example, the semiverb root *-hápe'* 'soft' is arguably related to both *-(h)ápetek* 'meat, flesh' and *-(h)ápak* 'corpse'. The stem *-taxna'* 'belly button' surely has some relation to the verb base *-taxne'-* 'enter'. The stem *-yespok* 'throat' may have some relation to *-esp-* 'to smoke'. Likely, investigation of these lexical relationships would benefit most from comparative study of the living languages and extant doculects within EE.

There are some appearances of compositionality within stems. For example, a handful of related nouns can take a stem prefix *ep-* to give a simulative-type reading, but there are very few clear examples. When applied to the words for 'grandmother' or 'grandfather', the *ep-* prefix produces 'mother/father-in-law'. If this seems semantically off, keep in mind that Enxet family terms are more descriptive of the ongoing relationship of two people rather than a simple assignment based on birth/marriage (cf. Kidd 2000b). In-laws, then, are perhaps more like grandparents than parents in terms of their relationship to the individual, in that they are supplementary and not immediate elders. The *-ep* prefix also turns 'feet' into 'roots'. Two other terms, for 'son-in-law' and 'cousin' appear to have this prefix, and semantically fit with mother/father-in-law — extended family relations — but there is no corresponding root without *ep-* to compare to.

There are even some instances of lexical items with both related noun and verbal morphology on the same word. For example, *keheyk'ak* 'deaf woman', has the plural related

Base	Gloss	With *-ep*	Gloss
ap-menek	'his feet'	apk-epmenek	'its roots'
ap-yáma'	'his grandmother'	ap-epyáma'	'mother-in-law'
ap-yáta'	'his grandfather'	ap-epyáta'	'father-in-law'
—	—	ap-epháyem	'his son-in-law'
—	—	ap-ephénem	'his cousin'

Table 4.21: Instances of simulative *-ep* in related noun stems

noun stem *-heyk'ak* 'ears' but an allomorph of the FEMININE irrealis verbal prefix *ke-*. Irrealis pronominal prefixes, especially the FEMININE, can indicate negation without an overt negator morpheme (§14.2.1), and therefore this word represents an instance of nominal negation (§14.5).

I should reiterate that any of this kind of stem morphology is likely completely lexicalized, though it represents either a formerly productive process or forms which were created through direct analogy.

4.5 Pronouns

Enxet Sur has two classes of (mostly) independent pronouns: personal pronouns and possessive pronouns. Personal pronouns only refer to speech act participants (SAP, first and second persons) and have a special syntactic status within the clause distinct from other dependent nouns. Possessive pronouns, on the other hand, can either be part of complex possessive noun phrases or stand alone as the head of its own nominal expression, and can refer any kind of referent (SAP or otherwise) as a possessor of the possessed referent of the pronoun. Possessive pronouns, then, mostly have a syntactic distribution identical to that of lexical nouns, acting either as nominal PREDICATES, or part of a nominal expression in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position (§5.1).

4.5.1 Personal pronouns

Enxet Sur has five personal pronouns, listed in table 4.22, which roughly line up with the five basic personal inflectional categories on verbs and other items with pronominal prefix paradigms (§3.3.1), but not exactly. While Enxet has first person singular and plural personal pronouns, instead of having second/third person ambiguous pronouns to match the pronominal prefix system, it instead only has MASCULINE and FEMININE second person singular pronouns. These cannot refer to third persons and only have singular reference. There is also a second person plural pronoun, which, it should be noted, has a cognate pronoun in all other EE languages despite the fact that second person plural pronominal prefixes are unique to Enxet Sur.

Any of these pronouns may serve as PREDICATES, as in (4.40), but their typical position in the clause is in the post-PREDICATE region, after TAME clitics but before nominal constituents of the PREDICATE. This position holds regardless of the semantic role the pronominal referent has in the clause, and the pronouns themselves are not marked for

Person	Personal Pronoun Form
1SG	ko'o
1PL	negko'o
2SG.M	xeyep/xép/exchep
2SG.F	xeye'/xé'/exche'
2PL	kéxegke'

Table 4.22: Personal pronouns

any kind of semantic role (i.e. they are not case marked) and maintain a hierarchical relative ordering to each other when there are multiple pronouns that is irrespective of semantic role (§5.2.3).

(4.40) **xépya** axta?

xep =ya =axta
2SG.M =TC:Q =TC:PST

'Was it you?'

While I argue in §5.1.2 that Enxet Sur nominal expressions likely do not receive grammatical argument roles from PREDICATES and are not, therefore, conventional nominal arguments in the first place, personal pronouns do not even really pattern with other kinds of nominal expressions at all when referencing semantic arguments of a PREDICATE. PREDICATES are generally limited to a single dependent lexical noun phrase (§5.1.3), but personal pronouns to do not count toward this limit. They are partially cliticized to the extended PREDICATE complex, and are not in any sense obligatory in any construction where they can appear, with the exception of some kinds of nominal PREDICATES and possessive PREDICATES (§5.2.1), in which there is no other indication of the "subject" of the identity construction or of possession, respectively, if a pronoun is not used. While the second person singular pronouns have a disambiguating function relative to the second/third person ambiguous pronominal prefixes they co-occur with, the first person and second person plural personal pronouns generally always co-occur with a pronominal prefix which carries essentially the same information that they do. Given that they are optional and not filling an obligatory grammatical position, it is worth asking what their communicative function is in the first place[13]. Some obvious functions which are cross-linguistically common stand out as possibilities, like emphasizing new referents and therefore highlighting discontinuity of topics, but no hypothesis like this has yet been tested on the corpus.

As mentioned above, personal pronouns in their typical post-PREDICATE position are phonologically like clitics, in part because they cannot host any kind of primary stress or contrastive stress, but primarily because they undergo apocope (§2.4.2) in a phonological environment which spans the border between the pronoun and that which precedes it. This does not apply to *negko'o* 'we' or *kéxegke'* 'y'all', because the first vowel is followed by

[13]I know this sounds mean to the personal pronouns, but really I am just trying to help them be their best selves. I care for them deeply.

a consonant cluster in the former and the first vowel is long in the latter. The first person singular *ko'o* can phonologically occur as [k'o] if preceded by a vowel final word, although this is not applied consistently for all speakers and writers never write the word as *k'o*[14]. The most salient apocope effect comes with the second person singular pronouns. The base or historical form for the second person singular MASCULINE is *xeyep*, which some speakers still occasionally pronounce with an actual glide, but generally the *-VyV-* string reduces (§2.4.6) to [e:] in *xép*, or, if it follows a vowel-final word, the first vowel in *xeyep* is deleted producing phonetic [xchep], which orthographically is written with a dummy vowel as *exchep*. The same processes apply to the feminine, only the final consonant is different.

A few other formal notes could be made. The alternation in final consonant in the second person singular conforms to common sound/gender associations: the MASCULINE ends in *-p*, while the FEMININE ends in a glottal stop which may have some relation to the *ek-*/*ey-* FEMININE prefix in the participial paradigm (§3.3.3). This alternation is also seen in a now archaic, defunct MASCULINE second person plural pronoun *kéxegkep*, in contrast to the non-MASCULINE *kéxegke'*. Furthermore, although it is rather obvious, the first person plural *negko'o* is formed from the first person singular *ko'o* and an element *neg-* which is homophonous with the first person plural pronominal prefix *neg-*.

4.5.2 Possessive pronouns

Possession of non-related nouns is expressed most often through a set of possessive pronouns inflected for person/number/gender. The full paradigm is given in table 4.23.[15] Note that, while in verbs and related nouns the 2PL inflectional category functions as both an impersonal and the second person plural, for the possessive pronouns it is only used as the latter. It is never used in the sense of "one's object", only "y'all's object".

Person/number/gender	Possessive pronoun
1SG	ahagkok
1PL	egagkok or egegkok
F	agkok
M	apagkok
2PL	kélagkok

Table 4.23: Possessive pronoun paradigm

The possessive pronouns can appear in a number of syntactic configurations within a noun phrase. They can appear with both an overt possessor and possessee with various

[14]The lack of an orthographic variant simply corresponds to the fact that orthographic words need to be phonologically possible words

[15]There are plural forms of the possessive pronouns which have the pluralizing suffix *-'ak*, such as the 1PL possessive pronoun *egancha'ak* or the masculine plural *apancha'ak*. However, the use of these words as possessive pronouns is fairly archaic, at least in El Estribo and the *Peyseyapto* variety spoken by most consultants for this dissertation. In modern usage, these forms are used almost exclusively as a euphemism for 'testicles'. This is likely the reason their more general grammatical function has diminished.

orders for the three words, as in (4.41a-4.41b). They can appear with just a possessor noun, as in (4.41c), or with just the possessed noun, as in 4.41d. Most importantly, they can appear alone, with no nouns indicating possessor or possessee, as in (4.41e). More study could be done on the distributions of these various possibilities, although, impressionistically, the pronoun by itself is most likely to occur in the PREDICATE position, and it is not entirely clear if it is grammatical for it to serve as a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT.

(4.41) a. yetneyk **hápog ámay apagkok**
yetneyk hápog ámay apagkok
EXIST ant road M.POSS
'There's an ant path'

EDP enx001 49:14

b. Méko hekñat **sokhaxé apagkok énxet**, wánxa m'a sawe apophek aptéma sokhaxé apagkok
méko =hek =ñat sokhaxé apagkok énxet // wánxa =m'a
NEG.EXIST =TC:REP =TC:RPST fishhook M.POSS indigenous only =DMSTR owl
sawe ap-ophek ap-tém-a sokhaxé apagkok
M.POSS-claw M.PART-be-NM:IP fishhook M.POSS
'The Enxet had no fishhooks, there was only the owl's claw to be his fishhook'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. **Juan apagkok** ya xa?
Juan apagkok =ya =xa
John M.POSS =TC:Q =DMSTR
'Is this here John's?'

Notes 2015

d. mékoya **selyaqye apagkok**?
meko =ya selyaqye apagkok
NEG.EXIST =TC:Q money M.POSS
'Do you not have any money?'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

e. **apagkoya** so?
apagko =ya =so
M.POSS =TC:Q =PROX
'Is this yours?'

Notes 2015

While possession expressed in inalienable possession (§4.4) is semantically limited to whole-part relationships (like body parts, but also spatial regions relative to a body) and indicating kinship relationships, possessive pronouns can be used for these relationships as well as possessive relationships of ownership and association. The distinction between

ownership and association is not necessarily overtly distinguished. For example, in 4.42, 'the English people's money' refers to a type of scrip the Anglican missionaries distributed to the Enxet at the Makxawaya mission — not to money owned by the English. However, in (4.41d) above, it simply refers to an immediate ownership, something one has in their possession.

(4.42) Yetneyk axta ektémakxa selyaqye apagkok inglés nano'

yetneyk =axta ek-tem-akxa selyaqye apagkok ingles nano'
EXIST =TC:PST F.PART-do-NM:OB money M.POSS Englishman old

'There used to be types of English people's money'

LC Selyakye

It should be noted that a single form of possessive pronouns in Enxet Sur appears to correspond to two distinct forms in Enlhet Norte — one which is used as a PREDICATE and one which is used as a possessive particle within the noun phrase. It is possible that such grammatical distinction exists in Enxet Sur, but because there is no formal distinction, there not necessarily any motivation to posit two different sets of lexical entries in Enxet Sur, although further study may reveal that the possessive pronouns in Enxet Sur does have two discrete functions which correspond to the two distinct shapes in Enlhet Norte.

4.6 Directions for further research

As with much of the analyzable morphology in Enxet Sur, the degree to which any of the morphology of nouns is productive is an open question — partially resolvable through more data, partially through a clearer definition of the notion of productivity. Really none of the possible added morphology on non-related nouns is truly productive, as it is highly restricted and mostly lexicalized. Even with the more inflection-like morphology on related nouns, there are outstanding questions regarding the degree to which things like pronominal prefixes are really strictly concatenative, or if speakers' lexicons actually contain separate entries for different person inflections — allomorphy of affixes and roots alike raise interesting questions in this regard.

Part III

Building clauses

Chapter 5

Clause Structure

> *"...the most serious, perhaps fatal, problem for a model of syntactic representation with syntactic relations is that some part of the syntactic relation simply is not there. Yet this is very common in human languages."*
>
> Croft (2001, p. 226)

5.1 Overview of Clause Structure

Enxet Sur is a predicate initial or "verb initial" language with a somewhat minimalistic clause structure and a generally paratactic means of expressing complex semantic relationships. Although the pronominal prefix on verbs can indicate one participant and, to a limited degree, its semantic role, nouns which refer to or identify the semantic arguments of a verbal PREDICATE lack overt morphosyntactic indication of their grammatical argument role in relation to the verb. Furthermore, such nouns often have formal properties which suggest they could be treated as independent, paratactic elements.

For example, the utterance in (5.1a) has a verb *etwohok* 'he (usually) eats', an agent noun *waley* 'Paraguayan' and a patient noun *héna* 'tobacco'. However, because of semantic and syntactic properties of the other two elements, the topical demonstrative *xa* and the evidential clitic *nak*, (5.1a) is actually better understood as two distinct clauses, and the latter noun *waley* is not a dependent grammatical argument of the PREDICATE verb *etwohok*, but rather something like a nominal PREDICATE of an independent clause. Although this utterance, which comes from elicitation, has the appearance of a single "sentence", it is probably more accurately translated as something like "That one he chews tobacco, (he is) Paraguayan".

(5.1) a. etwohok **héna** xa **waley** nak
[e-tw-ohok héna =xa] [waley =nak]
[M.IRR-eat-INTS.NM:PO tobacco =DMSTR] [Paraguayan =TC:VIS]
'That Paraguayan chews tobacco'

Notes 2018.8.1

In practice, this means that the Enxet Sur clause has a maximal shape like that in figure 5.1. A clausal PREDICATE can be accompanied by one or several non-lexical items which modify or restrict the interpretation of the whole clause: second-position TAME clitics (described in Ch. 6), a closed class of true adverbs which occur after TAME clitics (described in §9.3), and a clausal enclitic called the topical demonstrative (or just demonstrative) which points to the topic upon which the PREDICATE is commenting (described in Ch. 7). There are also speech act participant pronouns which have a fixed position in the clause, and a "co-ordinator" clitic (§16.2).

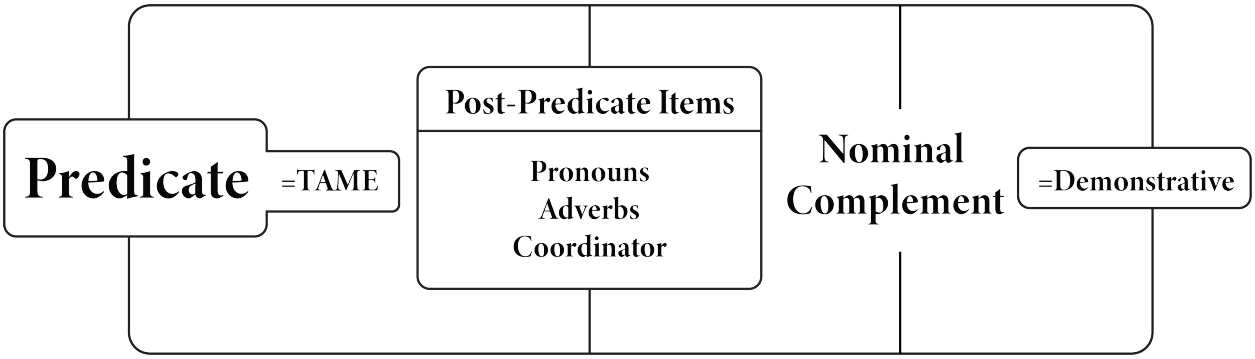

Figure 5.1: The structure and unmarked order of elements in an Enxet Sur clause; TAME refers to tense/aspect/modal/evidentiality clitics

The only other possible lexical content of the clause is a dependent noun, almost always just one, which can have any semantic role relative to the PREDICATE — agent, patient, goal, oblique, etc. — without any overt indication of its grammatical role. Because the architecture of the clause does not place dependent nouns in different grammatical roles, and there is therefore no distinction between a dependent argument and a dependent adjunct, I refer to the dependent noun which complements the PREDICATE simply as a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT. This term, like my use of PREDICATE, occurs in small caps whenever it is referring to the language-specific structural position in Enxet Sur.

The precise nature of these features of Enxet Sur clausal structure may be in some ways unique to Enxet Sur or the Enlhet-Enenlhet language family, but they are similar in a number of ways to syntactic descriptions and analyses of various so-called "polysynthetic" or "non-configurational" languages. Because these topics related to clausal structure are both complex and relevant to essentially every component of the syntactic description of the language, this chapter begins with an extended overview which describes the features of the Enxet Sur clause and the grammatical relationship between verbs and nouns, and places them within a broader typological and theoretical context. §5.2 describes a number of features of indicative clauses, including non-verbal predicates, word order, alignment, and constituent focus constructions. §5.3 then describes the structure of interrogative clauses, which at least in the case of content questions, are structurally very different from comparable indicative clauses.

5.1.1 The content of the Enxet Sur clause

In describing the fundamental syntax of the clause in a given language, most grammar writers center their descriptions on the transitive verbal clause — the unmarked order of the verb and its two arguments, and how the morphosyntax of the language expresses grammatical relations by assigning different roles to the two different arguments of the verb. For many linguists and traditional grammarians, a clause is defined by a verb and its arguments, and anything lacking this structure is something less than a clause.

Enxet Sur, however, presents some challenges to this conventional notion of a verb and its nominal arguments constituting a syntactically cohesive clause.

In what little previous description exists on Enxet Sur and related EE languages, two facts have always been clear regarding the basic syntax of such verbal clauses: 1) Enxet Sur and EE languages are unambiguously verb-initial, and 2) Enxet Sur and EE languages have an especially strong preference (beyond cross-linguistic trends) for no more than one non-pronimal argument NP, going so far as to prefer rendering two NPs as arguments of different verbs rather than have two overt NPs as arguments of a single verb. Both these traits are apparent in the description by Grubb (1911, p. 319–21)[1], the first non-indigenous person to learn to speak Enxet [presumably to a high degree of competency] and make any description of its syntax:

> Sentences are very simple. The verb precedes the noun, whether subject or object. With neuter verbs the subject is expressed, with active verbs the object; and sometimes the subject is expressed when there is a necessity.
>
> To make quite certain of a sentence, *e.g.*, "The tiger killed the man," it is necessary to say, "The man is killed [neuter verb]; the tiger's killing" (Abmatneyi enthlit, niptana apkyakhe). In an ordinary narrative the tiger will have formed the subject, and the simple statement, "(He) killed the man," would be sufficiently clear.
>
> In general style the language is vivid, comprising sharp, short, terse sentences.

Grubb's original example is reproduced and glossed in (5.2), and its structure is, as I show in this chapter, reflective of a number of fundamental features of Enxet Sur syntax. The intent of Grubb's use of this example is to show that, in a context where neither the agent or patient of a verb like 'kill' is already established in discourse, an Enxet speaker would not give a declarative, finite 'kill' verb followed by both an agent and patient NP. Rather, the participants of such a hypothetical 'kill' verb would instead be introduced in two distinct clauses with different verbs that made explicit the roles of the referents of the two nominal expressions in the event. To be clear about this example, I should point out that the Enxet Sur verb *-matñ-* 'be killed' is not any kind of passive construction — it is unique verb lexeme unrelated to *-aqh-* 'kill'.

(5.2) *Original Transcription*: Abmatneyi enthlit, niptana apkyakhe
Modern Orthography: Apmatñeyk énxet, neptána apchaqhè

[1] It is fairly clear that by "neuter verb", Grubb means an intransitive verb, and by "active verb" he means a transitive one.

ap-matñ-eyk énxet // neptána apch-aqh-è
M-killed-DECL man // jaguar M.PART-kill-NM:PV

'The/a man was killed, a jaguar was what killed him'

Grubb (1911, p. 319)

The two clauses are not, however, parallel. While the first, *Apmatñeyk énxet* 'the man was killed', has a finite declarative verb, the second clause *neptána apchaqhè* 'a jaguar is what killed him' is actually an identity construction with a nominal PREDICATE (§5.2.1), wherein the deverbal nominalization (Ch. 15) *apchaqhè* 'the one who killed (him)' is the subject of a nominal PREDICATE *neptána* 'is a jaguar'. Throughout this dissertation, unlesss otherwise stated, I only use the term "subject" (in regular lowercase letters) to refer to the single argument of a monadic, one-place predicate, not to a particular grammatical relation, but in this chapter I do use SUBJECT (in small caps) when referring to the grammatical relation. It may be tempting to see the second clause here as dependent in some way, since it lacks a finite verb, but such a construction has completely independent meaning and often appears in isolation (see §15.3).

Without any further data, we can already extrapolate some major descriptive claims from Grubb. The first is that, if Enxet speakers need two clauses and two verbs to disambiguate the roles of two NPs, this may suggest that Enxet syntax lacks a means of assigning semantic roles like *agent* and *patient* to grammatical roles like SUBJECT and OBJECT. Grubb uses the terms "subject" and "object", but it is important to keep in mind that even modern linguists of the 21st century sometimes use these terms in a ways which conflates semantic roles with grammatical ones. I return to the distinction between semantic and grammatical roles in the next section.

Grubb also implies that verbs typically only have a single overt or lexical nominal dependent, which conforms to a well-known cross-linguistic tendency referred to as the "quantity constraint" (see §5.1.3), which says that clauses in regular discourse in natural languages typically only have a single overt nominal (not pronominal) argument. However, because it is rare that two overt nouns indicating participants of a multi-participant verb would show up together in a single utterance, we should not expect the multi-verb, role-disambiguating construction of (5.2) to necessarily be high frequency anyway.

This first implication of a lack of clear argument role assignment holds up to scrutiny in the modern language. Nouns have no morphological markers of dependency on verbs or other predicate types — no case morphology, no determiners. Furthermore, aside from the predicate-initial nature of the language, the word order of verbal arguments is pragmatically based, meaning that the order of NPs relative to a verb is not based on their semantic role relative to the verb, but instead based on information structure factors. A fuller description of word order is given in §5.2.2. Kalisch (2009) has made similar claims about a lack of morphosyntactic means of disambiguating argument roles in closely related Enlhet Norte.

Second, Grubb's undefined, intuitive description of the "sharp, short, terse sentences" of Enxet Sur speech appears to be referring to the predominance of two basic clause types in discourse: 1) declarative verbs co-occuring with a single, apparently dependent nominal expression, and 2) nominal predicates. Therefore, the important generalization about

constructions like *neptána apchaqhè* in (5.2) is not just that multiple different lexical verbs are used to explicate participant roles, but that participants in discourse are routinely introduced not through dependent argument NPs acting as referring expressions, but instead through paratactic (non-dependent) expressions which formally constitute nominal predicate clauses, as does *neptána apchaqhè* in (5.2).

For example, the semantic participant of the verb *apheyk* 'he sat/stayed' in (5.3) is indicated in the utterance *xama lengua nak* '(this was) an Enxet man', which is not, as I show below, a grammatical dependent of the verb *apheyk* but instead is a separate, distinct nominal PREDICATE, as indicated by the TAME clitic *nak*, coupled with its prosodic independence from the clause headed by the verb.

(5.3) apheyk xama semana m'a Concepción (0.7 sec) carcel (0.7 sec) **xama lengua nak**

ap-h-eyk xama semana =m'a Concepción // carcel // **xama lengua** =**nak**
M-sit-DECL one week =DMSTR Concepción // prison // one Enxet =TC:VIS

'He stayed for one week in Concepción, in the jail, an Enxet man'

NNE178 04:01

To refer to constructions like *xama lengua nak* in (5.3), I use the novel term **paraclause**. We can define the paraclause as a non-embedded construction which has the formal, structural properties of an independent nominal PREDICATE clause, but whose function is not to assert a proposition (as conventionally understood). The typical function of paraclauses in Enxet Sur, and the one most relevant to the present discussion, is to identify or re-identify referents in the discourse, usually the topics of prior clauses. This is what *xama lengua nak* does in (5.3). In isolation, *xama lengua nak*, with the TAME clitic *nak*, would assert an identity proposition and mean 'he is an Enxet man'. However, within the context of the narrative, it functions not so much to assert such a proposition, but instead serves to identify the subject of *apheyk* 'he stayed'. Because they have the structural properties of independent clauses, but arguably do not have the discourse function typically associated with clauses, these common Enxet Sur constructions are given this special label. To be clear, paraclauses are not structurally or semantically distinct from any other kind of nominal PREDICATE clause (described in §5.2.1 below), they are merely distinguished from such clauses by their pragmatic function in discourse.

Defining that pragmatic function is itself somewhat tricky. It is quite easy to see utterances like *xama lengua nak* in (5.3) as "afterthoughts" — extra-clausal elements that a speaker tacks on to the end of a clause when they realize their interlocutor might need a little more information to understand the meaning of a clause. Many observed instances of intonationally distinct independent nouns might best be thought of this way. However, there are two problems with broadly applying an "afterthought" analysis: 1) paraclauses are part of the core character of Enxet Sur speech and are far too common to just be a recovery strategy, and 2) paraclauses typically occur with TAME clitics, adverbs, and demonstrative clitics which unambiguously define them as grammatically complete clauses — we generally do not think of afterthoughts as having the same structural properties as whole clauses.

Furthermore, paraclauses raise some important questions about how exactly we determine the distinction between the discourse functions of "reference" and "proposition/predication", since they generally function like a referring expression but have the structural properties otherwise associated in the language with propositional clauses. We can attempt a very literal translation of (5.3) which treats paraclauses as regular clauses, which would yield something like 'He stayed one week there, It was (in) Concepción, it was (in the) prison, that is one Enxet man' — this is felicitous to the literal translations used in Kalisch (2009) for Enlhet Norte (see below). If we viewed these paraclauses as having propositional rather than simply referential semantics, the paraclause *xama lengua nak* would have a propositional content 'that is one Enxet man', but in context, the notion of the "truth value" of this proposition would be a little strange, since this proposition would just be a comment on the identity of a previously underspecified pronominal referent.

This is not something which clausal structures are generally recruited to do in most languages, especially not English or other European languages. Referent identification in English is almost exclusively done through dependent nouns, such that the noun *Amy* in *Amy came by here yesterday* not only fills a semantic role in relation to *looking for*, but serves the function of providing an identity for a referential file which has been opened. From an English perspective, it may appear inelegant and inefficient to split up these two functions and thus have a preference for saying *She came by here yesterday*, *She is Amy*, as Enxet Sur generally does, but it does not go against any core principles of grammar — functional or formal.

Were there a clear distinction between these paratactic nominal predicates or paraclauses on the one hand, and nominal expressions which were unambiguously arguments of verbs on the other, the prevalence of paraclauses might be an interesting quirk of Enxet Sur discourse. However, this simply is not the case, and there really is little indication that any nominal expressions act like conventional arguments.

Aside from a lack of case markers, determiners, or word order constraints which explicate grammatical roles of NPs, Enxet Sur lacks subordinating conjunctions, complementizers, or relative pronouns (§15.1), true adpositions have very limited operability and most are recent innovations (§9.2), and there is essentially no evidence other than semantics to posit a grammatical oblique position which might distinguish core from non-core NP arguments. There are, then, in the whole language, extremely few explicit, overt indications of constituency or dependency. Thus, it is clear when the nouns denoting the semantic arguments of verbs are not part of the clause headed by the verb, but not so clear when they are.

Many similar observations, but especially the observation that participants are often or typically identified through independent PREDICATE structures rather than dependent referential ones in the form of argument NPs, form the basis for the "omnipredicative" analysis of closely related Enlhet Norte in Kalisch (2009). In Kalisch's analysis — the most substantial statement on EE syntax prior to the present grammatical description — all lexical items (verbs, nouns, adverbs, adjectives), everything except for TAME clitics (particles or predicating particles in Kalisch's terminology) and demonstrative clitics, exist as independent PREDICATES in Enlhet Norte.

That is, not only do all lexical items have the *ability* to serve as PREDICATES, and nor

do they just very frequently surface as PREDICATES instead of referential arguments, they in fact are *always* arising in the grammar as the PREDICATE nucleus of a clause, and every lexical word therefore constitutes a distinct clause. His position can best be summarized with his conclusion to the paper (translation mine):

> La índole relacional de las categorías lexicales del enlhet en general, y el uso inevitablemente predicativo del nombre en particular, producen un encubrimiento de la distinción formal de participatum y participante. De modo coincidente, determinan que la predicación más compleja posible no sobrepase la pauta *predicado – partícula(s) — demostrativo*. Lo que supera dicha pauta constituye un complejo de predicaciones en yuxtaposición que tienen (excluyendo los adverbiales) un argumento co-referencial. Los complejos de predicaciones, por ejemplo la cláusula verbal y dentro de la misma las expresiones de participante, corresponden a estrategias de elaboración que están motivadas semántica — y pragmáticamente. Estas estrategias se reflejan en ciertas características formales de la cláusula, las cuales contrarrestan, de manera indirecta y parcial, el indicado encubrimiento de la distinción de participatum y participante a nivel de la sintaxis (es decir, posibilitan diferenciar formalmente predicación y referencia), a la vez que hacen posible reconocer formalmente secuencias de predicaciones como unidades semánticas. Sin embargo, dada la inexistencia de mecanismos de cohesión formal, no ofrecen criterios discretos para definir categorías sintácticas en términos morfo-sintácticos y en el presente trabajo, dichas características formales no se han discutido en profundidad. Se relacionan con parámetros como la entonación, la pausa del habla, la existencia o no de clisis entre palabras, el uso de partículas y conjunciones, el uso de demostrativos, la distinción de las categorías lexicales, la valencia verbal, los mecanismos de subordinación, el tiempo verbal, el orden de palabras y el paréntesis sintáctico, el orden de constituyentes en general.
>
> Kalisch (2009, p. 145–6)

> The relational nature of the lexical categories of Enlhet in general, and the inevitably predicative use of the noun in particular, obscure the formal distinction between participatum [that which is participated in] and participant. Coincidentally, this means that the most complex possible predication does not exceed the structure *predicate — particles* [TAME clitics] *— demonstrative*. Anything beyond this structure constitutes a series of juxtaposed predicates that (excluding adverbials) have a co-referential argument. The predicate complexes [series of juxtaposed predicates], for example the verbal clause and within it the participant expressions, correspond to elaboration strategies that are motivated semantically — and pragmatically. These strategies are reflected in certain formal characteristics of the clause, which counteract, indirectly and partially, the aforementioned obscuring of the distinction of participatum and participant at the level of syntax (that is, they make it possible to formally differentiate between predication and reference), while making

> it possible to formally recognize sequences of predications as semantic units. However, given the absence of formal cohesion mechanisms, they do not offer discrete criteria to define syntactic categories in morpho-syntactic terms and in the present work, these formal characteristics have not been discussed in depth. They are related to parameters such as intonation, pause of speech, the existence or not of clisis between words, the use of particles and conjunctions, the use of demonstratives, the distinction of lexical categories, verbal valence, subordination mechanisms, verb tense, word order and syntactic parenthesis, general constituent order.

Kalisch's claim builds on the implications of Grubb's "sharp, short, terse sentences" claim in an interesting way. Here he is not just making a claim about the vague character of discourse, but instead saying that there is an essentially flat syntax in Enlhet Norte, and that any appearances of complex constructions are in fact just linear assemblages of "juxtaposed predicates".

At least in character, such a description accurately reflects the nature of many apparently complex utterances in Enxet Sur. Quite often, even when large strings of lexical items are grouped into a single intonation unit, it is always entirely possible, generally preferable, and often times necessary to view them as strings of simple predicates. In my analysis, there is more possibility for dependency than what Kalisch (2009) suggests, but an utterance such as that in (5.4), which occurs fluidly with no pauses, is easily divided into simple clauses based on what is argued about demonstratives and TAME clitics in §7.4 and §5.1.3, respectively.

(5.4) cháxa meteymog nak apyamasmeyk axta énxet'ák tiempo de Israel axta

[cháxa] [meteymog =nak] [ap-yamas-m-eyk =axta énxet-'ák] [tiempo de Israel axta]
[that] [stone =TC:VIS] [M-loose-TI-DECL =TC:PST man-PL] [time of Israel =TC:PST]

'That is the stone that the men refused in the time of Israel', literally 'It's that, it's the stone, the men refused it, it was the time of Israel'

EDP enx039 41:33

While I cannot fully comment on the validity of the every-word-a-predicate analysis for Enlhet Norte (though close to Enxet Sur, it is a different language), there are, in my view, obstacles to applying this extreme omnipredicative analysis for Enxet Sur — there is unambiguous evidence for the existence of the productive complex noun phrase (Ch. 13), and the focus construction involving the second position finite verb clearly demonstrates NP dependency on the lexical verb (§5.2.4).

However, in this description of the Enxet Sur clause, I build on Kalisch's assertions and Grubb's implications that there are substantial grammatical limits on the content of the clause. As I argue in the rest of this overview, the Enxet Sur clause consists maximally of a clause-initial PREDICATE, a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT (no true arguments), and a handful of other formatives in the clause which bear semantic values that have scope over the whole clause.

5.1.2 On Parataxis and Argument Structure

There are two complementary questions to address in describing the nature of syntactic (non-)relations in a language like Enxet Sur: 1) what does it mean that nominal expressions which identify the semantic participants of a verb are not grammatical arguments of that verb, and 2) if nominal expressions do not function as grammatical arguments of the verb, then what are they? In this section I address the first question, providing some theoretical context and a terminological framework for discussing the ways in which a semantic relationship between nouns and verbs is expressed without a grammatical argument structure that unites them.

Ultimately, the purpose of morphosyntactic structures in language is to encode in an explicit fashion *conceptual relationships*. Syntax places lexical items with denotational value (referents, events, properties) into structures which encode in some explicit way the semantic relationships between them. However, while syntax or morphology or constructions may delineate semantic relationships between entities and concepts, they do not *create* them.

I can, for example, say with a particular upward intonation "Jimmy Buffet", suck my teeth, shake my head and sigh with a long pause, and then say with particular downward intonation "terrible". While some would argue that the broader speech act and the intonational cues in such an instance would themselves constitute a construction which expresses the relationship between these two phrases, and the pattern follows a familiar *topic-comment* structure in English, there would still be two distinct utterances without explicit morphosyntactic indication of their relationship. Yet, nonetheless, any English speaker would probably understand this as some kind of attributive relationship, and that I was not a fan of Jimmy Buffet's music.

The establishment of conceptual relationships through implicature and context without any formal morphosyntactic means to explicate the relationship beyond juxtaposition in discourse is referred to here as **parataxis**. Its opposite, **hypotaxis**, refers to morphosyntactic structures which make explicit the relationship between two or more units through the means of a hierarchical grammatical structure. Central to this distinction, at least classically, is that items related by parataxis are of "equal" status while hypotaxis indicates a hierarchical dependency relationship — a characterization stemming from the older use of these terms in traditional grammar to refer to what we now generally call subordination and coordination. Two items in a paratactic relationship, then, each have distinct "heads", and there is a lack of grammatical relations between them (Croft, 1996, Zwicky, 1985).

It should be noted here that when descriptive linguists refer to a paratactic relationship between two entities, the implication is typically that there is some tight logical or conceptual association between the two entities, even if they do not engage in grammatical relations with one another. Any two sentences in this paragraph meet some of the criteria of parataxis established above — they are juxtaposed, have distinct heads, and do not enter into grammatical relations with one another, but they do have logical continuity and share co-referential demonstratives and pronouns. However, we do not bother talking about sentences in a written paragraph as being in a paratactic relationship, because the nature of their semantic relationships and formal co-reference are what we expect to

occur and be established at the level of discourse, not at the level of local (clausal) syntax.

At least in part, then, "paratactic" is used as a comparative concept from a literate (implicitly prescriptive) perspective: a paratactic construction in a language is one whose semantic content would typically be expressed by a single written sentence in a standardized western language.

Common types of Parataxis

All kinds of semantic relationships which are understood in European and other well studied languages to be represented hypotactically or within cohesive syntactic units like phrases and clauses have been shown to be expressed paratactically in languages of other language families of the world. For any complex, hypotactic structure in any given language, it is reasonable to assume that some human language somewhere expresses the same relationship through paratactic means.

All manner of conceptual relationships expressed in English or related languages via clausal subordination are quite uncontroversially shown to be reflected in other world languages paratactically — this includes relative clauses (Kuteva and Comrie, 2006, p. 212 – 215), complement clauses (Kesici, 2013), purpose clauses (Can Pixabaj, 2015), conditional clauses (Haiman, 1983), and other types of adverbial clauses (Hengeveld, 1998, p. 336)[2].

For example, in another Gran Chaco language, Pilagá (Guaycuruan), some multi-clause constructions are in a purely paratactic relationship. In (5.5), there are two verbs with the latter behaving semantically like a conventional complement clause, but the two verbs are fully finite and there are no subordinating conjunctions.

(5.5) Pilagá (Guaycuruan, Argentina) (Vidal, 2002, p. 361)

hayem d-aqta-n-em ga' t-ae-yi
1SG SETA.3-tell-ASP-DAT CLF set.A.3-go-DIR

'He told me that he has gone'

Interclausal relationships have been shown to exist on a gradient or cline from the simple juxtaposition of fully independent entities to tight bi-clausal entities with clear syntactic dependency relationships (Lehmann, 1988). This cross-linguistic gradient between dependence and independence is mirrored in diachronic interpretations as well, since dependent structures are often argued to have arisen from independent paratactic ones (Givón, 2014, Hopper and Traugott, 2003). Even analyses which reject the simple notion that hypotaxis/subordination arises directly from parataxis/juxtaposition in discourse (cf. Harris and Campbell 1995, p.282–313) still maintain that there are languages which lack true clausal subordination and that they can develop clausal subordination through means of structural reanalysis.

Referring to limited subordinating structures in languages across the Americas and Australia, Evans and Levinson (2009, p. 442) say such languages circumvent the need

[2]These citations simply point to strong examples of each kind of structure — there are countless examples of each.

for robust subordination strategies "by adopting strategies that present a number of syntactically independent propositions whose relations are worked out pragmatically." As described in Chapter 15, this characterization is highly appropriate for Enxet Sur, where instead of true clausal subordination, a similar semantic function is achieved through the predicate use of deverbal nominalizations in paratactic clauses.

At a lower level (from the perspective of a hierarchical phrase-structure grammar) many languages exhibit varying degrees of parataxis as it relates to the conventional noun phrase. In some languages, items which are elements of the complex noun phrase in a language like English — demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives — may be discontinuous with or in an appositive relationship with the nominal expressions they specify or provide information about (Krasnoukhova, 2012, p. 167–69). Such appositional NP "modifiers" are defined by Rijkhoff (2002: p. 22) as elements which act as independent referring expressions co-referent with a nominal expression, but which are not syntactically integrated with the "head" noun. Such features are not uncommon in Lowland South America, and are also common in many indigenous languages of Australia.

For example, in the example in (5.6) from the Miraña language of the Colombian Amazon, 'one' and 'fishing rod' are co-referential — they are referring to and describing the same thing — but the quantifying expression acts as an independent utterance, not part of the noun phrase grammatically headed by 'fishing rod'. In this example, the fact that 'one' and 'fishing rod' are in a paratactic relationship of two equal pieces is indicated by the parallel inflectional *-ko* suffixes. Erstwhile noun phrase relationships are often similarly paratactic in Enxet Sur, as discussed in Ch. 13.

(5.6) Miraña (Witotoan, Colombian Amazon) (Seifart, 2005, p. 5)

ó-ʔdi	íhka-ko	tsa-ko	pihhú-ko
1SG-POSS	COP-SCM.1D.pointed	one-SCM.1D.pointed	fish.NMZ-SCM.1D.pointed

'I have one fishing rod' (lit. What (pointed) is to me, one (pointed), a fishing rod)

This kind of phenomenon in what would be noun phrases is referred to by a number of names — apposition, but also "phrase fracturing" (cf. McGregor 1989) and "discontinuous noun phrases" (cf. Maier 2015). Both of the latter terms point to an implicit insistence on the part of linguists that, for example, 'one' and 'fishing rod' in (5.6) constitute some kind of 'phrase' despite the fact that the point of the terms "phrase fracturing" and "discontinuous noun phrase" is to indicate that two items are *not* in any kind of phrasal relationship. Such terminological confusion, I believe, arises from the conflict inherent in attempting to describe a grammatically paratactic relationship between items which would be syntactically cohesive in better studied languages — viewing the quantifier and the lexical noun in (5.6) as part of a cohesive noun phrase unit is the unavoidable point of departure for the western linguist, and their paratactic relationship is only understood in relation to the initial presumption of their phrasal unity.

In languages which lack some kinds (or all kinds) of clausal subordination, or in language which lack true complex NPs, the semantic functions such structures enable can obviously still be accomplished, but this is done through pragmatic and discourse structures. If instead of saying 'I see a red bird', we say 'I see it, it's a bird, it's a red one' (as one

might in a language like Enxet Sur), there are formal means of maintaining continuity of topic and indicating co-reference which do not require the establishment of grammatical relations within a local syntactic unit like a phrase or clause.

We can think of this relationship between larger discourse structures and local syntax as parallel in some ways to the relationship between syntax and morphology. A language like Enxet Sur, with complex verbal morphology, expresses semantic relationships like associated motion (i.e. 'I found it when I arrived there'; Ch. 12) through bound verbal morphology, while in English, such relationships can only be expressed through dependent adverbial clauses. In such examples we can see a cline between "isolating" structures with syntactically dependent but morphologically independent elements on one end and "synthetic" structures with morphologically bound elements on the other.

This cline between morphologically bound and independent elements is better understood at the level of individual constructions and not as a global property of a language system — the failure of linguists to come up with a discrete and useful definition for "polysynthesis" supports this attitude (see Haspelmath 2018). Similarly, it is not of any particular value to rank languages in terms of their global degree of parataxis versus hypotaxis or the degree to which varying kinds of semantic or discursive relationships are realized morphosyntactically.

For example, English, although it has complex noun phrase and clausal subordination structures, lacks the kind of morphological proximate/obviate distinction in third persons found in Algonquian languages but nonetheless can manage to express and negotiate the discourse salience of referents through structures which exist above the level of local syntax and grammatical relations. Conversely, Algonquian languages have a more elaborated and explicit morphosyntactic structure in this particular functional domain, despite the fact that Algonquian languages display noun phrase discontinuity (Fanselow and Féry, 2006) that is indicative of a less elaborated noun phrase structure.

Grammatical versus semantic argument structure

A third type of parataxis, one which is core to understanding the grammar of Enxet Sur, is a paratactic relationship between verbs and nominal expressions which, semantically, refer to their participants. Conventionally, a verbal predicate is made grammatically complete when the semantic roles associated with it are saturated in the form of nominal arguments, and argument nouns are constituents of the clause which is headed by the predicate verb. However, some degree of paratactic relationship between verbs and nominal expressions which reference participants of those verbs is occasionally described for languages labeled "polysynthetic", "non-configurational", or "head-marking".

In describing this kind of parataxis, and a distinction between semantic and grammatical relations between verbs and nouns, I distinguish between the notion of grammatical argument and semantic argument (henceforth g-arguments and s-arguments, cf. Koenig and Michelson 2015). An s-argument is a participant in the event referenced by a verb and is a component of the conceptual structure of the verb, whereas a g-argument is an entity which receives a grammatical label, such as SUBJECT or OBJECT or PIVOT, and therefore enters into grammatical relations with the verb in some kind of dependency or constituency relationship.

These two notions, g-argument and s-argument, are typically combined within the descriptive notion of "argument", in that an argument is a nominal expression which receives grammatical labels from the verb. The fact that grammatical and semantic components or argument structure are typically not distinguished in language descriptions is probably due to the fact that in most languages (especially classical languages and those well studied by western linguists) there are morphosyntactic markers which unambiguously show that nouns are acting as g-arguments, and a g-argument typically corresponds to an s-argument[3].

However, the inverse is not necessarily true, since a nominal expression can identify the s-argument of a verb while not acting as a g-argument. Thus, in an English example with left dislocation like *Old Bill, we couldn't find him*, the nominal expression *Old Bill* indicates the semantic PATIENT of *find*, and we can therefore say it fills the necessary function of identifying an s-argument of *find*. However, only *him* functions as a g-argument, in that it enters into grammatical relations with with the predicate verb and receives an OBJECT grammatical label, as indicated by its placement in the sentence and the use of the object form of the pronoun. For convenience, in the remainder of this chapter and occasionally throughout this dissertation, I will use the phrase "s-argument nominal expression" or "s-argument noun" to refer to nominal expressions which identify or refer to the s-arguments of predicate. For example, I might refer to *Old Bill* above as an s-argument of *find*, although it would be more precise to say that *Old Bill* simply refers to or identifies an s-argument of *find*.

Similarly, in English, a verb like *eat* is necessarily semantically dyadic[4], having two s-arguments — that is, the action denoted by the lexical entry *eat* always involves an *eater* and something which is *eaten*. However, despite always having two s-arguments, it sometimes takes two g-arguments (*I ate an empanada*) and sometimes only one (*I ate already*).

Absence of nominal expressions identifying s-arguments

In a number of strongly head-marking languages — again predominantly in the Americas and Australia — the inflected verb constitutes a fully formed, grammatical clause. These "word-sentences" are often referred to as *holophrastic* 'constituting a whole phrase' (cf. Mithun 2017a). Descriptions of languages with holophrastic verbs emphasize the semantic "wholeness" of the verb, often focusing on the morphological complexities of verbs which allow them to fully indicate any necessary components of the clause with word-internal morphology, including full indication of s-arguments (with person, number, gender, role, etc.). Such descriptions often descend from an Americanist traditions which describes such languages as "polysynthetic", which is generally just a reference to the capacity for verbs with long strings of morphemes.

A less morphological and more syntax driven approach to the same phenomenon focuses on the other side of the coin, attempting to account for the frequent absence of

[3]A counter example would be something like an expletive subject (i.e. 'It is raining'), where a g-argument is required despite the lack of a semantically meaningful s-argument.

[4]I use the terms monadic/dyadic/triadic/polyadic to refer to the number of s-arguments of a predicate, again, following Koenig and Michelson (2015).

overt nominal or pronominal arguments within the clause. This lack of pronouns or NPs to refer to verbal arguments is sometimes referred to as **zero anaphora**, which, along with "free word order", is a defining characteristic of languages which have been referred to as "non-configurational" (cf. Hale 1983). In some theoretical frameworks, especially Government and Binding theory, zero anaphora is largely synonymous with "pro-drop", which is a term that more or less exclusively refers to languages which can drop or express as null their subject pronouns, and languages like Spanish and Italian are viewed as having abundant pro-drop because of their rich verbal subject agreement. Zero anaphora in non-configurational languages can occur with nominal expressions regardless of their semantic role or grammatical label, and regardless of whether or not an overt verbal morpheme indicates the referent of the zero-marked nominal expression.

These complementary phenomena, holophrasis and zero anaphora[5], are major features of Enxet Sur speech. Generally speaking, once a referent is topicalized in the discourse, it does not need to be indicated by an independent nominal or pronominal expression. It *may* be indicated by the pronominal prefix *if* such prefixes are not dropped and the topicalized referent has the necessary combination of properties to be cross-referenced by the pronominal prefix, but if it is a non-first-person PATIENT, there is no overt indication whatsoever. For example, in the running speech example in (5.7), the speaker is describing traditional fishing practices. The noun *kelasma* 'fish' is an s-argument of all bolded verbs, either as the subject of a monadic verb or the patient object of a polyadic verb, but most of these verbs have no co-occurring NP *kelasma*.

(5.7) *Context: Describing traditional fishing practice*

a. yetneyk nahan **tegye** kelasma
   yetneyk =nahan tegy-e kelasma
   EXIST =AND search-NM:PV fish
   'There were also fishermen'

b. wánxa, apkeláneya m'a yámet, yám'ay
   wánxa // apk-el-án-ey-a =m'a yámet // yám'ay
   only // M.PART-DIST-do-TI-NM:IP =DMSTR tree // net
   'They only used sticks, nets'

c. **apchahakkasso** kelasma... kelasma
   apch-ahak-kass-o kelasma // kelasma
   M.PART-cover-VAL-NM:PV fish // fish
   'to catch the fish... fish'

d. **apkelhanma**, kexa nélteme **kelhanma**

[5]Some descriptions of holophrasis assert that the clausal verb only really "counts" as holophrastic if its meaning is understandable "without contextual information". Personally, I reject that idea outright on the basis that no one speaks "out of context", and most examples of decontextual holophrasis used to argue such a point do not seem to, themselves, make sense out of context, since they always appear to involve SAP or third person referents which are not defined "out of context". It is possible that a distinction could be made between some kind of "pure, decontextualized" holophrasis and a more general process of zero anaphora, but I am not sure what benefit such a distinction has when applied to analysis of grammatical clauses in discourse.

apk-el-han-ma // kexa nel-tem-e
M.PART-DIST-trap-NM:PV // TC:DUB 1PL.PART.DIST-be/say.TI-NM:PV
kel-han-ma
DIST-trap-NM:PV

'it was their trap, I guess we would call it a trap'

e. **yahaxtegkeshok** hekñat énxet ma'a Makxawé
y-ahaxteg-kes-hok =hek =ñat enxet =ma'a Makaxwe
M.IRR-circle-VAL-INTS.NM:PO =TC:REP =TC:RPST man =DMSTR Makxawaya

'The men at Makxawaya would corral (the fish)'

f. Teyepmakxa Kelasma, ekwesey agko', Teyepmakxa Kelasma Makxawé
Teyepmakxa Kelasma // ek-wesey =agko' // Teyepmakxa Kelasma
Teyepmakxa Kelasma // F.PART-called =F.DEG // Teyepmakxa Kelasma
Makxawe
Makxawe

'Teyepmakxa Kelasma [lit. 'where the fish come out'], that was its name, Teyapmakxa Kelasma, at Makxawaya'

g. **ekteyepmakxa**, **katyepok**, **katyepok**
ek-teyep-m-akxa // ka-tyep-ok // ka-tyep-ok
F.PART-emerge-TI-NM:OB // F.IRR-emerge-NM:PO // F.IRR-emerge-NM:PO

'that's where they would come out, they'd come out, they'd come out'

h. **kelhaxtamomchek** eyke yámmamok
kel-haxtam-om-chek =eyke yammamok
DIST-circle-TI-DECL =TC:ASR cane.grass

'the women would use cane grass to corral the fish'

i. **kalpaqtépok** xama **negyekwe**
kal-paqtep-ok xama neg-yekw-e
F.IRR.DIST-pop.up-NM:PO one 1PL.PART-gather.solids-NM:PV

'The fish would leap out of the surface of the water, and one person would catch them in a net'

NNE170 03:12—03:40

There are no third person pronouns in Enxet Sur — the topical demonstratives (§7.4) can be translated as something like pronouns in some contexts, but they function entirely differently from speech act participant (SAP) pronouns[6]. We could posit that there is a null third person pronoun, and there are in fact a couple of constructions — null predicates (§5.2.1) and null focus (§5.2.4) — which provide some phonological evidence for

[6]It is also worth noting that Enxet Sur speakers with extensive translation experience, including some of the consultants for this dissertation, explicitly say that Enxet Sur has no word which correspond with Spanish *él* or *élla*, which is arguably in itself a bit of evidence again a pronominal analysis for the topical demonstratives.

a null third person pronoun analysis. However, SAP pronouns for first and second persons, which have different distributional properties from nominal expressions (§5.2.2), can also be dropped, which leads to some problems with the ability to consistently posit the existence of a null third person pronoun in any given instance.

Apposition of nouns which identify s-arguments

Coupled with the non-obligatory nature of s-argument nominal or pronominal expressions, there is a frequently observed phenemonon in head-marking/polysynthetic/non-configurational languages where when s-argument nouns do appear, they are regarded as not really being part of the clause and instead are often treated as **appositive** phrases (cf. Boas 1911/1964, Jelinek 1984, Van Valin 1985). Describing NPs as appositive in such languages is not simply based on their optionality or non-obligatory nature. Rather, they are often intonationally distinct, interjected after signficant pauses, and sometimes feel, from the perspective of, for example, an English-speaking linguist, as though they are afterthoughts, included when one needs to clarify something they feel is ambiguous.

In English, for example, it would be completely natural for someone in conversation to say something like the following: "*Tell them I need to speak with her... Janet... the one who works in accounting*". The notion of apposition, providing additional information in paratactic constructions, is, I have to imagine, a universal quality of discourse in literally every human language. Non-configurational or head-marking languages, functionally, only stand out in terms of how ubiquitous this NP apposition is, and its apparent relationship to the holophrastic nature of verbs.

In Enxet Sur, it is common that nominal expressions identifying a verbal s-argument are said only after significant pauses and with clear intonational breaks. Pauses are marked in this dissertation in examples (when they are salient to the topic at hand — not always) with brackets and an indication of the length of the pause. An intonational break is defined by distinct pitch contours, such that two intonational units, even if broken up by a pause, do not form a single continuous pitch contour. Typically, sequential speech units will form parallel pitch contours.

Even without substantial pauses, NPs which reference verbal s-arguments may very clearly constitute separate intonation units, often indicated by a repetition of prosodic contours. For example, in example (5.8), *kelasma* 'fish' is the s-argument PATIENT of the verb *kelakkasók* 'they covered it'. As shown in the pitch track in figure 5.2, there is only a small (less than 0.2 second) gap between the end of *kyáta* 'always' and *kelasma*. However, *kelakkasók kyáta* and *kelasma* constitute two distinct and parallel intonation units, both with starting high points and ending low points of similar relative pitch, respectively.

(5.8) kelakkasók kyáta, kelasma

kel-akk-as-ok kyata // kelasma
F.DIST-cover-VAL-INTS.DECL always // fish

'They would always cover up the fish'

NNE 170 07:18

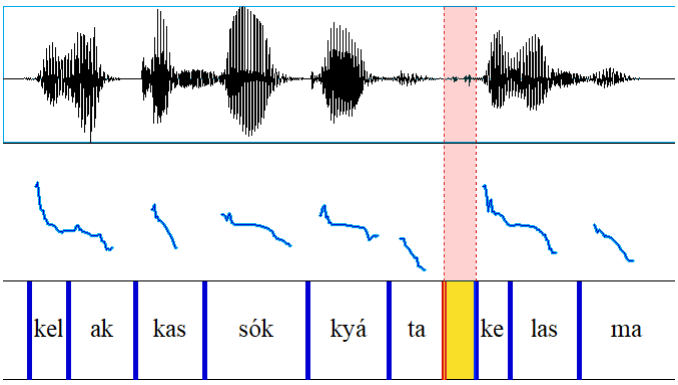

Figure 5.2: 04:00 — 04:03 NNE170, Martín Benitez

An even more interesting iteration of this NP apposition comes in the form of multiple appositive NPs being packaged together in a single intonation unit. In (5.9), the verb *apkexneyk* 'he put it up there' has two core s-arguments: *apqátek* 'its [the tapir's] head] and *wokma'ák* 'boy', yet the only NP in the same intonational unit is *néten* 'up above'. As seen in the pitch track in figure 5.3, not only are the s-argument NPs separated by a very significant pause and clearly intonationally distinct, as indicated by the final low tone at the end of *néten*, the two are encapsulated in a single intonational unit together — one that is parralel to the countour of the intonational unit with the verb.

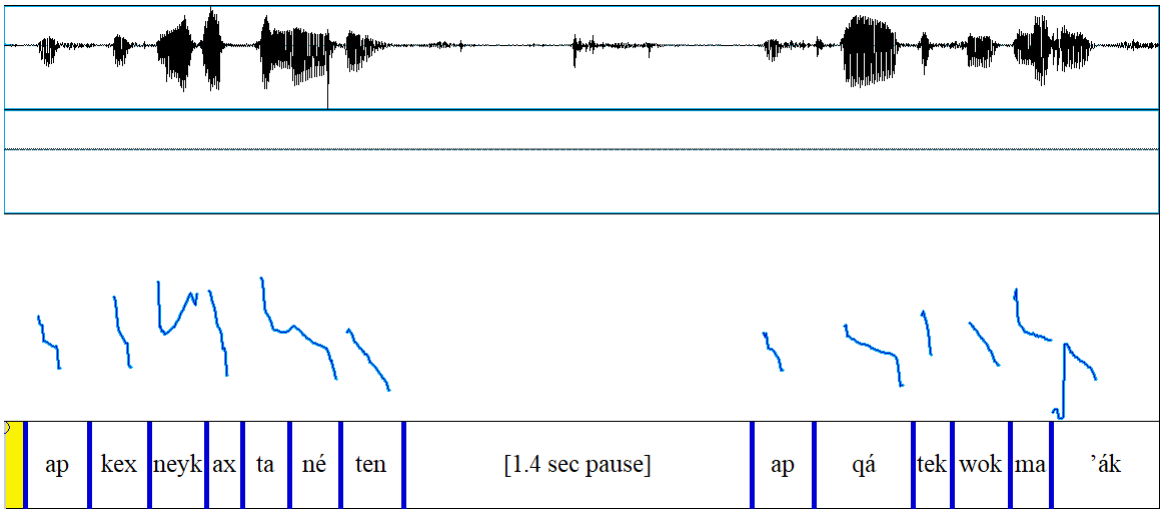

Figure 5.3: 04:05 — 04:11 EDP enx025, Aníval López

(5.9) apkexneyk axta néten [1.4 sec] apqátek wokma'ák

apk-exn-eyk =axta neten // apq-atek wokma'ák
M-place.high-DECL =TC:PST above // M.POSS boy

'the boy put the tapir's head up high', literally 'he put it up high, its [the tapir's] head, the boy'

EDP enx025 04:05

Where are the arguments?

We have, therefore, two empirical facts about Enxet Sur which lend support to generalizations made of some polysynthetic or non-configurational languages: 1) nominal or pronominal expressions indicating s-arguments of a verb are not required for the grammatical completeness of the clause, and 2) nominal expressions which indicate s-arguments are often disjointed from verbs in a way which suggests apposition. The next section, §5.1.3, provides further evidence of this lack of grammatical relation or cohesiveness between verbs and nominal expressions by showing that these appositive nominals often co-occur with elements which show them to be nominal PREDICATES. All of these are signs that the relationship between verbs and the nominal expressions which identify their s-arguments is, at least sometimes, a paratactic one.

In her influential overview of head-marking languages, Nichols (1992: 109) says of head-marking/polysynthetic/non-configurational languages that "in many respects independent nouns and pronoun arguments have the status of appositions to the head-marking affixes", which reflects a view, often referred to as the Pronominal Argument Theory (henceforth PART), that verb-adjacent s-argument nominal expressions are appositive because it is the verbal pronominal affixes themselves which constitute the g-arguments of the verb (Hale, 2003, Jelinek and Demers, 1994, Kibrik, 2012, Mithun, 2017a).

The PART as a formalization exists within a generative framework, but the same basic argument — that nominal expressions are appositive because the verbal pronominal affixes are themselves the g-arguments — can be found in descriptions of head-marking and holophrasis which lack any theory-specific formalization (cf. Mithun 2017b). Such analyses, it should be noted, operate within a framework where s-arguments *must* be realized as g-arguments somewhere within the clause in order for the predicate to be "saturated" or "complete" and for a clause to be grammatical — whether this view is made explicit through a formal syntactic framework, or implicitly through more typological and descriptive means, this is the perspective which underlies these various explanations. Other attempts to account for polysynthetic or non-configurational languages within a generative framework in the 1980's and 90's (like the Morphological Visibility Constraint (MVC) of Baker 1996) also view the polysynthetic verb as fully indicating all of its s-arguments and therefore realizing them as g-arguments.

For Enxet Sur in particular, accounting for holophrasis or NP apposition within the PART framework (or even alternative views like Baker's MVC) is especially problematic. Enxet Sur verbs are certainly holophrastic in the sense that the inflected verb can constitute a full grammatical clause on its own with no need for any kind co-occuring nominal or pronominal expressions. However, most of the language families to which a PART or similar analysis has been applied have overt verbal affixes for at least two s-arguments (sometimes more) which are inflected for person and number. Enxet Sur, on the other hand, has only one pronominal prefix position (§3.3), and other verbal affixes which may have some reference to or indication of other verbal s-arguments — the distributive which often marks plurality of "absolutive" participants (§10.2), the valency increasing suffix (§11.2), or the associated motion complex (§12.2.1) which can have an applicative effect on the number of participants — are not strongly associated enough with argument refer-

ence or the broader syntax of the clause to really be comparable to true pronominal affixes. They can also co-reference first person PATIENT prefixes, which would create problems for viewing them as g-arguments.

One possible work-around, albeit a stretch, is that PART and related analyses[7] are generally accepting of the idea that a null ø- third person affix (usually singular, but sometimes also plural) can fill the verbal argument position, especially if they are a PATIENT/OBJECT of a transitive verb (Mattissen (2017), Nichols 2017). Since the Enxet Sur pronominal paradigm does not distinguish between second and third persons (certainly not in the singular, see §3.3.1), a hypothetical third person object prefix ø- would also be the second person object prefix, and the argument for accepting null third person affixes as verbal arguments within PART could be extended to the second person, since they are not distinguished in Enxet. Such an argument would not account for the second person plural *kél-* inflectional category, and I generally find this kind of argument somewhat specious — too concerned with formalization while ignoring a simpler functionality-based understanding — but some might find it acceptable.

However, the idea that pronominal prefixes function as the g-arguments of verbs becomes even less appealing of an analysis when we consider the fact that, in many varieties of Enxet Sur (and apparently quite universally in other languages of the EE family) pronominal prefixes are dropped when they have a foregrounded, topicalized referent (§3.3.4). Some might be tempted to compare this to a third person vs. oblique paradigm, as exists in Algonquian languages, but first person pronominal prefixes can also be dropped, as in (5.10), where the first person singular *ek-* is dropped on *meyókek* 'I [wanted to] protect' when two first person singular declarative verbs follow one another in quick succession. Therefore, for those varieties in which this kind of dropping is frequent, identifying pronominal prefixes as g-arguments does not solve the syntactic "problem" created by zero anaphora/holophrasis.

(5.10) ekwónek ko'o, **meyókek táta**

ek-won-ek ko'o // meyo-kek tata
1SG-cry-DECL 1SG // protect-DECL father

'I cried, I wanted to protect my father'

NNE 190 05:26

Koenig and Michelson (2015), in a study of the grammatical relations of the Iroquoian language Oneida (Iroquoian languages have historically figured prominently in the polysynthesis/non-configurational literature), come to a more parsimonious if not more controversial conclusion about the relationship between verbs and their arguments: do away with the notion that all human languages must have must have grammatical, syntactic argument structure. In their words (p. 4):

> "...not all natural language syntax is SELECTION — that is, based on the selection by heads of local dependents that realize their semantic arguments —

[7] Viewing third person as a 'default' category and therefore frequently expressed as a null morpheme is common throughout many strands of analysis in linguistics. That is plays a part in PART-type analyses is not in anyway special or unique.

> and that the syntax of some languages, like Oneida, is DIRECT — that is, not mediated by the selection by heads of dependents realizing their semantic arguments."

Oneida, as an Iroquoian language, shows many features of the verb-noun relationship discussed above and found in Enxet Sur: 1) s-argument nominal expressions are non-obligatory, 2) they are quite often appositive, and 3) they lack morphosyntactic indication of their grammatical relation to the verb, like case or role-determined word order. These facts, as in descriptions of other languages with similar features, figure into an analysis that s-argument nominal expressions do not function as g-arguments. The language-specific analysis for Oneida in Koenig and Michelson (2015) provides an argument that, while animate s-arguments might be realized as g-arguments in the form of pronominal prefixes on the verb, the grammar does not treat inanimate s-arguments as g-arguments. This argument includes the fact that inanimate s-arguments of monadic verbs are essentially indicated by a default, dummy pronominal prefix, and, more importantly, that the verbal morphology of Oneida treats semantically dyadic verbs with an inanimate s-argument PATIENT as grammatically intransitive.

The language-specific morphological facts regarding verbs are quite different between Enxet Sur and Oneida, but the conclusions are similar — s-argument nominal expressions do not act much like g-arguments, and there are serious problems with attempting to place the grammatical realization of s-arguments fully into the pronominal prefix system of the verb. A DIRECT syntax, by contrast, means that the conceptual relationships that s-arguments have to verbs does not require overt, explicit realization in the form of g-arguments. This would mean that s-argument nominal expressions do not receive grammatical labels or engage in grammatical relations with verbs, and that verbal morphemes are morphosemantic operators, not morphosyntactic operators. By morphosemantic, I am referring to a morphological operator which simply specifies, amplifies, or restricts the semantic interpretation of the verb, but which does affect and is not responsive to the syntactic environment.

Several morphosyntactic facts of Enxet Sur could be accounted for by this single principle of a DIRECT syntax, many relating to the lack of grammatical distinctions between SUBJECT and OBJECT or other grammatical labels which might correspond to semantic roles of AGENT and PATIENT, which can largely be extended to non-distinction between CORE and NON-CORE s-arguments. These include:

- As has already been stated, nominal and pronominal expressions lack any kind of case marking, either morphologically or expressed through word order (§5.2.2).
- In non-first person contexts, dyadic verbs have pronominal prefixes which indicate the AGENT not the PATIENT (§5.2.3), but this distinction gets overridden by the use of patient-marked prefixes when there is a first person PATIENT. The distributive marker (§10.2) indicates plurality of dyadic PATIENTS, but this is also reversed when a first person patient marker is used and the distributive indicates plurality of *agents*.
- The deverbal nominalizations (Ch. 15) have a broad range of functions from participant to event denotation, and the morphological distinctions between different

types indicate differences in verbal aspect/mood, not grammatical functions, including the fact that the participant denoting uses of nominalizations do not distinguish between AGENT denotation and PATIENT denotation.

- The valency increasing suffix (§11.2) makes no distinction between a causative effect and a benefactive effect on s-argument structure, despite the fact that causatives involve the reassignment of AGENT labels while benefactors simply adds a new BENEFACTOR label.
- In the limited sense that nominal expressions can be grammatically constituent with verbs (§5.1.3), there is no restriction on the kind of semantic role the nominal expression can represent relative to the verb, and, when constituent with a verb, there is no overt indication (similar to the lack of case marking) of the distinction between a CORE s-argument nominal expression and a NON-CORE one, which, for present purposes could be defined as the distinction between s-arguments required by the semantics of the verb and optional elements like temporal or spatial properties.
- Topical demonstratives, which function more like a modifier of the predicate than as an argument, are not only not distinguished for AGENT or PATIENT roles, but there is no distinction between a pronominal and adverbial use (7.3).

All of these facts, explained in greater detail in their respective sections of this dissertation, coupled with a major lack of morphological means of marking relationships between phrases, point to a syntax which does not have formal mechanisms for associating semantic roles with grammatical labels, and instead expresses the semantic relationships between verbs and s-argument nominal expressions through pragmatic means and the manipulation of information structure and discourse, much in the same way that many languages do without robust subordination strategies for interclausal relationships, or without putting co-referent nominal expressions underneath the single umbrella of a syntactically cohesive noun phrase.

I am admittedly wary of using a relatively novel theoretical device like DIRECT syntax, as described by Koenig and Michelson, especially since there is an imperative in language description to not rely on fads and novel theoretical concepts given that their longevity and acceptance is unknown. However, I would defend the use of such an idea in the context of language description in that taking it as a analytical possibility actually allows for description to proceed without an imperative that we must identify grammatical mechanisms of argument structure — mechanisms which I believe are not significantly developed in Enxet Sur.

Put more simply, I have struggled to come up with a felicitous, meaningful, and empirically motivated description of argument structure in Enxet Sur, and the only other meaningful syntactic description thus far of another EE language, Kalisch's (2009) description of Enlhet Norte, completely rejects grammatical argument structure as a useful descriptive tool. Koenig and Michelson's DIRECT syntax provides a conceptual tool which would allow for a description of the syntax of the language to proceed without requiring that we shoehorn the data into the mold of argument structure as it is conventionally understood when it does not produce a felicitous representation of the language.

5.1.3 The syntactic and pragmatic function of NPs

In the previous section, the Enxet Sur verb is argued to be grammatically whole on its own, and co-occurring nominal expressions that identify verbal s-arguments are argued to be 1) often clearly separated and in an appositive relationship with verbs and 2) therefore not ordered or assigned a particular grammatical role by the verb. A number of different approaches have attempted to account for this lack of syntactic cohesiveness of semantically constituent verbs and nouns in many different languages, most proposing in one way or another that the verb in and of itself fulfills grammatical requirements of argument structure and grammatical labeling — either by doing so through pronominal affixes or because such structural labeling is not part of the grammar in the first place. These approaches and explanations are verb-centric, but we can ask the question from the other side as well: if nouns that refer to verbal s-arguments are not g-arguments of those verbs, then, grammatically, what are they?

In this description, I propose that nominal expressions (including lexical nouns, related and non-related, deverbal nominalizations, and complex noun phrases) only fill one of three syntactic positions:

1. A nominal PREDICATE, which could be the nucleus of a discretely propositional clause or a more referential paraclause, as defined above in §5.1.1

2. A dependent of the PREDICATE in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position, wherein a nominal expression complements the PREDICATE, but does not receive any particular assignment of a grammatical label which distinguishes different semantic roles[8]

3. A dependent within the complex noun phrase, more or less always as a modifier of the nominal head[9]; such dependent uses of nouns within the complex noun phrase are not discussed further in this chapter, and are instead found in the noun phrase chapter (Ch. 13) and with respect to the reflection of clausal structure in grammatical nominalizations (Ch. 15)

The occasional description of nominal expressions as "appositional" in head-marking languages has remained largely underdefined. Within the PART or MVC analyses, for example, we see treatments of languages where bound pronominal affixes, including "null" affixes, are the "real" g-arguments of the verb, receiving case assignments from the lexical verb, and independent nominal expressions constitute some "extra" or "adjunct" periphery of an utterance (cf. Baker 1996). Hale (1998), working on PART within a generative framework, points out that the notion that such NPs are "adjuncts" is ill defined from both a formal syntactic and semantic point of view, and notions like "apposition" or "dislocation" yield a view that nouns are inherently asyntactic entities akin to interjections.

[8]Again, to be clear, this is not to say that speakers are inherently confused about semantic roles of nominal referents — semantic roles of referents are moderated to varying degrees by alignment of the pronominal prefixes and pragmatic and information structure factors. This is simply an assertion that the noun does not enter in grammatical relations with the verb such that it receives a grammatical role.

[9]See Ch. 13 for a discussion about the role of possessor NPs in the noun phrase. There is evidence suggesting possessors are not dependent elements in a NP with a possessed noun, but the data is rather variable an inconclusive.

What, exactly, these "appositive" NPs are in such languages has not much been discussed in this literature, largely, I believe, because argument structure has historically been the prize in formal syntax. Once one takes a view that noun phrases do not play a role in grammatical argument structure of verbs, they are mostly cast aside. In polysynthetic literature, verbs are the focus and the syntactic functions of nouns are almost always a peripheral concern. In general, linguistic description is centered around morphosyntax, and linguists have probably tended to see the dangling, appositional nouns as a phenomenon in the realm of "discourse", lacking anything to offer in terms of morphosyntactic insight. In Enxet Sur, we might just as easily push them to the side, if features like TAME marking did not force greater scrutiny.

There has also been a deficit in the literature regarding the criteria for describing s-argument nominal expressions as "appositive" in the first place — many of the works on PART/head-marking languages/holophrasis state NP apposition as a fact from which a theory-based analysis proceeds, yet they generally fail to provide in-depth criteria for defining nominal expressions as appositive in the first place. Some do refer to directly observable phenomena like intonation breaks or pauses (Mithun 1987), though relatively little mention is afforded in such cases to the prosodic details.

It appears to be generally presumed that if a language does not require argument NPs (that is, it displays holophrasis or unrestricted zero anaphora), verbal arguments are overtly indicated by verbal pronominal affixes, and there are no morphosyntactic indicators of dependency on the semantically argument NPs, then these three factors alone indicate NP apposition. Such criteria do a fair job of distinguishing such holophrastic/zero anaphora languages from the much more familiar PRO-drop feature associated with languages like Japanese or Spanish — omittable argument nouns in Japanese always occur with case/topic particles, and the omittable pronouns of Spanish are inherently subject-marked. In other words, although some NPs and pronouns in such languages can be dropped, when they do appear, they are unambiguously dependent, and this is not true of appositional nouns in many polysynthetic or non-configurational languages — it is not true of most nominal expressions in Enxet Sur.

I propose using a definition for "apposition" of s-argument nominal expressions that is parallel to the definition of apposition used to describe parataxis in erstwhile NPs by Rijkhoff (2004) and Krasnoukhova (2012). In these two works, a distinction is made between discontinuous NPs, which have non-adjacent elements but still show morphosyntactic indicators of dependency, and appositional but "semantically constituent" elements which constitute their own referring expressions, and therefore, even when they are adjacent to a head noun which they are semantically "modifying", they are functioning as their own independent referring expressions. The parallel head-dependent relationship at the level of argument structure is the verbal head with its argument NPs as dependents, and we can define an s-argument nominal expression as appositional if:

1. It has no markers of dependency on the verb.
2. In its position, it can constitute its own distinct intonational unit
3. In its position, it is syntactically and structurally comparable to the construction used to express an independent proposition

The first criterion, as has already been stated, holds for any Enxet Sur nominal expression, as they are entirely lacking any morphological indication of their dependency — it is an important defining quality, but it is essentially a given for any nominal expression in the language.

The second criterion, the ability for the appositive nominal to form its own intonational unit, has to be rendered as a possibility, not a requirement. Even dislocated, appositive NPs in English can fall under the prosodic umbrella of a paratactic clause at times. Even if a nominal expression might be not be intonationally distinct from an adjacent clause, if the same string of morphemes or a comparable one can be broken up into multiple intonation units in natural, fluid speech, and such breaks are not interpreted by speakers as disruptions or incomplete utterances, this could and I believe should be used as evidence that such a construction involves independent, paratactic units. Although some analytical traditions within linguistics prefer to fully separate levels of analysis such that phonological data like prosody would not figure into analyses of syntax, prosodic evidence has long been used in language description and in more functionalist-oriented approaches as a means of determining the units of syntactic analysis.

The potentially more complicated assertion made by this definition is the latter one, that appositive nominals should have the same structure as an independent proposition, which suggests we treat appositive NPs as akin to whole clauses with nominal predicates. Viewing dislocated nouns as "predicates" feels awkward to many, and, as stated in other chapters (§7.5), rendering English or Spanish translations with long strings of nominal predicate clauses ('I saw it, it's a dog, it was last night' for 'I saw a dog last night') can be quite grating. However, the intermediary notion of the paraclause allows us to recognize that many nominal expressions which meet the criteria of prosodic distinction co-occur with clear markers of a PREDICATE, including TAME clitics and topical demonstratives, without having to assume that these clause-like structures necessarily have prototypically clause-like functions in discourse. In what follows, I first define the Enxet Sur PREDICATE, then show clearly that some nouns which identify verbal s-argument in Enxet Sur constitute PREDICATES of paraclauses, while others are in fact constituents of the clause headed by the verb, thereby constituting NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS.

Appositive nouns as nominal predicates

The term *predicate* is somewhat variable in its definition across time and different subfields of linguistics. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics, for example, gives two definitions: "1. A part of a clause or sentence traditionally seen as representing what is said of, or predicated of, the subject" and 2."A verb or other unit which takes a set of arguments within a sentence". These two definitions reflect much of the diversity of views on what constitutes a predicate, though both view the predicate as one part of a bipartite structure. The former is a more functional definition which sees the predicate as part of functional pair with the subject, akin to other bipartite functional structures like *topic-comment*, *given-new*, or *theme-rheme*, while the latter, more modern, definition, drawing from formal logic and formal syntax, views it as part of a bipartite pair involving argument structure, and suggests that predication is defined by argument structure.

These two definitions, one more functional and one more syntactic, are combined in

many descriptions. For example, in his Basic Linguistic Theory, Dixon (2010: p. 79) says that the strongest, simplest, and most usable definition for the predicate is that it is the element which *requires* various arguments, but that the predicate itself does not include them, and that it is the "nucleus" of the clause (p. 98). While the argument structure component is clear in Dixon's definition, the notion of "nucleus" appears to be akin to functionalist views of the predicate as constituting the core propositional content of an utterance. For example, in Croft's (2001:66) Radical Construction Grammar, he contrasts the act of REFERENCE with that of PREDICATION, asserting that reference identifies a referent and establishes a "cognitive file" for it within the context of the discourse, while PREDICATION "ascribes some property to the referent", typically presenting "transitory states of affairs" in a narrative.

I would argue that most definitions of "predicate" present some kind of problem for defining the syntax and function of nominal expressions in Enxet Sur. The more syntactic, argument-based definitions of predicate present problems in the light of the description in the previous section, which argued that nominal expressions which are co-referential with verbal s-arguments do not function as g-arguments, and therefore defining a predicate on the basis of its grammatical requirement for external arguments becomes untenable. In light of the discussion about argument structure in the previous section, such a definition of predicate is in fact problematic for many languages defined as non-configurational, polysynthetic, head-marking, or otherwise, since verbs as prototypical "predicates" in such languages do not require external nominal arguments, and this problem is, essentially, the motivation for theories like the PART.

The more functionalist views like Croft's present issues as well, since paraclauses in Enxet Sur are somewhat ambiguous in their function between predication and reference. When an Enxet Sur speaker says, as in the example above, 'He stayed for one week, (he was) an Enxet man', the latter clause is a property-attributing predicate whose job is to identify a pronominal referent in the preceding clause. This is precisely what Kalisch (2009) means when he refers to the obscuring of the distinction between participant and participatum — identifying referents through nominal expressions is often (by all language-internal formal metrics) an act of predication.

In this dissertation, I define the Enxet Sur PREDICATE (in small caps whenever referring to the language-specific structural position within Enxet Sur) inductively through comparing language internal structures with their discourse functions. The declarative verb is the most like a prototypical predicate cross-linguistically, and most clearly fills the function of PREDICATION as defined by Croft (2001). It can co-occur with a number of syntactically dependent items which, unlike many nominal expressions, are not generally "appositive": TAME clitics (§Ch. 6), adverbs (§9.3.1), the coordinating *han* clitic (§16.2), SAP pronouns (§4.5.1), and demonstratives (Ch. 7). Declarative verbs occupy the clause initial PREDICATE position as in (5.11), followed by these unambiguously dependent elements, of which the most important is the series of TAME clitics.

(5.11) **nenténchek axta** negko'o náxet ámay

nen-tén-chek	=axta	negko'o	náxet	ámay
1PL-sleep-DECL	=TC:PST	1PL	F.middle	road

'We slept in the middle of the road'

EDP enx028 01:26

As described more fully in §5.2.1, prototypical nominal PREDICATE clauses — clauses which have unambiguous identificational or categorizational semantics — typically are composed of a lexical noun in the initial PREDICATE position followed by one of these dependent items like TAME clitics, adverbs, or demonstratives, as can be seen in many examples in §5.2.1. The use of these dependent items shows clear formal parallels between declarative verb PREDICATES and nominal PREDICATES.

Often times, nominal expressions which reference s-arguments of a PREDICATE but which are prosodically distinct and separate occur with the aforementioned dependent items like TAME clitics, demonstratives, or adverbs. For example, in (5.12a), the core "proposition" is in the last utterance *máxa Sáp'ag* '[she was] like a Sanapaná', whose anaphoric subject referent is indicated by the phrases preceding it 'my grandmother, my father's mother'. These utterances, functionally, are just like the English translation, where paratactic noun phrases posit referents that are then anaphorically referenced by propositional final clause.

(5.12) *TAME-marked appositive nouns*

a. **áma axta**, **táta axta egken**, maxa Sap'ag

áma =axta // táta =axta egken // máxa Sáp'ag
my.grandmother =TC:PST // my.father =TC:PST his.mother // like Sanapaná

'My grandmother, my father's mother, [she was] like a Sanapaná'

EDP enx048 01:05

b. ekwet'ak ko'o [0.7 sec] aqsok apxeyenma [0.5 sec] keso **Kennaqte Appeywa axta**

ek-wet'-ak ko'o // aqsok ap-xeyen-ma // keso Kennaqte Appeywa
1SG-see-DECL 1SG // thing M.PART-show-NM:PV // this Kennaqte Appeywa
=axta
=TC:PST

'I saw the things that Kennaqte Appeywa told us about'

EDP enx047 01:30

Formally, however, they are no different than more clearly propositional nominal PREDICATE clauses, with a PREDICATE noun followed by a TAME clitic, and even the unusual ordering of possessor/possessee in predication of complex possessive noun phrases (§13.4.4) shown in *táta axta egken* 'she was my father's mother'. The example in (5.12b) shows a similar phenomenon, where the expression *Kennaqte Appeywa axta* 'it was Kennaqte Appeywa' comes after the nominalized verb *apxeyenma* 'that he showed us', the agent of which is co-referent with *Kennaqte Appeywa*.

In such instances, where appositive nouns have formal similarities to nominal PREDICATE clauses, why could we not just posit that these are non-PREDICATE nouns that simply

have some kind of nominal TAME? As I show, syntactic properties of TAME-marked nominals and their semantic properties preclude the possibility of TAME markers existing as part of a complex noun phrase in a dependent position.

A sizeable body of literature has shown nominal TAME[10] — the use of TAME indicators in bound morphology or clitics associated with lexical nouns or NPs — to be a not-uncommon phenomenon cross-linguistically (Lecarme, 2012, Nikolaeva, 2009, Nordlinger and Sadler, 2004a,b), and it is especially prevelant regionally within lowland South America, including in Guaranían languages (Thomas, 2014, Tonhauser, 2007) and Matacoan (Carol, 2015) — two language families whose speakers have long bordered the EE-speaking area.

The primary reason that nominal TAME is a phenomenon of note, and its study in individual languages has been a topic of several publications since Nordlinger and Sadler (2004a), is that in most well-studied (mostly European) languages, TAME semantics are predominantly associated with verbal morphology. However, to say that TAME in European languages is associated with verbs is a bit of a simplification — rather, TAME semantics are associated with predicates, and in European languages (as well as many others), the prototypical (often only) kind of predicate is a verb and the prototypical function of a verb is to be a predicate. In such languages, 'verb' and 'predicate' are practically interchangeable notions (see the historical identity between the two concepts described in Launey 2004), and consequently TAME morphology is restricted to verbs.

In Enxet Sur, however, lexical verbs (through deverbal nominalization) are just as likely to be used as referring expressions (via nominalization) as they are to act like propositional PREDICATES, and nouns and other non-verbal word classes are regularly used as PREDICATES. There is not a strong and unique association between verbs and the PREDICATE position to the exclusion of other word classes. Consequently, we should not find it at all unusual that most indicators of tense, mood, and evidentiality are found not within the verb-word proper, but instead are largely found in the series of very loosely bound TAME clitics (aspect is still very much a property of verbs alone, §3.5). In other words, TAME markers are generally associated with the structural position of PREDICATE, not a particular word class, and nominal expressions often carry TAME clitics simply because they are very often PREDICATES.

The question for Enxet Sur is whether nominal TAME has any role to play outside of nominal PREDICATES, thus operating as a component of dependent NPs, as nominal TAME does in languages like Guaraní or Matacoan languages. If they do not, this would be evidence that TAME clitics are a strong, perhaps unambiguous indicator that their hosts are independent PREDICATES themselves, which is the argument made by Kalisch (2009) for closely related Enlhet Norte.

In the examples in (5.13), we see the nominal expression *etánegken* 'my daughter-in-law', literally 'the mother of my grandchildren', indicating an s-argument of *ekwet'ak* 'I see', with various TAME clitics attached. In (5.13a-5.13b), the TAME clitics on the noun express rather conventional nominal-TAME type semantic values, like 'ex-daughter-in-law' and 'future daughter-in-law'. In these cases, TAME clitics on the s-argument noun

[10]Most sources use the term 'nominal TAM', without the reference to evidentiality. I include it here for the sake of internal consistency within this dissertation.

might be analyzed as having scope only over the nominal expression, and separate TAME clitics have scope over the verb. This is important, in that it shows that TAME-marked s-argument nouns never carry something like *propositional* TAME semantics which have scope over the whole clause to which the noun is constituent.

The ability for nominal TAME markers to have scope over whole clauses is identified in some languages (Nordlinger and Sadler, 2004a) but in Enxet Sur, even when a verb lacks TAME while its s-argument noun carries TAME marking which semantically agrees with semantic values of the verb, as in (5.12b) above, examples like (5.13a-5.13b) show that TAME-marked nominal expressions do not have semantic scope which extends beyond the nominal semantics and can directly contrast with them. However, as I show below, TAME clitics are *never* part of the noun phrase, and are always indicative of a nominal PREDICATE.

(5.13) *TAME marking on nominal expressions which are s-arguments of preceding verbs*

a. ekwet'ak axta ko'o **etánegken axta**
   ek-wet'-ak =axta ko'o **e-tánegken** **=axta**
   1SG-see-DECL =TC:PST 1SG 1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law =TC:PST
   'I saw my ex-daughter-in-law'

b. ekwet'ak xeyk ko'o **etánegken sa'**
   ek-wet'-ak =axta ko'o **e-tánegken** **=sa'**
   1SG-see-DECL =TC:PST 1SG 1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law =TC:FUT
   'I saw my future daughter-in-law'

c. ekwet'ak hek ko'o **etánegken hek kexa**
   ek-wet'-ak =axta ko'o **e-tánegken** **=hek** **=kexa**
   1SG-see-DECL =TC:PST 1SG 1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law =TC:REP =TC:DUB
   'I think I saw my daughter-in-law', literally 'Supposedly, I saw her... maybe, they say, that was my daughter-in-law'

d. emenyeyk ko'o **etánegken enxoho**
   e-menyey-k ko'o **e-tanegken** **=enxoho**
   1SG.STAT-like-DECL 1SG 1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law =TC:CONJ
   'I want her for a future daughter-in-law', literally 'I want it, it is that she would be my daughter-in-law'

Skype notes 2020.6.20

Such nominal expressions can also host epistemic modal values which do not have the effect of modification or semantic restriction of the possible referents of the noun. For example, in (5.13c), the reportative and dubitative TAME clitics on the noun express the lack of certainty that the person seen was in fact the speaker's daughter-in-law. While the past and future TAME clitics in (5.13a-5.13b) correspond to nominal modifiers with TAME semantics in English like 'ex' or 'future', the dubitative marker does not correspond to a nominal modifier like 'my supposed daughter-in-law', and has scope over the truth value of the nominal PREDICATE as a kind of proposition, rather than simply restricting the reference of the noun. It does not restrict the reference of 'daughter-in-law' to someone who is only possibly or questionably the speaker's daughter in law, rather it expresses an

epistemic modal value on the nominal proposition that the person who was seen was the referent of the nominal PREDICATE.

The semantic values of such an utterance are much easier to parse under an analysis that *etánegken* is a nominal PREDICATE whose null "subject" is co-referent with an s-argument of the preceding verb *ekwet'ak*, as opposed to analysis that *etánegken* is simply a constituent referring expression with no attributive semantics.

Furthermore, lexical nouns with TAME clitics can indicate s-arguments of verbs in contexts where the *only* possible interpretation is that they are fact-denoting nominal PREDICATES and not simple referring expressions. In (5.13d), *etánegken* identifies the s-argument of *emenyeyk* 'I want (it)', but can semantically can only be interpreted as something comparable to a complement clause 'that she would be my daughter-in-law'. It cannot be interpreted as a simple referring expression that would mean, with the conjectural TAME clitic *enxoho*, something like 'I want my hypothetical daughter-in-law'.

The inherently predicative semantics on nouns are especially on display in their use as something like a subordinate clause. In (5.14), the NP *paktem aphápak* 'trunk of a *paktem* tree' is the s-argument of the verb *apkeneykek* 'he thought', but semantically must be interpreted as being a property-denoting predicate in something like a complement clause 'he though *that it was the trunk of a paktem tree*'.

(5.14) *Context: Characters in a story see a giant caiman, but do not yet realize what it is*
Apkeneykek axta **aksok ektakmela**, apkeneykek axta anhan **paktem aphápak**.

apk-eney-kek =axta aqsok ek-taqmel-a apk-eney-kek =axta =anhan
M-think-DECL =TC:PST thing F.PART-good-NM:PV M-think-DECL =TC:PST =AND
paktem ap-hapak
k.o.tree M.POSS-corpse

'They thought it was a good thing, they thought it was trunk of a *paktem* tree'

López Ramírez (1996)

Identifying the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position

Thus, we have a semantics-based argument that TAME-marked nouns identifying s-arguments of verbs constitute PREDICATES of independent paraclauses and not simple referring expressions. However, as described in §5.2.1, nouns do not require TAME clitics, demonstratives, or adverbs in order to function as unambiguous nominal PREDICATE clauses with clear property-attributing semantics.

Since TAME-marked nouns appear to always grammatically and semantically constitute independent nominal PREDICATES, but nominal PREDICATES do not require TAME clitics or any other dependent item, does this mean that all nominal expressions are always structural and semantic PREDICATES? The conclusion of Kalisch (2009), as mentioned previously, is a clear 'yes', as he asserts that in Enlhet Norte the maximum extent of clausal structure is PREDICATE-TAME-DEMONSTRATIVE, and therefore every lexical item that is not a TAME clitic or DEMONSTRATIVE is its OWN PREDICATE. While the core characterization of Kalisch (2009) is valid — that dependency structures in EE languages are minimal and

many s-arguments are identified in discourse through paratactic nominal PREDICATES — there are a few syntactic structures in Enxet Sur which make this every-word-a-predicate analysis untenable.

One is the constituent focus construction described in §5.2.4, in which a nominal expression occurs in a pre-TAME position ahead of a declarative, second-position verb. The fact that there is a morphological alternation in the form of the declarative verb based on the relative order of verb and noun seems to be unavoidable evidence of syntactic cohesion between the verb and the fronted noun. For example, in (5.15), the declarative verb *ektak* 'I eat' is in the second position form (as opposed to the initial form *ektókek*) because the noun *pánaqte* is to its left instead of to its right. Because the form of the verb is determined by the placement of the noun, the noun should probably be considered syntactically cohesive with the verb.

(5.15) pánaqte **ektak**

pánaqte ek-t-ak
medicine 1SG-eat-SCND

'I'm taking a pill'

Notes 2018.8.1

The second construction is the use of a nominal expression occurring between a verb and a topical demonstrative licensed by that verb. Topical demonstratives have deictic semantics which establish or "point to" the topic of the PREDICATE, and occur exclusively as clause-final enclitics. When these clause final topical demonstratives follow a noun or noun phrase, but point to or establish the topic of a PREDICATE verb to the left of the noun they are adjacent to, this places the noun *inside* the clause. For example, in (5.16), the demonstrative *s'e* provides a spatial frame of reference for the PREDICATE *antok* 'we will eat', and the nominal expression *nento* 'our food' comes between the two pieces. If the demonstrative is licensed by the PREDICATE and is therefore a kind of dependent of it, it is seemingly impossible to argue that material that comes between these two elements is not part of the same grammatical clause. This is not necessarily the whole story, however, and I return to this issue of nouns to the "inside" of a demonstrative below.

(5.16) antok **nento** s'e

an-t-ok nen-t-o s'e
1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV =PROX

'Let's eat our food here'

Skype notes 2019.9.17

Both constructions, I believe, provide good evidence of some syntactic cohesion between nouns and verbs, primarily because they show nouns referencing s-arguments in positions other than the right periphery. The right periphery can be a structurally ambiguous spot, especially with written texts or in spoken examples where prosodic evidence is inconclusive. Where s-argument nouns occur followed by TAME clitics, they are

quite clearly the nuclei of distinct paraclauses, but when they occur at the right periphery with no TAME clitics to their right or demonstratives to their left, there may not be overt evidence to determine if they are structurally PREDICATES of paraclauses or if they are a dependent of the clause to their left.

Nonetheless, such constructions clearly demonstrate the existence of a non-PREDICATE position available to nominal expressions which I simply call the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT (also always written in small caps to refer to the language-specific structural position). The NOMINAL COMPLEMENT can be post-verbal, which is its unmarked position in situations of neutral focus or sentential focus, but it can be fronted ahead of a declarative verb for constituent focus, either when the declarative verb is *given* information (see below) or when the noun in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position is more newsworthy than the verb. Items like TAME clitics, true adverbs, and personal pronouns always occur in the space between these two elements, regardless of their order relative to one another.

In line with the description in §5.1.2 above, this nominal COMPLEMENT position is so-named because it is not distinguished for any particular grammatical role, and the nouns which occur in this COMPLEMENT position can fill essentially any semantic role relative to the PREDICATE without any apparent morphosyntactic disambiguation of roles.

This means that not only can this position be filled by either an agent or a patient noun with no overt distinction on the noun itself, but that it can be filled by nouns that are semantic "obliques", not being necessitated by the semantic argument structure of the verb, as in the examples in (5.17). For example, in (5.17a), the verb *ekméssek* 'I give' has a nominal expression *ochenta mil* 'eighty thousand' in its COMPLEMENT position. This does not indicate the patient of the verb (as in 'I gave 80,000 of them') but instead indicates the price at which something is sold. The patient is expressed as an appositive nominal PREDICATE, *keso libro* 'it's this, the book'.

(5.17) a. *Context: Speaker describing a book he helped write*
ekméssek axta ko'o chá'a **ochenta mil**, keso libro
ek-m-és-sek =axta ko'o chá'a **ochenta mil** // keso libro
1SG-have-VAL-DECL =TC:PST 1SG always eighty thousand // this book
'I give it for 80,000 [guaranies, Paraguayan currency], this book'
EDP enx006 12:55

b. negmaha kyá negko'o **enxanak**
neg-m-aha kyá negko'o **en-xan-ak**
1PL-have-AMB.DECL always 1PL 1PL.POSS-house-PL
'We always use [it] [around] the house'
EDP enx041 07:28

c. nentókek **naxma**
nen-tó-kek **naxma**
1PL-eat-DECL woods
'We eat [things from] the woods'
EDP enx005 10:01

d. **ketsek** eyenssássak moto ahagkok setegkesa

k-etsek e-yenss-áss-ak moto ahagkok
F-small 1SG.PAT-be.injured-VAL-SCND motorcycle 1SG.POSS
se-tegk-es-a
1SG.PAT.PART-fall-VAL-NM:IP
'I was injured a little bit when I was thrown off my motorcycle'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Nouns in the COMPLEMENT position fill many different semantic roles with no overt indication of what exactly this semantic role is. In (5.17b), *enxanak* 'our houses' is semantically a locational oblique, indicating where the verb event happens. In (5.17c), *naxma* 'woods' is even more abstractly related to the PREDICATE, really indicating something about the unexpressed s-argument rather than the PREDICATE itself. In (5.17d), *ketsek* 'a small thing' functions like a manner adverb, similar to the way the noun phrase 'a little bit' is used in English.

Therefore, any noun can be a dependent of a PREDICATE but there is no overt indication on the noun of the nature of its grammatical relationship, and therefore of its semantic relationship, to the PREDICATE. Just as more "core" s-arguments lack any kind of case marking or determiners, "oblique" s-arguments lack any kind of "dative" case marking or even adpositions to relate them to the PREDICATE. As described in Ch. 9, there *are* items that express topological relations, but they are either nominal expressions themselves or are expressed as PREDICATES. It is because of this lack of any overt morphosyntactic distinction in the semantic roles of dependent NPs that I describe Enxet Sur clauses as having a simple NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position, rather than grammatical architecture which expresses differential grammatical relations.

Here again, we might return to the question of how exactly the clause expresses information if it does not do the work of differentiating the grammatical roles of dependent nouns. The simple answer is context and cooperation. In (5.17a), for example, when the speaker says something literally like 'I gave always eighty thousand, this book' the only thing that 'eighty thousand' can reasonably refer to is the price of a book and not to the number of copies, and the use of the adverb *chá'a* 'always' further indicates a habitual action and not a single achievement, which further suggests that the number is indicating price and not the number of copies sold.

In any of these examples, alternate semantic roles are not really possible. In (5.17b), *negmaha* 'we use' generally only refers to things like tools that one can carry, and 'house' is not a suitable patient. In (5.17c), one cannot eat the *naxma* 'woods'. In (5.17d), *ketsek* 'a small thing' could be the thing that causes the injury, but the following noun phrase and the nominalized verb in adverbial use make clear that it is not. Obviously, there are verbs which can take two human s-arguments, where either s-argument could fill either role, but, as described above, where the roles of participants in an event is unclear, they are disambiguated by using multiple verbs.

A final basic question about the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT is whether a clause can have multiple COMPLEMENTS, and therefore multiple nominal dependents of the PREDICATE. I argue that it is possible that the Enxet Sur clause does not really permit multiple nominal COMPLEMENTS, since those clausal structures which unambiguously show a nominal expression to be dependent do not permit multiple noun phrases in this clearly dependent

position.

For example, a single clause like that in (5.18a), where a verb is followed by two argument noun phrases and a demonstrative licensed by the verb, is not grammatical. The same string of words and morphemes can carry a meaning essentially like that in (5.18a), but, as evidenced by a pause and intonational break, and the analysis of Enxet speaking consultants, it is two distinct clauses — *apwetak xeyk Juan* 'Juan just saw him' (with no overt third person pronominal reference), and the nominal PREDICATE construction *Mario ma'a*, which could be interpreted either as something like 'Mario is over there' or simply 'It was Mario'[11].

(5.18) a. **apwet'ak xeyk **Juan Mario** ma'a
ap-wet'-ak =xeyk Juan Mario ma'a
M-see-DECL =TC:HOD Juan Mario =DMSTR
**'John just saw Mario over there'

Skype Notes 2020.6.26

b. apwet'ak xeyk Juan, **Mario ma'a**
ap-wet'-ak =xeyk Juan // Mario ma'a
M-see-DECL =TC:HOD Juan // Mario =DMSTR
'John just saw Mario over there', literally 'John just saw him, it's Mario over there'

Skype Notes 2020.6.26

One of the more generally accepted universal tendencies of discourse is the quantity constraint of the Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) theory (Du Bois, 1987, Du Bois, Kumpf, and Ashby, 2003), a constraint which dictates that clauses avoid having more than one lexical core argument per clause. A lexical core argument, in this case, is an overt, non-pronominal, non-zero argument. The other claim of PAS theory, that there is a strong tendency for this lexical argument to not be the agent argument of a transitive clause, has been met with some criticism and has not held up to scrutiny across a broad range of languages (Haig and Schnell, 2016), but the quantity constraint has been validated in a number of studies, which usually show that clauses with two lexical core arguments occur in less than 10 percent of clauses. If we disregard the syntactic status of the s-argument nominal expression (COMPLEMENT vs. paratactic PREDICATE), Enxet Sur verbs have two of their s-arguments represented by lexical nominal expressions in less than 2 percent of all verbal clauses in some test texts from the corpus.

A lack of differential grammatical roles would make a grammatical restriction based on the quantity constraint plausible, since there is no grammatical necessity for the grammatical roles associated with a dyadic predicate to be realized as dependent NPS. However, there may be other explanations for the data in (5.18). For example, the preference

[11]Whether *Mario ma'a* in this example should be called "paraclause" or just a regular nominal PREDICATE clause is questionable to me, and further emphasizes the point made above — that while "paraclauses" are structurally just clauses but with more referential than propositional functions, the distinction between reference and proposition is not really a discretely categorical one in the first place.

may be to use the deictic semantics of the topical demonstrative to locate *Mario* in space specifically rather than the 'seeing' event as a whole.

Whether or not a sentence like (5.18a) is ungrammatical because of a limit on the number of dependent nouns a PREDICATE can have, the distinction between a dependent nominal COMPLEMENT and a paratactic PREDICATE is quite often ambiguous when there are multiple overt s-argument NPs following a PREDICATE. For example, in (5.19a), both s-arguments of the verb are overtly identified by NPs but, *héna* 'tobacco' is to the inside of the demonstrative and therefore clearly an COMPLEMENT, while *waley* 'Paraguayan' has the TAME clitic *nak* and is clearly a paratactic PREDICATE. The whole utterance is two clauses, the first with a topicalized agent and the second a nominal PREDICATE that clarifies the topic.

(5.19) a. etwohok **héna** xa **waley** nak
[e-tw-ohok héna =xa] [waley =nak]
[M.IRR-eat-INTS.NM:PO tobacco =DMSTR] [Paraguayan =TC:VIS]
'That Paraguayan chews tobacco'
Notes 2018.8.1

b. aptamchek axta **Timotéo nósa**
ap-ta-m-chek =axta Timotéo nósa
M-eat-TI-DECL =TC:PST Timotéo mistol
'Timotéo used to eat mistol fruit'
Notes 2018.8.1

In (5.19b), without the clausal enclitic demonstrative or TAME clitics on nouns, we do not have the same clear guideposts to the structure of the clause. There is nothing that prevents an analysis for (5.19b) which parallels (5.19a) — we could see *nósa* as a paratactic PREDICATE, and in examples from natural speech (this one is elicited) there would likely be prosodic and information structure data to support such an analysis. Yet, seeing *nósa* as a dependent COMPLEMENT would not change the meaning of the utterance.

Whether or not there is a hard grammatical limit on the number of dependent nouns a PREDICATE can take, it is important to understand that Enxet Sur constructions, for perhaps several different structural reasons described here, have a strong tendency to avoid more than a single dependent NP.

Limits of TAME-marked nouns

The NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position, along with the nominal PREDICATE, also helps to demonstrate that TAME and demonstrative clitics are associated exclusively with independent clausal structures or paraclauses, since neither can be used as dependent elements of an embedded PREDICATE.

For example, compare the functionally similar constructions in (5.20). In (5.20a), the enclitic proximal demonstrative *s'e* must be licensed by the verb, not the adjacent noun *weygke* 'pot', since *weygke s'e* 'this is a pot/there's a pot here' does not match the semantics of the utterance. This proximal clitic is also somewhat redundant, in the sense that the

cislocative affix on the verb already carries speaker-proximal deictic semantics. In (5.20b), the demonstrative *xa* is now being used to bring more attention to *weygke*, which is followed by the TAME clitic *nak*. As described in §7.5, strings of DEMONSTRATIVE-NOUN-NAK are a means of accomplishing something functionally akin to a demonstrative-marked NP, but the topical demonstrative is an enclitic of the first clause, while *weygke nak* is a separate paraclause. The fact that *weygke nak* has an independent clausal structure on its own and is not a complex noun phrase is supported by the ungrammaticality of (5.20c), wherein the demonstrative *se'e* must be licensed by the verb, as in (5.20a), but *weygke nak* cannot fill the same NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position as the simple nominal expression *weygke*. Therefore TAME clitics cannot be used on dependent nouns in the COMPLEMENT position, only on those which are PREDICATES of independent clauses or paraclauses.

(5.20) *Grammatical and ungrammatical ways to say 'Bring that pot here for me'*

a. hesantagkas weygke s'e
   [he-santag-kas [weygke] =s'e]
   [1SG.PAT.IRR-bring.here-VAL [pot] =PROX]
   'Bring that pot here for me'

b. hesantagkas xa weygke nak
   [he-santag-kas =xa] [weygke =nak]
   '1SG.PAT.IRR-bring.here-VAL =DMSTR] [pot =TC:VIS]
   'Bring that pot here for me'

c. **hesantangkas weygke nak se'e
   [he-santag-kas [weygke =nak] =se'e]
   [1SG.PAT.IRR-bring.here-VAL [pot =TC:VIS] =PROX]
   **'Bring that pot here for me'

Skype Notes 2020.6.20

We see similar restrictions on common temporal expressions composed of nouns and TAME clitics. A common NOUN-TAME expression in temporal use is *axta'a* 'night' with the hodiernal TAME clitic *exchek*, *axta'a exchek* 'last night'. Limitations and restrictions on the use of *axta'a exchek* as a unit in nominal predicate constructions shows that the TAME clitic *exchek*, as always, is not part of *axta'a exchek* as a phrasal construction, but is inherently an indicator of *axta'a* as a nominal PREDICATE.

For example, to make a predication like 'It was last night', one can simply say *axta'a exchek*, but this is just a PREDICATE 'night' with a hodiernal past marker, and therefore is literally something like 'it was (within the last 24 hours) night'. We can add other TAME clitics which indicate epistemic modal values, like the dubitative *kexa* in (5.21a), to get 'maybe it was last night', but such additions work because they do not violate the relative ordering template of TAME clitics (§6.1). On the other hand, the construction in (5.21b) is ungrammatical because the ordering template should have *enxoho* before *exchek*, and the fact that the ordering template is in effect here suggests that the PREDICATE is not *axta'a exchek* as a constituent phrase meaning 'last night', but rather that the PREDICATE is *axta'a* 'night', and *exchek* is no different than any other post-PREDICATE TAME clitic and must be ordered accordingly.

(5.21) *Context: Speaker's father is not at his house, and friend asks 'when did he leave'. Speaker, unsure, answers...*

a. **axta'a exchek** kexa
axta'a =exchek =kexa
night =TC:HOD =TC:DUB
'Maybe it was last night'

b. ****axta'a exchek** enxoho
axta'a =exchek =enxoho
night =TC:HOD =TC:CONJ
'Was it last night maybe?'

c. enxoho m'a **axta'a exchek**
enxoho =m'a axta'a =exchek
TC:CONJ =DMSTR night =TC:HOD
'Was it last night maybe?'

Whatsapp notes

Of course, even though *axta'a exchek* is not a constituent noun phrase but a nominal PREDICATE with a TAME clitic, it is a fairly routinized expression in the language, and instead of simply reordering the TAME clitics in (5.21b) to match the ordering template, speakers prefer to structure such a clause such that *axta'a* and *exchek* are adjacent, leading to the construction in (5.21c), where a null cataphoric PREDICATE (§5.2.1) in the clause *enxoho m'a* 'was it that?' is followed by *axta'a exchek* 'it was last night' as a nominal PREDICATE.

The fact that *axta'a exchek* does not act as a noun phrase but rather the PREDICATE of an independent clause can be further shown in its inability to function in a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position — it cannot occur between a PREDICATE verb and the demonstrative it licenses, as in the ungrammatical construction in (5.22a).

(5.22) a. ****negwakteyk **axta'a exchek** se'e
neg-wak-t-eyk axta'a =exchek =se'e
1PL-arrive-CISL-DECL night =TC:HOD =PROX
'We arrived last night'

Whatsapp notes

The positioning of TAME-marked nouns does occasionally require some additional attention to detail. For example, in (5.23a), we have a TAME-marked nominal expression *etáwa' axta* 'my ex-wife, she was my wife' in between what appears to be a verb and a demonstrative which is semantically licensed by that verb, placing the TAME-marked nominal in a clause internal position. However, as seen in (5.23b), *etáwa' axta* cannot be used as a cohesive noun phrase in the PREDICATE position, and instead uses the (admittedly still poorly understood) construction for predicating inalienably possessed nouns where the possessor, not the possessee, is in the PREDICATE, pre-TAME position, as in (5.23c).

(5.23) a. Eghak **etáwa' axta** á

eg-h-ak e-tawa' =axta =á
F-sit-SCND 1SG.POSS-spouse =TC:PST =DIST
'My ex-wife is sitting over there'

b. *Context: friend asks 'who was that?', and you respond...*
**__Etáwa' axta__ exchek xa
e-tawa' =axta =exchek =xa
1SG.POSS-spouse =TC:PST =TC:HOD =DMSTR
**'That just now was my ex-wife'

c. *Context: friend asks 'who was that?', and you respond...*
Ko'o axta etáwa xa
ko'o =axta e-tawa =xa
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.POSS-spouse =DMSTR
'That was my ex-wife'

Whatsapp notes

So, then, is *etáwa' axta* really an embedded TAME-marked nominal expression in (5.23a)? Perhaps not, since the initial verb is actually in the second position form. As described in §5.2.4, second position form declarative verbs can actually be in initial position at times, if a null third person "pronoun" is fronted and in focus, and there are no clausal TAME clitics. These pre-TAME null items can have anaphoric or cataphoric function, and often times they are used cataphorically to refer to larger constructions which cannot fit in the pre-TAME position. It is therefore possible, and in keeping with the functions of null predicates and null focus elements, to view (5.23a) as consisting of two distinct clauses, *Eghak* 'She (cataphoric) is sitting' and *etáwa' axta á* 'She over there was my wife'.

This example comes from direct elicitation and therefore was not in some broader discursive context in which this anaphoric/cataphoric function of the null focus construction could find a referent, so the utterance initial second-position verb must have an explanation in the local domain of the utterance. Viewing (5.23a) as two clauses maintains the generalization that TAME-marked nominal expressions are never clause-internal and instead are always nominal PREDICATES of independent clauses.

It is also important to keep in mind that, although several of the examples of TAME-marked nouns might be thought of as somewhat lexicalized ('ex-wife', 'yesterday', etc.), the same restrictions apply to TAME clitics in very productive contexts, like with nominalized verbs. For example, in (15.33a), the complex noun phrase *semheg sekpagkanma* 'the dog that I picked out' has the past TAME clitic *axta*. The whole unit with the TAME marking, however, is not a constituent noun phrase, since it cannot be moved ahead of the future TAME clitic *sa'*, as in (15.33b-15.33c).

(5.24) a. katsapok sa' **semheg sekpagkanma axta**
ka-tsap-ok =sa' semheg sek-pagkan-ma =axta
F.IRR-die-NM:PO =TC:FUT dog 1SG.PART-set.aside-NM:PV =TC:PST
'The dog that I picked is going to die'

b. **Semheg sekpagkanma** sa' katsapok
semheg sek-pagkan-ma =sa' ka-tsap-ok
dog 1SG.PART-set.aside-NM:PV =TC:FUT F.IRR-die-NM:PO
'The dog that I picked is going to die'

c. **[semheg sek-pagkan-ma =axta] =sa' ka-tsap-ok
**[dog 1SG.PART-set.aside-NM:PV =TC:PST] =TC:FUT F.IRR-die-NM:PO
'The dog that I picked is going to die'

Skype 2020.4.22

What these data show is that TAME cannot actually exist inside of a noun phrase, since it can not be part of a noun phrase in the PREDICATE position (distinct from the TAME marking with clausal scope) or in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position. Thus, nouns marked with TAME cannot just be embedded predicates that happen to have TAME modification, rather, when they occur with TAME clitics, it is because they are the PREDICATE of an independent clause or paraclause.

5.1.4 The information structure of the Enxet Sur clause

We can also view the Enxet Sur clause through the lens of *information structure*. Various bipartite divisions of the clause based on functional values in presenting information date back to the early Prague School, including *theme-rheme*, *topic-comment*, and *given-new*. There is debate within the literature on information structure regarding the degree to which these notions are or should be distinct, but I use definitions based on LaPolla (2019, p. 165) which distinguishes between the three pairs.

The *theme* is the 'point of departure' for the sentence, definitionally the first element, which is followed by the *rheme* which constitutes the remainder of the utterance. This often overlaps with but is not the same as *topic-comment*, where the *topic* is 'what the sentence is about' and the *comment* is 'what is being said about the TOPIC'. Although a *topic-comment* structure is more common cross-linguistically, many languages, typically verb-initial ones, have been described as having a *comment-topic* structure. Finally, *given-new*, rather transparently, divides the sentence between that which is *given* information and that which is *new*, or at least 'newsworthy'. These three pairs, especially in the European languages with which they were developed, often align such that the *theme* is also the *topic*, and the *topic* is typically *given*, but as three separate functional structures, they may not always align this way in a given sentence, and some languages may not have the same tendencies of alignment between them as western European languages do.

In terms of both the *topic-comment* structure and the *given-new* structure, Enxet Sur, somewhat unsurprisingly, shows *comment-topic* and *new-given* as unmarked, typical orders. Several verb-initial or predicate initial languages, some rather well-studied, have been described as having a *comment-topic* order as the unmarked information structure of the sentence (Van Valin, van Valin Jr, van Valin Jr, LaPolla, and LaPolla, 1997), including Tagalog (LaPolla, 2019, Nagaya, 2007, Naylor, 1975, p. 48), Uto-Aztecan languages

including Tohono O'odham (Payne, 1987, p. 798) and Ute (Givón, 1983, p. 33, 145), and Biblical Hebrew (Givón, 1983, Kaajan, 2019, p. 28). Numerous languages previously described as "free word order" languages also show a tendency for an order of *new-given* in opposition to *given-new* (Mithun, 1992, Tomlin and Rhodes, 1992).

In a typical Enxet Sur clause, with the structural limits of the clause described above, the PREDICATE and its nominal COMPLEMENT constitute the *comment*, and the *topic* is established by the topical demonstrative at the right edge of the clause (§7.1). Where nominal expressions are serving as *topics*, they almost invariably occur as appositive PREDICATES. Constituent focus constructions inherently place the noun as part of the *comment*, and instances of unambiguous post-PREDICATE COMPLEMENTS are generally *new* information and not *topics*.

This differs substantially from traditional information structure analyses, because the only component of the *topic* that is grammatically part of the same clause as the COMMENT is the topical demonstrative, which does not contain any lexical content. In Enxet Sur, to have a nominal or other lexical expression establishing or referring to TOPICS, they are paratactic nominal PREDICATES which constitute a distinct grammatical clause. In light of the fact that any lexical *comment-topic* pairing in Enxet Sur inherently involves multiple clauses, and given that there often is no overt lexical TOPIC at all (only a topical demonstrative), we might also view Enxet Sur as a language with a predominantly unipartite information structure (cf. Izre'el 2018).

5.2 Indicative Clauses

An **indicative clause** is canonically one which asserts a proposition[12]. Quite often in syntactic description, the central object of focus in the description of simple indicative clauses is the transitive or dyadic verbal clause, as it is in such a syntactic environment that a language shows its morphosyntactic mechanisms for establishing grammatical relations or the assignment of roles to its arguments. Other types of indicative clauses, not just intransitives but also nonverbal predicates, are often presented as somehow secondary. This description, in contrast, begins with a description of nonverbal predicates and the use of nonverbal predicates in discourse in §5.2.1, since nonverbal PREDICATES have a broader range of functional use than clauses headed by declarative verbs. §5.2.2 describes the pragmatically based word order of the language, with a focus on clauses headed by declarative verbs. §5.2.3 relates the Enxet Sur data to conventional alignment typology. Finally, §5.2.4 describes the structure and function of the dependent-focus construction.

5.2.1 Nonverbal predicates

Cross-linguistically, nonverbal predicates, or clauses in which the primary propositional value is not a semantically contentful verb, have a range of functions. Overall, Vallejos,

[12] In the linguistic literature of other languages, the term 'declarative' may also be used, but 'indicative' is used here since the term 'declarative' is already being employed as a label for the inflectional suffix which is used to assert non-future propositions.

and Gildea (2018) defines the following types of nonverbal predicate construction functions:

- Identification and Categorization: generally associated with predication of items in a NOUN word class, where identification establishes identity between two definite entities, as in *She is **the boss*** and categorization establishes identity between a definite referent and a type-denoting or indefinite noun, as in *She is **a scoundrel***
- Property: generally associated with predication of items in an ADJECTIVE word class; we can distinguish between temporary properties, as in *Laura is **tired***, and permanent properties, as in **Laura is smart**, similar to the Spanish distinction between *ser* and *estar*
- Location: generally associated with predication of adverbs, or perhaps adverbial phrases like the prepositional phrase in *Omar is **in the house***
- Existential: Indicates the existence of something, generally with a nominal complement as in *There is a lot of food*
- Possession: Asserts ownership or some other kind of possessive relationship; while English *I have a purple dress* is typically not considered a nonverbal expression, many languages have a nonverbal possessive construction which expresses such a relationship

All of these functions which commonly involve nonverbal predication are also accomplished in Enxet Sur using constructions which, dependent on one's definition, could constitute a nonverbal predicate.

Stassen (2003) describes three types of morphosyntactic patterns for the encoding of nonverbal predicates. The VERBAL strategy involves the use of the nonverbal item in essentially the same morphosyntactic structures as a verbal predicate, meaning there is no auxiliary element and the nonverbal predicate receives the same kinds of inflections as a verb, including the means of negation. The LOCATIVE strategy involves the use of a locational copular verb for non-locational copular sentences. The third of Stassen's patterns is the NOMINAL pattern, which has three subtypes. What Stassen calls the ZERO COPULA[13] pattern involves simple juxtaposition of subject and nonverbal predicate word with no linkage between them. A NONVERBAL COPULA is an auxiliary element which does not inflect, and a VERBAL COPULA is a copular verb which operates morphologically like any other verb.

Assigning Enxet Sur constructions to such typological categories depends largely on how we view "inflection" in Enxet Sur, and whether we say that TAME clitics constitute a type of "inflection". Some location and identity construction types make use of a fully inflected verbal copula, while existential and possessive constructions use the deficient

[13]This term, used byStassen (2003) and Overall et al. (2018), does *not* refer to a construction in which their is a structurally observable copula constituent whose realization is null, but instead to a simple nominal (or adjectival or adverbial, etc.) predicate. There is no reason to posit such a null-marked copula in Enxet Sur, and I do not, therefore, use this term in this dissertation.

verb *yetneyk* which generally does not inflect for person in these instances. Along with property attribution and some nominal identification constructions which have simple noun or adjective predicates (no verbs at all), these constructions can still take a full suite of TAME clitics. TAME clitics, however, are not comparable to bound inflectional morphology of verbs in that they are not an exclusively verbal category, and can move independently of finite verbs. For this reason, this dissertation does not consider them "inflectional" elements.

Moving forward with an assertion that TAME clitics do not constitute "inflectional morphology" in the same way that pronominal prefixes do, nonverbal predicates in Enxet Sur come in four structural categories, including one which (as far as I know) is completely novel in the descriptive literature:

- Nouns (including nominalizations), adjectives, and adverbs can be PREDICATES, functioning as identification, categorization, and property predicates (predicate adverbs are not much covered here, see §9.3)
- The PREDICATE position can also be null or empty; this **null predicate** has third person copular semantics which are modified by TAME clitics and demonstratives, which are the only content of the clause; these constructions typically have anaphoric, cataphoric, or deictic semantics, and involve identification and categorization predicates
- Two fully inflected **verbal copulas** are in use: *-teh-* 'be, do, say' can be used for identification, categorization, and property predicates, and *-h-* 'sit' can function like a locational predicate; however, I argue against a conventional analysis that such "copular verbs" are "semantically empty", and therefore perhaps not truly "copulas"
- Existential and possessive predication use a morphologically deficient verb *yetneyk*, which could be thought of as a type of auxiliary or **nonverbal copula**

Although nonverbal predicates are often characterized as "secondary" sentence types, somehow less fundamental or "basic" than finite verbal predicates, I would argue that nonverbal predication is equally if not more "fundamental" or "basic" in the Enxet way-of-speaking than clauses composed of finite verbs and their NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS. This is especially true if we consider as a type of nonverbal PREDICATE the myriad construction types in which verbs are nominalized and used in identification constructions: demonstrative-focus constructions (§7.4), event protagonist constructions (§15.3), and the discourse function of predicate event-denoting nominalizations (§15.2.5). These constructions, coupled with the use of nominal PREDICATES for representing s-arguments of verbs (§5.1.2) and temporal or spatial properties of propositions (§9.1), show that the nonverbal PREDICATE patterns described here are far more functionally prevalent and adaptable than clauses headed by finite, declarative verbs.

Nominal and adjectival predicates

The most structurally basic clause type in Enxet Sur is a nominal PREDICATE, whose primary function is to form identification, categorization, and property predicates, although it can also be used for location and existential predicates, and the distinction between these uses is at times vague (see 7.1). Nominal PREDICATES, as in the examples in (5.25), have either a simple lexical noun or a complex noun phrase in the PREDICATE position. Some of these examples have both a nominal predicate and a subsequent NOMINAL COMPLEMENT which acts as the "subject" of the nominal PREDICATE.

For example, in (5.25c), there is a PREDICATE *námok* 'is a palo borracho tree', marked for the remote past tense with *hekñat*, and a subject noun *apchante* 'his ride' in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position. Here, out of convenience, I use 'subject' functionally and semantically to refer to the entity to which the property/identity/category of the PREDICATE is being attributed, not to a particular grammatical label. In some nominal PREDICATE clauses, like (5.25d), there is no lexical noun subject, and the subject is indicated only through a topical demonstrative. Elsewhere, there may be just a nominal predicate followed by a TAME clitic, as in (5.25e). Although nominal predicates are typically found with either a TAME clitic, a demonstrative, or both, neither is necessary for a noun to function as a PREDICATE, and a nominal PREDICATE can occur just with an adverb, as in (5.25f).

(5.25) a. Naqte Yenta'a, **amyep apak axta m'a**
Naqte Yenta'a // amyep a-apak axta m'a
Naqte Yenta'a // plantation F.POSS-corpse =TC:PST =DMSTR
'Naqte Yenta'a, *that was an old, abandoned farm*'

EDP enx038 14:12

b. wánxa **étche** ekxegexma nátegma
wanxa e-etche ek-xegexma nategma
only F.POSS-child F.PART-companion village
'Only her child was her companion in the village', literally 'Her friend was only her child, in the village'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. **Námok** hekñat apchanté.
námok =hek =ñat apch-ant-é
palo.borracho =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-mount-NM:PV
'His ride (boat) was a palo borracho tree.' (*Palo borracho trees, with their fat, round trunks, were traditionally used to make the hull of canoes*)

López Ramírez (1996)

d. sekxok apkexpaqna énxet Nánaw'a, **Misión ñat ma'a**
sekxo-ok apk-expaqn-a énxet Nánaw'a // Misión =ñat
first-DECL M.PART-spread.out-NM:IP man Nanaw'a // mission =TC:RPST
=ma'a
=DMSTR

'Immediately the men spread out at Nanaw'a... *that was a [Anglican] mission station*'

NNE190 12:56

e. **Profesora ahagkok** axta
profesora ahagkok =axta
teacher 1SG.POSS =TC:PST
'She was my teacher'

EDP enx038 10:54

f. wa' keso nelántepakxa, keso ámay', **ámay makham**
wa' keso nelán-tepak-xa // keso ámay // ámay makham
look this 1PL.PART.DIST-emerge-NM:OB // this road // road still
'Look, this is where we came out earlier, this road, this is the same road (literally 'this is still the road')

EDP enx005 20:29

We can see a range of nominal PREDICATE behaviors in the running speech in (5.26). In this example, all instances of a nominal PREDICATE are in bold, and, as usual, the commas and slashes [//] represent pauses and intonational breaks. Some of these nominal PREDICATES serve the function of asserting propositions in the canonical sense of asserting a relational statement with transient value to the discourse, and are therefore easily identifiable as nominal PREDICATES. This would include utterances like *Hó Yekyók axta apwesey* 'His name was Hó Yekyók' in (5.26b), or *enles makham* 'she was another English person' in (5.26g).

Elsewhere, we see what are clearly nominal predicate structures functioning not so much to assert propositions but to introduce topics and clarify referents. For example, *apwesey axta* in (5.26b) can be translated as 'these were their names', but it clearly functions not to provide new information but to introduce the topic of the following bit of narrative — the names of the Englishmen introduced in (5.26a). Something of the reverse can be seen in (5.26d), where the speaker says *élwagqeykmek apwesey* 'I forgot their names', and clarifies whose names he is talking about by saying *nanok enles xa* 'that's the old Englishmen'. Such utterances are clearly nominal PREDICATE clauses, as shown by demonstratives and TAME clitics, even if their function in discourse and information structure is atypical for nominal PREDICATES in cross-linguistic view.

(5.26) *Context: Speaker is describing the English missionaries at the old Anglican Mission at Makxawaya, of which there were many*

a. apxámok axta anhan enles, etaxnegwatak iglesia
ap-xámok =axta =anhan enles // e-taxneg-wa-t-ak iglesia
M-many =TC:PST =AND English // M.IRR-enter-ARR-CISL-NM:PO church
'And there were lots of Englishmen who would enter the church'

b. **apwesey axta**, **Hó Yekyók axta apwesey** keso enles
ap-wesey =axta // Hó Yekyók =axta ap-wesey keso enles
M-called =TC:PST // Hó Yekyók =TC:PST M-called this English

'[These were] their names, his name was Hó Yekyók, this was an Englishman'

c. natámen han, Aqsok Yéwhak Apyespok, **axta apwesey**, **enles apwányam axta**
natámen han // Aqsok Yéwhak Apyespok // axta ap-wesey // enles
after.F =AND // Aqsok Yéwhak Apyespok // TC:PST M-called // English
ap-wány-am =axta
M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV =TC:PST
'Then, Aqsok Yéwhak Apyespok, that was his name, he was an elderly Englishman'

d. élwagqeykmek apwesey, **nanok enles xa**
él-wagqey-k-m-ek ap-wesey // nanok enles =xa
1SG.DIST-forget-TI-TERM-DECL M.PART-called // old.time English =DMSTR
'I forgot their names, the old Englishmen'

e. natámen makham, **Mók Nápat axta anhan apwesey**
natámen makham // Mók Nápat =axta =anhan ap-wesey
after.F still // Mók Nápat =TC:PST =AND M.PART-called
'then still, and his name was Mók Nápat'

f. Ekeso, **étche' axta**, **Pegwe axta étche**
ekeso // e-etche' =axta // Pegwe =axta e-etche
this // F.POASS-child =TC:PST // Pegwe =TC:PST F.POSS-child
'This one, he was her son, he was Pegwe's son'

g. natámen makham, ekeso Pegwe, **enles makham**
natámen makham // ekeso Pegwe // enles makham
after.F still // this Pegwe // English still
'then still, this Pegwe, she was another English person'

EDP enx047 16:01—16:49

This function of the nominal PREDICATE, acting as a topicalizing construction, is ubiquitous, shown in a number of other examples from different text types in (5.27).

(5.27) *Nominal PREDICATES as topicalizing clauses*

a. entonce **méme axta ko'o** élxekmósek Tásek Amya'a
entonce méme =axta ko'o él-xekmós-ek Tásek Amya'a
so my.mother =TC:PST 1SG 1SG.PAT.DIST-show-DECL Good News
'So, my mother, she showed me the Bible'

EDP enx038 05:16

b. *Context: After a voice calls to a group of men from behind a beehive, one of them says...*
Tegma nak aha, payhok segwóneygkya'a énxet mateyp
tegma =nak =aha // payh-ok seg-wóney-gkya'a énxet
bulding =TC:VIS =DIST // located-INTS.DECL 1PL.PAT.PART-CRY-AMB.NM:IP man
mateyp
other.side

'That house over there, there on the other side is where the man is calling us from'

López Ramírez (1996)

In truth, a noun by itself constitutes a nominal predicate, but really it is difficult in most cases to identify a bare nominal predicate as being distinct from something like a "free" noun (i.e. a bare noun occurring in a dislocated position or as a result of elision). Likely, there is little value in attempting to distinguish these things, since nominal PREDICATES so often fill the functional roles of topic marking and referent identification which might be accomplished by such "free" nouns in other languages. The primary point here is that, although nominal PREDICATES typically take subject nouns, demonstratives, TAME clitics, or adverbs which make their PREDICATE status clear, none of those *makes* the noun into a PREDICATE, and it can be a PREDICATE completely on its own.

Nominal PREDICATES can express a location instead of identity/category/property, although this is typically related to the adverbial function of COMPLEMENT NPs and nominal PREDICATES described in §9.1. For example, the simple nominal predicate in (5.28) does not semantically equate the predicate noun *naxma* 'woods' with APXANÁK 'their houses' (eg. *'their houses were the woods'), but rather locates the houses in the woods. This is consistent with a feature of Enxet Sur syntax in which, regardless of which position it may occupy within the clause — only two possibilities, the PREDICATE or the COMPLEMENT — a noun like *naxma* is ambiguous in its semantics, and can mean 'is the woods' or 'in the woods'/'at the woods'/'from the woods', etc.

(5.28) **naxma** axta apxanák

naxma =axta ap-xan-ak
woods =TC:PST M.POSS-house-PL

'Their houses were in the woods'

López Ramírez (1996)

Thus far, I have referred to the "subject" of the nominal PREDICATE, but this term requires some clarification. I am referring here to a "subject" of the nominal PREDICATE that is comparable in its function to the subject of an English copular predicate — the predicate is ascribing identity/category/property to the subject. To be clear, however, this is only for convenience in this particular kind of construction. As discussed in §5.1 above and §5.2.2 below, Enxet Sur has no morphosyntactic means of distinguishing grammatical argument roles of non-PREDICATE NPs, and I refer to non-predicate nouns as occupying a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position within the clause. However, the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT of a nominal PREDICATE is not necessarily always the semantic "subject". Instead of being an s-argument NP, it may be a spatial or temporal modifying noun, especially if the nominal PREDICATE is being used in a locational or existential sense as in (5.29).

(5.29) neptána exchek **naxma**

neptána =exchek naxma
M.POSS.excrement =TC:HOD woods

'There's droppings in the woods'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Lexical nouns are not the only non-verbal items which can serve as PREDICATE. Adjectives, which are described in Ch. 8, are in many ways syntactically equivalent to nouns, and act as PREDICATES as often or more often as they act as dependent modifiers of NP heads. Some examples of adjectival PREDICATES can be seen in (5.30).

(5.30) *Predicate Adjectives*

a. **Axakko' axta** keso kelána
a-xakko' =axta keso kelana
F.STAT-alone =TC:PST this woman
'This woman was alone.'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **Ahóxek cha'ak axta anhan** apwa' énxet nano', máxa kelán'a.
a-hóxek-cha'ak =axta =anhan ap-wa' énxet nano' // máxa kelán'a
F.STAT-long-PL =TC:PST =AND M.POSS-hair man old.time // like woman
'Mens hair was long back then, like a woman.'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. Méko axta mámeye, **ketsék axta anhan** yawheyha xapop.
méko =axta mámeye // k-etsék =axta =anhan yawheyha xapop
NEG.EXIST =TC:PST rain // F-few =TC:PST =AND crawlers earth
'There was no rain, and few were the things crawling on the earth

López Ramírez (1996)

Although adjectival PREDICATES are typically property denoting, they can also have the definite nominal reference described for adjectives generally in chapter 8, although this appears limited to topicalizing PREDICATES. For example, in (5.31), the nominal predicate *apketkok nak* does not mean 'he was young' but rather '[it is] the young one', topicalizing the referent of *apketkok*, which here acts in its definite nominal capacity instead of a property denoting one. It is not yet clear whether the same definite-referent adjectival PREDICATE could be used in a situation like the following: sitting with an old man looking at photos of him as a teenager, the old man says *I am that young one*. Such an adjectival predicate would be more canonically propositional, in contrast to the topic clause of (5.31).

(5.31) keñe axta xa apketkok nak, na, **apketkok nak**, yentexek axta apwáxok

keñe =axta =xa apk-etkok =nak // na // apk-etkok =nak //
then =TC:PST =DMSTR M.STAT-young =TC:VIS // well // M.STAT-young =TC:VIS //
yentex-ek =axta ap-wáxok
heavy-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-innermost

'Then the boy, well, the boy, his heart was heavy'

EDP enx006 08:26

The small class of true adverbs can act as PREDICATES, typically to assert focus on the adverb instead a verb which has become nominalized, as in (5.32), which could be translated as 'my buying of my shirt is recent'. However, predicate adverbs always take a declarative suffix *-ek*/*-ok* when they are used as PREDICATES, indicative of a type of derivation which does not occur with nominal or adjectival PREDICATES. These are not discussed much further in this section, but are described more in the section on adverbs (Ch. 9).

(5.32) **kaxwok** sekma sektaxno

kaxw-ok sek-m-a sek-taxn-o
now-DECL 1SG.PART-have-NM:IP 1SG.PART-enter-NM:PV

'I just bought my shirt'

Notes 2018.8.1

Denominalized verbs are important in the use of nominal and adjectival PREDICATES, either as PREDICATES themselves or in the nominal COMPLEMENT position. Because they are easier to understand, I start with the latter. Adjectival PREDICATES with event denoting nominalizations (§15.2.3) are fairly transparent and easy to understand in direct translation — something like 'his staying was long' to mean 'he stayed for a long time' is fairly straightforward, even from an English perspective, and the commonness of such an expression is a function of the limits (both semantic and syntactic) on the adverbial modification of the clause (§9.1).

(5.33) *Nominal and Adjectival predicates with nominalized verbs as subject*

a. Axto'ok hekñat **apmeyákxo** apkelchekha keso énxet yetlo aptáwa
axto'-ok =hek =ñat ap-mey-ákx-o
morning-INTS =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP
apk-elch-ekh-a keso énxet yetlo ap-táwa'
M.PART-DIST-plant-NM:IP this man with M.POSS-spouse
'This man went with his wife to his field early in the morning', literally 'His going to his field was early in the morning, this man, with his wife'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Ahóxek hekñat **apha** keso énxet
a-hóx-ek =hek =ñat ap-h-a keso énxet
F.STAT-long-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-sit-NM:PV this man
'This man's stay was long'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. ekho' hekñat **apkelpakxanma**

ekho' =hek =ñat apk-el-pakxan-ma
cattails =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-DIST-gather-NM:PV
'Cattails was what he gathered for his camp'

López Ramírez (1996)

As described in Ch. 15, many constructions that give the appearance of subordinated clauses in fact use deverbal nominalizations as PREDICATES of paratactic, independent clauses, defined as such by their use of TAME clitics, as in (5.34). Deverbal nominalizations also can act as pragmatically independent or propositional PREDICATES, which is described more extensively in the chapter on nominalization (Ch. 15).

(5.34) a. Tét áwa: Egmenek nak tásek agyenek **ekmele nak éma egánkok**
Tét áwa // e-gmenek =nak tás-ek ag-yen-ek
viñal leaves // F.POSS-water =TC:VIS good-DECL 1PL.IRR-drink-NM:PO
ek-mel-e =nak éma egánkok
F.PART-fat-NM:PV =TC:VIS blood 1PL.POSS
'Viñal leaves: Their juice is good to drink *if our blood is fat* (diabetes)'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. Nósa: Empehek tásek agmaha **sentaha enxoho nelyensomaxche**
nósa // e-empehek tás-ek ag-m-aha
mistól // F.POSS-skin good-DECL 1PL.IRR-have-AMB.NM:PO
sen-tah-a =enxoho nel-yens-omaxche
1PL.PAT.PART-be/say-NM:IP =TC:CONJ 1PL.PART.DIST-injured-MID.NM:PV
'Mistól: Its bark is good to use when we are injured'

Schoolbook Grade 1

Null predicates and hostless clitic clauses

One of the more interesting feature of Enxet Sur syntax is the use of null elements, either in the focus position (§5.2.4) or in the PREDICATE position, and the null PREDICATE is best exemplified by the **hostless clitic clause**. In the hostless clitic clause, a TAME clitic or demonstrative clitic or a combination of the two appear with no morphosyntactic host, with copular identity semantics. Consider the nominal PREDICATE construction in (5.35a), where the base predicate *apagkok* has the meaning 'it is yours'. The proximal demonstrative *so* specifies the referent, yielding 'this is yours', and the interrogative *ya* makes it a polar question. If the nominal PREDICATE is removed, it yields the null predicate construction in (5.35b), where we can posit a base predicate semantics of 'It is it', the proximal *so* defines the referent to yield 'this is it', and the interrogative *ya* makes it into a question 'Is this it?'. The translation of (5.35b) is probably better rendered as 'Is it this one' to suggest the focus of the question, but the difference between 'is this it' and 'is it this', is irrelevant in this case since the Enxet Sur demonstratives are not actually pronouns and do not occupy an argument position (§7.1).

(5.35) a. apagkoya so

apagko =ya =so
M.POSS =TC:Q =PROX

'Is this yours?'

b. *Context: Speaker is trying to figure out which of the microphones is the one that is recording his voice*
ya so?
ya =so
TC:Q =PROX

'Is it this one?'

EDP enx029 21:45

Such clauses can either be indicative or interrogative in nature, dependent upon the clitic used. The independent demonstratives could be included in this category of constructions, but they are described more fully in the chapter on demonstratives (§7.4). While it is possible for a TAME clitic alone to constitute a clause, it is much more often that TAME and demonstrative clitics occur together, as in the examples in (5.36).

(5.36) *Hostless clitic clauses*

a. *Context: Speaker trying to determine the identity of an unknown person who had visited his friend*
enxeykel'a m'a
enx =eyke =l'a =m'a
CONJ =TC:ASR =TC:DUB =DMSTR

'Or maybe it's him'

EDP enx045 43:45

b. **enxoho exchek so**?
enxoho =exchek =so
TC:CONJ =TC:HOD =PROX

'It wasn't this one?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. Context: referring to a tapir hunt which occurred in the present location
wa **axta so** apkenyahak se'e
wa // axta =so // apk-eny-ahak =se'e
look // TC:PST =PROX // M-run-AMB.DECL =PROX

'It was here, he ran around here'

EDP enx025 10:48

d. *Context: In a story, a man is fishing*
Pelakasek hek eksákxo sókhaxe apagkok, **sateykexa**

ø-pelak-kas-sek =hek ek-s-akx-o sokhaxe apagkok // sat
F-trip-VAL-DECL =TC:REP F.PART-carry-DUP-NM:IP fishhook M.POSS // TC:FUT
=eyke =xa
=TC:ASR =DMSTR

'All of the sudden he felt something pulling his line. "This will be it!"[the man thought to himself]

Schoolbook Grade 1

Null PREDICATE constructions should figure prominently in any analysis of the nature of the TAME clitics and demonstratives within Enxet Sur. I have argued that any position which permits TAME and demonstratives on nonverbal items is a PREDICATE position (§5.1.3), and Kalisch (2009) makes a similar argument for closely related Enlhet Norte, saying that the use of TAME clitics or demonstratives indicates the inherent predicativity of their host. The null PREDICATE structure shows the extent of this association between TAME/demonstratives and the PREDICATE structure in Enxet Sur, since they are indicative of a PREDICATE and therefore a structurally complete clause even when there is no lexical PREDICATE at all.

Generally, I am loathe to posit any kind of "null" marker, since I, like many, find null elements to be "an unconstrained theoretical device" (Croft, 2001, p. 227) that is often applied ad hoc to make data fit theoretical assumptions. However, in these null predicates, it is not the semantic values of TAME clitics or demonstratives that are being asserted, rather it is the copular or property-attributing semantics, which, like in the nominal PREDICATE structure, is not represented by any phonological material.

Furthermore, the existence of a true null ø third person pronoun in Enxet Sur is plausible. Compare for example the first clauses in (5.37a) and (5.37b). Both have a second position declarative verb, which is used when an argument is moved ahead of the verb for the purpose of focus (§5.2.4), and *only* occur in such a position — there must be an initial nominal expression, like the second person masculine pronoun *xép* in (5.37a). However when the focus element is the third person 'him' in (5.37b), the is no noun or pronoun ahead of the second position verb, only the TAME clitic "attached" to a null host. With at least some TAME clitics, like the hodiernal *exchek* in (5.37b), it is the post-vocalic form that is used in these "initial" positions (§2.4.2), something which is not strictly phonologically motivated by the existing phonological environment. The declarative focus position is structurally very similar to the predicate position in that it fills the initial pre-TAME position, and the null third person focus of a construction like (5.37b) is comparable to the null PREDICATE construction. Null focus is discussed more in §5.2.4.

(5.37) a. **xép ekya'aweykta'** hakte wánxa cha'a sekmeyegkaxa selyaqye apagkok
xép ek-ya'aweyk-t-a' hakte wánxa cha'a
2SG.M 1SG-arrive.purpose-CISL-SCND because only always
sek-mey-egk-axa selyaqye apagkok
1SG.PART-have-COMPL-NM:OB money M.POSS

'*I came to you*, because you are the only one who gives me money', literally 'because is is always only it (you) where I get your money'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

b. **exchek negya'aweykxak** axta'a exchek ektemegwokmohoxma enxagkok
exchek neg-ya'awey-kx-ak axta'a =exchek
TC:HOD 1PL-arrive.purpose-DUP-SCND night =TC:HOD
ek-temeg-wok-m-oho xma en-xagkok
F.PART-be/say.TI-ARR-TERM-INTS.NM:IP place 1PL.POSS-house
'*We came to him* last night when we had a problem in the house'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

While null PREDICATE structures are often uttered in isolation, they can be integrated into larger, multi-clause constructions. In chapter 7, demonstrative enclitics are described as boundary clitics, after which any material is in an appositive relationship to the clause with the demonstrative, and that these chains of PREDICATES may in some cases be routinized to the degree that they constitute established constructions. The same is true of null PREDICATE clauses — they can be followed by appositive, co-referential nominal expressions, as in the examples in (5.38).

I admit that, initially, this analysis may seem somewhat bizarre (I show below that it is perfectly in line with the character of Enxet grammar), but the utterance in (7.74b) *enxoho axta eyke l'a m'a pók* 'or maybe it was his friend' is composed of two clauses: the TAME+demonstrative null predicate *enxoho axta eyke l'a m'a* 'but perhaps it was that' and a nominal predicate *pók* 'it is his friend'. The cataphoric reference of the first clause followed by a nominal predicate is, of course, a very familiar pattern in Enxet (§5.1.2). However, what is seemingly strange about such a clause is that *pók* 'his friend' is the null third person referent of the null predicate in the first clause — why is *pók* not the PREDICATE followed by the TAME clitic cluster *enxoho axta eyke l'a*?

(5.38) a. keya apxegà axta Filadelfia xa? **enxoho axta eyke l'a m'a** pók...
keya ap-xeg-à =axta Filadelfia =xa // enxoho =axta =eyke
TC:Q M.PART-GO-NM:IP =TC:PST Filadelfia =DMSTR // TC:CONJ =TC:PST =TC:ASR
=l'a =m'a pók
=TC:DUB =DMSTR M.other
'Was it him that went to Filadelfia, or was it his friend (his other)?'

EDP enx035 47:51

b. **hek xeyk ma'a** Aníbal apxagkok
hek =xeyk =ma'a Aníbal ap-xagkok
TC:REP =TC:HOD =DMSTR Aníbal M.POSS-house
'It was at Aníbal's house (I hear)'

EDP enx035 24:34

c. **kexaha so** kañe nak negaqhakxa axta
kexaha =so kañe =nak neg-aqhak-xa =axta
TC:DUB =PROX inside =TC:VIS 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB =TC:PST
'I think it was inside here where we killed it'

EDP enx025 10:52

The presence of constructions like those in (5.38) raises a number of questions, namely, why have a null, third person copular predicate with cataphoric reference to a noun in a nominal PREDICATE which follows immediately after the null PREDICATE? In other words, in an expression like (5.38b), in the English/Spanish translation, the predicate is '(at) Aníbal's house', so why isn't *Aníbal apxagkok* 'Aníbal's house'[14] in a normal predicate position, followed by TAME and demonstrative clitics as in (5.39), instead of being preceded by them as in (5.38b)?

(5.39) **Aníbal apxagkok** hek xeyk ma'a

Aníbal ap-xagkok =hek =xeyk =ma'a
Aníbal M.POSS-house =TC:REP =TC:HOD =DMSTR

'It was (I hear) at Aníbal's house'

EDP enx035 24:48

It is likely that these structures arise in order to accommodate complex associations between TAME clitics, demonstratives, and referents within the restricted clausal syntax. Take for example (5.40). The potential form verb is a nominalization which, in the case of (5.40), is behaving as a participant denoting nominalization (§15.1.1), and a non-future rendering of the same construction would see a imperfective or perfective form in this position. Potential form verbs never host the engagement TAME clitic *nak*, likely for semantic reasons, since the potential form indicates irrealis, hypothetical mood while *nak* indicates that its host or the evidence therefore is immediately accessible, either in the environment or the discourse. It is therefore not possible for an Enxet Sur speaker to render 'He will (apparently) help us' with the construction **hempasmok nak sa*', and instead, *hempasmok* 'the one who will help us' is in effect the "subject" of the TAME-marked null PREDICATE *nak sa*' 'it (apparently) will be him'.

(5.40) nak sa' hempasmok

nak =sa' hem-pasm-ok
TC:VIS =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-help-NM:PO

'He will help us' or 'The one who will help us is him'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In summary, null PREDICATES are fundamentally like PREDICATE third person pronouns with endophoric reference, and this endophoric reference can be manipulated for a great number of effects. It can allow the demonstrative to provide the primary PREDICATE semantics, allow for complex assignation of TAME semantics, and manage information structure across multi-clause constructions.

[14]Nominal PREDICATES can have a locative reading, not just an identity one, see the previous subsection on nominal PREDICATES.

Copular verbs

Given that items of almost any word class (nouns, adjectives, adverbs) can function as PREDICATES without derivation or copula, simply by the position in the clause (initial, pre-TAME), it is valid to ask why Enxet Sur has a property-attributing copular verb *-teh-* 'be, do, say', and how it is used in opposition to the non-verbal predicates which essentially express the same semantic relationship (property-attribution).

First, let us dispense with the other item which might be referred to as a "copula": the verb root *-h-* 'be, sit, stay'. This verb root, among other semantic values, can serve as a **locational copula**, which situates its arguments in space and generally takes a local or locational s-argument (which can of course be referred to via zero anaphora and need not be part of the clause). The example in (5.41) shows that this verb covers part of the functional space of copular verbs in other languages, in the sense that locational expressions like 'was in front' require a copula in many languages.

(5.41) chaqhak ñat weyke taqáxchók énxet, neyseksa nenxegà, **apheyk axta amogye'**

ch-aqh-ak =ñat weyke taqáxchók énxet // neyseksa nen-xeg-à //
F-kill-DECL =TC:RPST cow yoke Enxet // F.among 1PL.PART-go-NM:PV //
ap-h-eyk =axta a-mogye'
M-sit-DECL =TC:PST F.POSS-front

'A yoked cow killed a man during our journey... he was in front [of the cow]...'

EDP enx047 30:26

The property copula *-teh-* is similar to verbs in other language families of the Chaco and larger Lowland South America (Payne 1990, p. 79) in having the dual functions of property attribution and referring to speech acts, and in some cases even acting as a generic 'do' verb. Some examples of these different semantic functions are given below in (5.42).

(5.42) a. ko'ónek **entahak** 32 años kaxwo negha keso El Estribo nak

ko'ónek en-tah-ak 32 años kaxwo neg-h-a keso El Estribo
I.THINK F-be/say-SCND 32 years now 1PL.PART-sit-NM:IP this El Estribo
=nak
=TC:VIS

'I think it's been 32 years now that we've been here in El Estribo'

EDP enx028 03:18

b. sawepophek **akkelteme** énxet nano'

sawepophek akk-el-tem-e énxet nano'
owl.claw M.PART-DIST-be/say.TI-NM:PV Enxet old.time

'*Sawepophek* is what the old Enxet called it'

EDP enx007 01:42

c. hakte may'asegkok ko'o **ektahakxa** kélxega

hakte m-a-y'as-egk-ok ko'o ek-tahak-xa
because NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND 1SG F.PART-be/say-NM:OB
kél-xeg-a
2PL.PART-go-NM:PV

'Because I don't know how y'all get around', literally 'I don't know how it is y'all's going'

EDP enx039 41:45

d. *Context: a boy reports to his friend's family that the friend was killed in the woods by a Tamayawhan demon*
méko **aptahak** ma'a sekxegexma axta, tamayawhan entak
méko ap-tah-ak =ma'a sekxegexma =axta // tamayawhan
NEG.EXIST M-be/say-DECL =DMSTR my.friend =TC:PST // tamayawhan
en-t-ak
F-eat-SCND

"He's gone", he said, "My friend, a tamayawhan ate him"

EDP enx006 07:40

Often times, copular verbs are considered to be "semantically empty" (Dik 1987), but this is problematic in Enxet Sur. Locative copulas which use a positional verb, like the use of Enxet Sur *-h-*, are not presumed to be semantically or reduced (Overall et al., 2018, p. 3) when they mean something like 'I am at my house' or 'He is on-line', as in (5.43).

(5.43) a. ekheyk ko'o exagkok
ek-h-eyk ko'o e-xagkok
1SG-sit-DECL 1SG 1SG.POSS-house

'I'm at my house'

b. apheyk en línea
ap-h-eyk en línea
M-sit-DECL on line

'He's online'

Whatsapp notes

Likewise, we should not assume that a copular verb like *-teh-* is semantically empty when it is property attributing, since 1) there is a nominal predicate construction which can be used for property attribution and 2) the *-teh-* verb is also used to denote actions like 'saying' and 'doing'. Some previous sources, especially Sušnik (1977), have attempted to account for the semantics of *-teh-* within somewhat of a linguistic anthropology framework, asserting that more active notions like 'say' or 'do' are linked to the more stative notions like 'be' through an implicit understanding of 'being' as accomplished through 'doing'. Therefore, apparent identification constructions using *-teh-* are distinguished from nominal PREDICATEidentification constructions because rather than simply equating two properties or identifying labels, *-teh-* indicates role fulfillment through action and being. Put differently, the use of *-teh-* emphasizes the performance of a property or identity rather than the simple assertive attribution of an identity. English maxims akin to

"You are what you do" are essentially redundant from an Enxet point of view, since both 'being' and 'doing' are connected in the verb *-teh-*.

For example, nominal PREDICATE constructions are often used for asserting familial relationships, while *-teh-* constructions are more often used for professions, as in (5.44).

(5.44) a. apyáp ko'o
ap-yap ko'o
M.POSS-father 1SG
'I am his father'

Whatsapp notes

b. **sekteme** ko'o historiador
sek-tem-e ko'o historiador
1SG.PART-be/say.TI-NM:PV 1SG historian
'I am a historian'

EDP enx008 20:52

The use of *-teh-* can contrast biological parents from stepparents, such that a 'stepfather' is rendered as something like 'he who is acting as my father', as in (5.45).

(5.45) sekteme táta
sek-tem-e tata
1SG.PART-be/say.TI-NM:PV my.father
'my stepfather'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Similar to the contrast in the semantics of semiverbs versus adjectives, where adjectives are inherent immutable characteristics and semiverbs represent qualities experienced only through action (§8.1), copular *-teh-* is used to express qualities which are experience through action and performance, rather than qualities which are inherent and immutable. For example, in (5.46), there are two complex noun phrases, *yegmen ektakmela* 'good (clean) water' and *elyenakteso apyepe'ek énxet'ák* 'that which strengthens the body of men', which grammatically could be equated using a standard nominal PREDICATE, but in such cases a copular verb *-teh-*, even in the nominalized form *ekteme*, is preferred, likely on the basis that the identity between the two nominal expressions is one only experienced through action.

(5.46) Yegmen ektakmela **ekteme** elyenakteso apyepe'ek énxet'ák
yegmen ek-takmel-a ek-tem-e el-yenakt-es-o
water F.PART-good-NM:PV F.PART-be/say.TI-NM:PV F.PART.DIST-strong-VAL-NM:PV
ap-yepe'ek énxet'-ák
M.POSS-skin man-PL
'Clean water is what strengthens a person's body'

Schoolbook Grade 4

Regardless of whatever semantic distinctions might exist between *-teh-* constructions and comparable nominal PREDICATE constructions, *-teh-* is also used for a number of functional and grammatical reasons relating to the inability to mark various aspectual or temporal categories through nominal PREDICATES alone. The copular *-teh-* verb, then, acts as host for modal and aspectual markers which nouns are unable to host, similar to *do*-support phenomena in English. This includes the use of the hypothetical semantics of the potential form in (5.47a), the habitual semantics of the temporal indefinite in (5.47b), and the ability for the copular verb to be rendered as an event-denoting nominalization (§15.1.1) in order to take property attribution, as in (5.47c). To be clear on this last example, nouns can be fact-denoting PREDICATES, but they cannot act as event-denoting COMPLEMENTS.

(5.47) a. Yemáleg hek cháneyékha Seyána **katnehek** mek'a yakwayam kataswók

Yemáleg =hek cháney-ékha Seyána ka-tneh-ek mek'a
fox =TC:REP tell-AMB.NM:PV stork F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO visitor
yakwayam ka-tas-w-ók
for F.IRR-eat-ARR-INTS.NM:PO

'Fox told Stork *to be a visitor* so that they could eat together when she came

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. Exnek **entemek** ektahapma nak apyempek kelegcham'ay ekwékmoho so kaxwo nak

exnek en-tem-ek ek-tahap-ma =nak ap-yempek kelegcham'ay
TC:HOD F.-be/say.TI-SCND F.PART-rot-NM:PV =TC:VIS M.POSS-skin woodpecker
ek-wék-m-oho =so kaxwo =nak
F.PART-arrive.TI-TERM-INTS.NM:IP =PROX NOW =TC:VIS

'That's why the woodpecker's skin stinks to this day', literally '*It is always like that*, it's the stinking of the woodpecker's skin coming to this now'

Schoolbook Grade 1

c. Yetneyk axta ketsék apmopwána, **kaxwé apteme axta** yohóxma keso énxet

yetneyk =axta ketsék ap-m-op-wán-a // kaxwé
EXIST =TC:PST few M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:PV // recent
ap-tem-e =axta yohóxma keso énxet
M.PART-be/say.TI-NM:PV =TC:PST shaman this man

'He had only a little bit of power, this man *was only recently a shaman*'

López Ramírez (1996)

The use of the fully inflectable *-teh-* to make up for semantic values unavailable to nonverbal items which could otherwise be PREDICATES extends beyond nouns, and includes semiverbs, as in (5.48)

(5.48) askehe' katnehek eyespok ekyamaka enxoho

a-askeh-e' ka-tneh-ek e-yespok ek-yamak-a
F.STAT-painful-DECL F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO 1SG.POSS-throat F.PART-dry-NM:IP
=enxoho
=TC:CONJ

'My throat hurts when it gets dry'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The use of the *-teh-* copula is expansive, and is deserving of its own dedicated study, but I conclude this section with one final interesting construction type which uses the *-teh-* copula. Potential verbs are nominalizations (§15.1), but like other nominalizations or like nouns in general, they are very often used as PREDICATES, in which case they function very much like an irrealis finite verb. For example, the potential verb *heyhak* in (5.49a) could be used as a simple PREDICATE that would mean 'she will sic them on me'. So why then does it coccur with the potential form of the copula *-teh-*? The likely explanation is that this is a means of reinforcing the hypothetical nature of the event in the potential form main verb. In (5.49a), *heyhak* is an event-denoting nominalization meaning 'her siccing them on me', formed in the potential form to indicate a future action, while *katnehek* as a potential form of copular *-teh-* means something like 'that which could be'. A fairly literal translation of the whole clause might be 'a possibility (that which could be) is maybe her siccing the dogs on me'. A comparable construction is seen in (5.49b).

(5.49) a. xámok eknaqtosso semheg xa kelán'a nak, **heyhak kexa katnehek**
xámok ek-naq-tosso semheg =xa kelán'a =nak //
many.DECL F.PART-PL-domestic.animal dog =DMSTR woman =TC:VIS //
he-yh-ak =kexa ka-tneh-ek
1SG.PAT.IRR-sic-NM:PO =TC:DUB F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO
'She has many dogs she could sic on me', literally 'That woman has many dogs, maybe she'll sic them on me'

Skype notes 2020.5.12

b. **ayensek katnehek**
a-yens-ek ka-tneh-ek
1SG.IRR-injured-NM:PO F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO
'I will get hurt'

Skype notes 2020.5.12

Existential and possessive predications

As is seen in many languages of the region, existential and possessive predication are accomplished through the same structure in Enxet Sur, both with the (deficient) verbal PREDICATE *yetneyk*. Some existential examples are given in (5.50) and possessive predications are given in (5.51).

(5.50) *Existential constructions*

a. *Context: Speaker is standing near a small lake, pointing out what he sees*
yetneyk náta', amenyek yegmen
yetneyk náta' // a-menyey-k yegmen
EXIST turtle // F.STAT-like-DECL water
'There are turtles, they like the water'
EDP enx002 08:13

b. wánxa **yetneyk** agkok ekmasse, énxet emyekxak pánaqte axagkok
wánxa yetneyk =agkok ek-mass-e // énxet
only EXIST =COND F.PART-diminish-NM:PV // person
e-my-ekx-ak pánaqte a-xagkok
M.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO medicine F.POSS-house
'If there was disease, the Enxet would go to the medical clinic'
EDP enx047 35:29

c. ketsepmeyk, yetneyk aptáwan'ak neptámen Paz del Chaco
ketsep-m-eyk // yetneyk ap-táwan-'ak neptámen Paz del Chaco
die-TI-DECL // EIXST M.POSS-grandchild-PL M.after Paz del Chaco
'He died a while ago, but his descendents are in [the community of] Paz del Chaco
NNE 190 15:12

(5.51) *Possessive predications*

a. *Context: talking about collecting palo azul leaves*
yetneyk negko'o machete tásek agkok áwa'
yetneyk negko'o machete // tás-ek =agkok a-awa'
EXIST 1PL machete // good-DECL =TC:COND F.POSS-leaf
'We have a machete, in case the leaves are good'
EDP enx041 11:31

b. **yetneya exchep** selyaqye apagkok
yetne =ya exchep selyaqye apagkok
EXIST =TC:Q 2SG.M money M.POSS
'Do you have any money?'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The verb *yetneyk* can be said to be somewhat semantically or morphosyntactically reduced, since it does not display pronominal agreement behaviors. Although feminine arguments would be marked with the null ø- prefix, there is no change with masculine s-arguments, like the masculine noun *náta'* in (5.50a). With the possessive predications, there is no concordance with the possessum or the possessee, the latter of which might be expected given the strong hierarchical argument selection which marks even minimally affected benefactive first person s-arguments (§5.2.3).

In some rare examples, speakers will mark this verb with a different pronominal prefix in agreement with the argument of the existential verb. Such instances may in fact be the

more lexically specific 'to lie down' version of this root, but the examples are somewhat ambiguous, like (5.52).

(5.52) apyetneyk kelyaqhawe hakte átehe'

ap-yetn-eyk kelyaqhawe hakte átehe'
M-lie-DECL peccary because F.hot

'There are peccaries because it's hot'

EDP enx009 21:34

5.2.2 Word Order in verbal declaratives

A basic typological question for any language is constituent order in the basic indicative clause, primarily the order of the verb (V) in relation to a single intransitive argument (S) or to the agent (A) and patient (O) of a transitive clause. Enxet Sur is unarguably a predicate-initial or verb-initial language, but as described in §5.1, the nature of the relationship between verbs and NPs which refer to their s-arguments is complex. Although we can, in elicitation, come up with a disambiguating VAO word order (see below), there are a number of confounding facts which mean that this VAO "basic word order" is not of much descriptive value. Word order does not indicate grammatical labels, and the order of s-argument NPs is pragmatically determined, similar to what has been described for closely-related Enlhet Norte (Kalisch 2019).

Furthermore, word order has to be considered within a perspective where some if not all of the s-argument NPs that occur near verbs are not really clausal constituents. Therefore, we must define in strict terms what we mean by "basic word order". If it refers only to the order of constituent arguments in a syntactically cohesive clause, the clause structure of Enxet Sur is limited to the PREDICATE, its COMPLEMENT, and additional clausal elements like TAME, adverbs, and demonstratives, as described in §5.1. To discuss the order of V, A, and O elements within Enxet Sur syntax, we are inherently involving multiple clauses. This is still a useful descriptive exercise, but it is not exactly answering the question about *clausal* structure generally intended in a description of basic word order. Henceforth, then, note that any description of the order of multiple s-argument nominal expressions inherently involves multiple clauses.

First, as thousands of examples in this dissertation can attest, Enxet Sur is predicate-initial and therefore verb-initial language. When a declarative (non-nominalized) verb serves as the predicate of the simple clause, it always appears in the initial position, as in (5.53), unless an element has been fronted for the sake of focus, as described in §5.2.4. This focus position requires the use of the second position declarative verb form (§3.4.1), serving as an indication that any non-verb-initial word order is marked. Therefore, while the ordering of s-argument noun phrases which occur after the verb is pragmatically based, it is *not* at all accurate to represent Enxet Sur as a 'free word order' language.

(5.53) **negmaha** negko'o pánaqte

neg-m-aha negko'o panaqte
1PL-have-AMB.DECL 1PL medicine

'We use the medicine'

EDP enx041 05:42

The marked nature of non-initial declarative verbs is rather limited, however. As described in §3.4.1, verb bases ending in the glottal stop and a number of stem-forming morphemes have phonological properties which result in homophony between the initial and second position declaratives. Furthermore, any non-declarative verb form is grammatically and semantically a nominalization, and these nominalized verb forms are generally more common in discourse than declarative forms. Declarative verbs, however, are used with more foregrounded, salient events in discourse.

Following an initial verb, there are a series of dependent elements whose order is generally quite fixed. The verbal PREDICATE (as with non-verbal predicates) is followed immediately by TAME clitics, which have their own relative ordering template which applies whenever multiple are used on a single predicate (§6.1). After TAME clitics, three other clausal constituents can occur: independent pronouns (§4.5.1), lexical adverbs (§9.3), and the "coordinating" *han* clitic (§16.2). Pronouns are ordered based on a person hierarchy (§5.2.3), but the relative order of these three components is not rigid, and is possibly manipulable for semantic effect, although more study is needed on the order of these elements. After these post-PREDICATE items, the nominal COMPLEMENT is the second possible position for lexical content in the clause, followed by a demonstrative. As described in Ch. 7, the demonstrative functions as a clausal boundary clitic, marking the right edge of the clause.

As discussed in §5.1, Grubb (1911) presents a basic fact which must be the basis for a description of grammatical relations in Enxet Sur — that truly disambiguating the semantic roles of multiple NPs requires multiple verbs. This conforms to observations about other EE languages made in Kalisch (2009). However, Powys (1929)[p. 3; 97–98] presents a different view of basic word order: "*A normal type of Lengua sentence is therefore: 1. Verb with subject denoted by prefix or understood, 2. Tense particle, 3. Direct Object, 4. Indirect object*". As for those instances where there are two overt NP arguments of a verb, Powys further states that the typical order is VOA when the direct object is "*not referring to a person*", but VAO if "*the object is a person, proper name, with the possibility of confusion arising.*"

The latter of Powys' statements is a good point of departure for describing basic word order, as he suggests that a VAO order is used to disambiguate semantic roles of argument NPs. In direct elicitation work with consultants, there seems to be some truth to this. In (5.54), where A and O are both humans (equal animacy) of the same grammatical gender (therefore no disambiguation of agent on the pronominal inflection of the verb), there is a clear VAO order, and the reordering of the two NPs has a distinct change on the reading of the grammatical relations.

(5.54) a. aptekpogkek **Juan Carlos**

ap-tekpog-kek Juan Carlos
M-hit-DECL Juan Carlos
'Juan hit Carlos'

EDP enx042 31:12

b. aptekpogkek **Carlos Juan**
ap-tekpog-kek Carlos Juan
M-hit-DECL Carlos Juan
'Carlos hit Juan'

EDP enx042 31:28

This strict VAO ordering may be used in these de-contextualized instances of equal-animacy s-arguments, and therefore *could* be considered the "basic word order", since it is the word order which apparently disambiguates semantic roles where such disambiguation is necessary. However, there is little descriptive value — I'd argue none — in calling Enxet Sur a "VAO/VSO language".

When a dyadic verb is followed by two s-arguments NPs of inequal animacy, like a human and an animal, VAO and VOA orders are equally grammatical to consultants in de-contextualized grammaticality judgements, and the relative order of argument NPs does not affect the reading of the phrase. In (5.55a) and (5.55b), the different orders of the argument NPs have no bearing on the meaning of the clause. In this instance, *semheg* 'dog' is feminine, and the masculine nominative marking on the verb clearly indicates that 'Juan' and not 'dog' is the agent. However, when *semheg* is replaced with a masculine noun *yátnáxeg* 'horse', where the verbal pronominal marking does not clearly indicate which NP is the agent, there are still no constraints on the relative ordering of the argument NPs. Therefore, in such examples, relative word order does not indicate thematic role, nor is there a syntactic animacy hierarchy[15], since such a hierarchy would place the higher animacy argument in a privileged syntactic position and their would either be a strong preference for one of the two orders or ungrammaticality of one of them.

(5.55) a. aptekpogkek Juan semheg
ap-tekpog-kek Juan semheg
M-hit-DECL Juan dog
'Juan hit the dog'

EDP enx042 28:07

b. aptekpogkek semheg Juan
ap-tekpog-kek semheg Juan
M-hit-DECL dog Juan
'Juan hit the dog'

[15]There is a kind of syntactic animacy hierarchy which involves pronouns, see §5.2.3.

EDP enx042 28:19

(5.56) a. aptekpogkek Juan yátnáxeg
ap-tekpog-kek Juan yátnáxeg
M-hit-DECL Juan horse
'Juan hit the horse'

EDP enx042 29:14

b. aptekpogkek yátnáxeg Juan
ap-tekpog-kek yátnáxeg Juan
M-hit-DECL horse Juan
'Juan hit the horse'

EDP enx042 29:29

Even in constructions with equal animacy arguments of the same grammatical gender, relative order is not fixed. For example, (5.57a) has a VOA order despite having two masculine-gendered human arguments. There is, however, a difference between *enxet* as a set noun and Tamayásek as a single definite referent. In (5.57b), however, both NPs are definite entities.

(5.57) *VOA orders with equal animacy/gender NPs*

a. Apchanchesakxeyk axta **énxet Tamayásek**
ap-chanches-akx-eyk =axta enxet Tamayasek
M-guard-DUP-DECL =TC:PST Enxet Tamayásek
'Tamayasek guarded the Enxet'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. apcheynakmek xeyk **apketche Juan**, hakte apkenegke'
apch-eyn-akm-ek =xeyk apk-etche Juan // hakte
M-carry.underarm-TERM-DECL =TC:HOD M.POSS-child Juan // because
apk-en-eg-ke'
M-stand-COMPL-DECL
'Juan carried his son back in his arms, because he was tired'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Kalisch (2019:144) even provides the data in (5.58) which shows that in closely related Enlhet Norte, NP order has no disambiguating function for equal-animacy/gender contexts.

(5.58) Enlhet Norte [adapted from Kalisch (2019:144)]

a. ang-ya'pa-s-kas-kek lhaak **meeme** **sa'kok**
F-bathe-VAL-VAL-DECL TC:HOD my.mother child
'My mother bathed the child'/'The child bathed my mother'

b. ang-ya'pa-s-kas-kek lhaak **sa'kok meeme**
F-bathe-VAL-VAL-DECL TC:HOD child my.mother
'My mother bathed the child'/'The child bathed my mother'

So why, then, is there a strong VAO effect in this de-contextualized equal-animacy environment? I would argue that, rather than being the result of a syntactic reflection of assigned grammatical labels, the VAO order of (5.54) is an emergent effect of the pragmatically based word order of the language, coupled with the syntactic constituency of the nominal COMPLEMENT being distinguished from the appositive nature of subsequent nominal expressions.

Pragmatically based word order (cf. Mithun 1992), is a cover term for languages like Enxet Sur in which 1) the relative order of s-argument NPs to one another and to the verb is not determined by or indicative of their semantic role, and 2) the relative order of elements in a sentence is instead determined by pragmatic factors which include expectedness, information structure, and newsworthiness. Generally speaking, most languages which are claimed to have a "free word order" are likely to have a pragmatically based word order instead, and word order is governed exclusively by information structure as opposed to being governed primarily by clausal syntax. Again, as a predicate-initial or verb-initial language, Enxet Sur does not have an entirely pragmatically based word order. Instead, it is the order of nominal expressions after a verbal predicate which is "pragmatically based".

Enxet Sur utterances are most often unipartite in their structure, as described in §5.1.4, but the frequent pattern of verbal PREDICATE followed by nominal PREDICATES which co-reference s-arguments of the preceding clause often follows something of a comment-topic structure, even if this structure is not fit within a single syntactic envelope. This means that nominal expressions following the verb generally decrease in newness and newsworthiness from left to right. The nominal expression closest to the verb is the most likely to be syntactically constituent to it (act as COMPLEMENT), meaning that it constitutes part of the *comment* or *rheme* or *new*, which is then followed by predicate nominals filling the role of *topic* or *theme* or *given*. Both the order of nominal expressions relative to one another, and their presence or absence in the utterance, can typically be explained in this way.

Consider the data in (5.59). All of these examples include the semiverb *-menye-* 'to want, to like'. Its identity as a semiverb is more a morphological issues than a syntactic one (§8.1), but *-menye-* is, semantically, one of the most reliably dyadic predicates in the language, and I refer to it here simply as an instance of V. Most of the time, it occurs followed by only a single s-argument NP, since the other s-argument is already a topicalized referent in the discourse. Therefore, if its agent is topicalized, there is a VO expression as in (5.59a), and if its patient is topicalized, there is a VA expression as in (5.59b). Oftentimes, one of the s-arguments is introduced via a bare paratactic nominal expression, as in (5.59c), which can give an AVO or OVA order. In such cases, the "left dislocated"

nominal expression does not have any syntactic cohesion with the verb except for in the constituent focus construction (§5.2.4).

(5.59) *Different word orders with -menye'- 'to like, want'*

a. yámenles apketkok se'e, **apmenyeyk énxet nempeywa**
yámenles apk-etkok =se'e // ap-meny-eyk énxet nem-peywa
American M-young =PROX // M.STAT-want-DECL Enxet 1PL.PART-words
'This is a young American, *he's interested in our language*'
EDP enx001 46:09

b. waqhe' ápak, ápak avispa, pero aksok peligrosa, katyepok sat negmasse negko'o, chahe hakte, **mopmenyeyk yokxoho indigena**
waqhe' a-apak // a-apak avispa // pero aqsok peligrosa //
k.o.wasp F.POSS-corpse // F.POSS-corpse wasp // but thing dangerous //
ka-tyep-ok =sat negmasse negko'o // chahe hakte //
F.IRR-emerge-NM:PO =TC:FUT disease 1PL // that because //
m-op-meny-eyk yokxoho indígena
NEG-M.STAT-want-DECL all Indigenous
'That's a dead *waqhe'*, a dead wasp, it's a dangerous thing, it will make us sick, for that reason, *all Indigenous people dislike it*'
EDP enx005 32:04

c. negwet'ak kyá yetáwa nahan mók aksok, **yantápak, egmenyeyk negko'o naxma**, egmenyek negko'o yantápak
neg-wet'-ak kyá yetáwa nahan mók aksok // yantápak //
1PL-see-DECL always k.o.tree AND F.other thing // firewood //
eg-menyey-k negko'o naxma // eg-menyey-k negko'o yantápak
1PL.STAT-want-DECL 1PL woods // 1PL.STAT-want-DECL 1PL firewood
'We always find *yetáwa* trees or other things, *we want firewood from the woods*, we want firewood'
EDP enx004 13:50

d. yagyásek, kexa nelteme negko'o palo azul, máxa yásek, amenyek waley, **amenyeyk waley palo azul**
yagyásek // kexa nel-tem-e negko'o palo azul // máxa
palo.azul // TC:DUB 1PL.PART.DIST-be.TI-NM:PV 1PL palo azul // like
yásek // a-menyey-k waley // a-menyey-k waley
k.o.shrub // F.STAT-want-DECL Paraguayan // F.STAT-want-DECL Paraguayan
palo azul
palo azul
'*Yagyásek*, I think that's what we call palo azul, it's like the *yásek* plant, the Paraguayans like it, *the Paraguayans like palo azul*"
EDP enx041 08:30

e. chaxa aptémakxa énxet, yaqwayam enxol'a elléssek, natámen **apmenyek agkok pomap énxe**t, mejor exog ruta

chaxa ap-tém-akxa énxet // yaqwayam =enxo =l'a
that M.PART-be/say.TI-NM:OB Enxet // for =TC:CONJ =TC:DUB
el-l-és-sek // natámen ap-menyey-k =agkok
M.IRR.DIST-nm:pvease-VAL-DECL // F.after M.STAT-want-DECL =TC:COND
pomap énxet // mejor e-xog ruta
boar man // better M.IRR-go.NM:PO road

'That's how the Enxet get them [the boars] to come out [of the wood], *so if a man wants a boar*, it's better if he goes along the road'

EDP enx009 11:19

When both s-arguments are expressed as post-verbal nominal expressions, we can clearly see the effect of the pragmatically based word order. In (5.59d), the utterance *amenyeyk waley palo azul* 'Paraguayans want Palo Azul' has a VAO order because the O *palo azul* has been the primary topic of discourse for several lines prior — it is *given*, and the A *waley* is *new*. In (5.59e), the utterance *apmenyek agkok pomap énxet* 'If an Enxet wants boar'[16] has a VOA order because the O *pomap* boar is more central to the proposition and the A *énxet* is more topicalized in the discourse.

This pragmatically based word order effect applies equally to nominalized verbs which have a parallel function to subordinate clauses (§15.1). For example, in (5.60a), the utterance *mopmenyek indigena eyaqtenek mémog* 'the Indigenous don't like cutting down Palo Santo' has a VAO order, with the nominalized verb phrase *eyaqtenek mémog* 'cutting down Palo Santo' as the O. The speaker has already talked extensively up to this point about cutting down Palo Santo, but is actively contrasting the behaviors of the *indigena* 'Indigenous people' with those of the non-Indigenous. Thus, *indígena* is newer and foregrounded and *eyaqtenek mémog* is more given and backgrounded, yielding the VAO order. In (5.60b), a comparable utterance *mopmenyek eyaqtenek énxet* 'The Enxet don't like cutting it down' has a VOA order. In this case, *eyaqtenek* 'cutting it down' is entirely new in the discourse and has not been brought up, leading to the opposite order of (5.60a).

(5.60) a. *Context: Speaker is looking at a page of a children's book describing palo santo. He gives a long description of how Enxet people do not cut down Palo Santo trees because they are culturally important, they only take the dried, fallen branches. He then says...*
chaxa ektémakxa apmásma indigena, apmeyowek indígena mémog, **mopmenyek indigena eyaqtenek mémog**
chaxa ek-tém-akxa ap-másm-a indigena // ap-meyow-ek
that F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB M.PART-protect-NM:PV Indigenous // M-protect-DECL
indígena mémog // m-op-menyey-k indigena e-yaqten-ek
Indigenous palo.santo // NEG-M.STAT-want-DECL Indigenous M.IRR-cut-NM:PO
mémog
palo.santo

[16]Note that clauses marked with the conditional *agkok* are not morphosyntactically subordinated, and are not even necessarily semantically dependent upon another clause. See §6.2.6 for more on *agkok*.

'That's how the Indigenous protect it, the indigenous protect the Palo Santo, the *Indigenous don't like to cut down the Palo Santo*'

EDP enx005 38:05

b. *Context: Speaker finds a palo borracho tree in the woods, and talks about how Enxet people use it as an instrument, since its hollow trunk has a nice resonant sound when struck. He then says...*
kes'e apmenékmaso indigena, máxa tásek appáwa, chehe keltémakxa indigena, tásek appáwa, **mopmenyek eyaqtenek énxet**
kes'e ap-menékmas-so indigena // máxa tás-ek ap-páw-a
this M.PART-sing-NM:PV Indigenous // like good-DECL M.PART-noise-NM:PV
// chehe kel-tém-akxa indigena // tás-ek ap-páw-a //
// that DIST-be.TI-NM:OB Indigenous // good-DECL M.PART-noise-NM:PV //
m-op-menyey-k e-yaqten-ek énxet
NEG-M.STAT-want-DECL M.IRR-cut-NM:PO Indigenous
'This is an Indigenous instrument [thing for making music], its sound is nice, that's how the Indigenous use it, it has a nice sound, the *Indigenous don't like to cut it down*'

EDP enx009 12:57

The order of NPs after the verb, then is determined on the basis of information structure, with decreasing newness and newsworthiness as you move from right to left. In the elicited alternating examples in (5.54a) that give the appearance of a VAO disambiguating order, there is no imbalance between the two NPs in terms of their level of activation or topicalization in the discourse or in terms of their degree of expectedness for particular semantic roles. Without a broader discursive context, it is only salience or newsworthiness which is left to affect which NP is the complement and which is appositive (alternatively, which one comes first), and the semantics of the verb stem *-tekpog-* center the agent more than the patient and the agent comes first. In other words, the agent likely comes first in (5.54a) not because its position is marked for a particular semantic role, but because, in the abstract, the 'hitter' is more salient than the 'one who got hit'.

This principle of pragmatically based word order is broadly applicable beyond the core arguments of dyadic verbs. With triadic verbs, those that have three core s-arguments, there does not appear to be any tendency regarding word order except that the inanimate patient appears more likely to be first after the verb, although in all observed examples this is always a result of newness versus givenness in the discourse. For example in (5.61a) and (5.61b), the order of the nominal expressions referencing the animate 'giver' and 'receiver' are the reverse of each other.

(5.61) a. apchágkek axta, sekxok pan, **énxet'ák concilio**
apch-ág-kek =axta // sekxo-k pan // énxet-'ák concilio
M-distribute-DECL =TC:PST // first-DECL bread // man-PL council
'The Council gave out bread to the people'

EDP enx047 13:28

b. apchágkek axta anhan, vino, Keynnaqte Appeywa keso énxet'ák

ap-chág-kek =axta =anhan // vino // Keynnaqte Appeywa keso
M-distribute-DECL =TC:PST =AND // wine // Keynnaqte Appeywa this
énxet'-ák
man-PL

'Keynnaqte Appeywa gave wine to those people'

EDP enx047 11:42

This ordering principle even extends to nominal expressions which are not even referencing core s-arguments of a verb. As described in chapter 9 on adverbial modification, most of the semantic space covered by adverbs and adverbial phrases in languages like English is realized in Enxet Sur through nominal expressions. These nominal expressions that might denote temporal or spatial qualities of a propositoin are syntactically related to verbal predicates in the same way that s-argument nominal expressions are — either as roleless nominal *complements* or paratactic PREDICATES. Therefore, in (5.62), we see *aptetchek awhak yámet*, *xápen apwa'* 'they tied the rhea feathers to the roots of trees', where a semantically oblique element *awhak yámet* 'the roots of trees' comes before the nominal expression of a core s-argument *xápen apwa'* 'rhea feathers'. Again, 'rhea feathers' is topicalized in the discourse, and 'the roots of trees' is new information.

(5.62) yetneyk nahan waley kelwesse'e apchaxñassek chá'a naxma, natámen ma'a apkelyanmagkasamap, **aptetchek awhak yámet, xápen apwa'**, ñat entemék ma'a, apyanmagkassek nahan waley keso xatnapwa'

yetneyk =nahan waley kel-wesse-'e // apch-axñ-as-sek chá'a naxma //
EXIST =AND Paraguayan DIST-leader-PL // M-clear-VAL-DECL always woods //
natámen =ma'a apk-el-yanmag-kas-amap // ap-tet-chek a-whak yámet
F.after =DMSTR M-DIST-pay-VAL-MID.M.NM:PV // M-tie-DECL F.POSS-root tree
// xápen ap-wa' // ñat en-tem-ék =ma'a // ap-yanmag-kas-sek
// rhea M.POSS-feather // TC:RPST F-be.TI-DECL =DMSTR // M-pay-VAL-DECL
=nahan waley keso xatnapwa'
=AND Paraguayan this rhea.feather

'There were also Paraguayan ranchers, they would clear cut the forest, and they would pay for them, *they would tie them to the roots of trees*, *the rhea feathers*, that's how they did, they would buy those rhea feathers.'

EDP enx047 25:32—26:00

As was mentioned above, however, Enxet Sur does not have a fully pragmatically based word order. As shown in table 5.1, not all logically possible orders of V, A, and O are grammatical from a base construction like (5.63), since it is not possible to put two s-argument nominal expressions before the verb, and any non-verb-initial clause is marked with a second-position declarative verb (§5.2.4).

(5.63) aptakxeyk neptána Carlos

ap-takx-eyk neptána Carlos
M-bite-DECL jaguar Carlos

'A jaguar bit Carlos'

Order	Grammatical?	'The jaguar bit Carlos'
VAO	Yes	aptakxeyk neptána Carlos
VOA	Yes	aptakxeyk Carlos neptána
AVO	Yes	neptána aptakxak Carlos
AOV	No	*neptána Carlos aptakxak
OVA	Yes	Carlos aptakxak neptána
OAV	No	*Carlos neptána aptakxak

Table 5.1: Grammaticality (and semantic fidelity) of logically possible constituent orders for 'The jaguar bit Carlos'; 'Carlos' ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than 'jaguar'

The only way that two s-argument nouns can occur ahead of a verb is if they are in clear topic clauses, as in (5.64). Here, both s-arguments of the verb *kotwok* 'eat' come before the verb, but both are marked with *nak* as structurally independent PREDICATES. This particular example is the first line of a piece of text, and therefore the two initial nominal PREDICATES serve to posit discourse referents which are then activated and referenced anaphorically by the verb.

(5.64) **Kelyaqháwe aqátek nak kelan'a lóso nak** menkólhok kotwok

[kelyaqhawe a-qatek =nak] [kelan'a ø-loso =nak]
[peccary F.POSS-head =TC:VIS] [woman F-pregnant =TC:VIS]
me-nkol-h-ok ko-tw-ok
NEG-IMPR.IRR-permit-INTS.NEG.NM:PO F.IRR-eat-NM:PO

'Pregnant women are not permitted to eat the heads of the peccary'

Schoolbook Grade 4

5.2.3 Verbal alignment

Alignment refers to the morphosyntactic indication of grammatical relations, or how semantic roles are instantiated as morphosyntactic categories. Traditional alignment typology primarily concerns the relative arrangement and identity of core arguments, specifically the agents of transitive verbs (A), the single arguments of intransitive verbs (S), and the objects or patients of transitive verbs (P). The typology may be extended to include arguments in ditransitives, in which case an additional goal argument (R) can be discussed[17].

Given the assertions made about argument structure in §5.1.2, there may be some definitional issues in applying an alignment analysis, as conventionally conceived, to Enxet

[17]Many schema for alignment which include ditransitives have a distinction between the patient of a transitive verb and the experiencer patient of a ditransitive verb. Here, both are referred to as P, distinct from the R goal argument

Sur. However, the general principles of alignment typology — exploring how different kinds of semantic arguments are grouped and categorized within the morphosyntacic systems of a language — can still be gainfully applied, primarily to the verbal morphology of Enxet, even if we do not necessarily view Enxet Sur as having a conventional grammatical argument structure. Except for the relative ordering of independent pronouns, however, alignment in Enxet Sur is simply a question of which s-argument is indicated by the single pronominal prefix of the verb.

For many (maybe most) languages, a single alignment label for the entire language fails to capture the reality that different types of alignment may be seen in different areas of the morphosyntax (van Gysel 2019b, Zúñiga 2006, p. 20) and the interaction of accusative or absolutive type alignments with hierarchical or semantic alignment systems can mean that categorizing a language into one particular alignment category can be difficult and perhaps not a particularly fruitful exercise.

This is, to some degree, the case with Enxet Sur, where a simple nominative marking system ([A,S] v. [P]) generally exists for non-first person s-arguments, but elements of hierarchical selection and indication of semantic roles for first person s-arguments show some similarities with canonical inverse and active-stative systems[18]. For Enxet Sur, none of these labels could be used effectively to the full exclusion of others. While elements of ergativity are few, there are much more prominent elements of hierarchical/semantic alignment and of active-stative alignment. However, the latter secondary alignment systems (hierarchical and active-stative) only really apply to instances of first person s-arguments (very minimally for second person s-arguments). Otherwise, for all non-first person instances, the morphological alignment system is strictly nominative-accusative with overt marking of the nominative argument on the verb.

Nominal-accusative

The fundamental alignment structure with non-first person patients is nominative-accusative, meaning that S and A arguments are equivalent and opposed to P arguments. For example, the masculine S of the monadic verb *-teyen* 'sleep' in (5.65a) is indicated with the same *ap-* pronominal prefix as the masculine A in (5.65b). Because Enxet Sur verbal morphology only includes a single pronominal prefix slot, there is minimal overt indication of the P argument, and nothing which explicitly encodes or distinguishes person categories.

(5.65) a. Juan **aptenche'**

Juan **ap**-ten-che'
Juan M-sleep-DECL
'Juan is sleeping'

[18]It should be noted that the different types of alignment patterns or pivots seen in Enxet Sur alternate on the basis of person category and lexical categories of verbs, never on alternations in any TAME feature of the clause. The assertion that different types of alignment patterns appear in different parts of the grammar should *not* be taken as an assertion that Enxet Sur is a "split-alignment" type language, like, for example, that of Yucatec Maya.

Notes 2018.8.20

b. **aptamchek** axta échaha Juan
ap-t-am-chek =axta echaha Juan
M-eat-TI-DECL =TC:PST black.algarrobo Juan
'Juan ate some algarrobo'

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Although first person s-arguments override the nominative marking, this nominative-accusative system does extend to second person s-arguments. In (5.66), although the P is second person plural and the A is third person, the pronominal prefix on the verb indicates the third person A and not the second person P.

(5.66) hakte **apwet'ak** kéxegke' ektaqmela kéltémakxa nepyeseksa kélnamakkok

hakte **ap**-wet'-ak kexegke' ek-taqmel-a kel-tem-akxa nepyeseksa
because M-see-DECL 2PL F.PART-good-NM:IP 2PL.PART-be.TI-NM:OB amongst.M
kel-namakkok
2PL.POSS-other.PL

'because he sees y'all behaving well around your family and friends'

EDP enx039

Ergativity

The only sense in which Enxet Sur exhibits elements of ergative/absolutive alignment, or the alignment of S and P in opposition to A, is in the indication of s-argument plurality through verbal plurals (Ch. 10). As is consistent with verbal plurals or pluractionals (Newman, 2012, p. 188), where they are related to or indicate plurality of participants, it is the plurality of "absolutives", or S and P s-arguments, that is indicated. The distributive prefix as well as items which have suppletive plural forms, generally indicate plurality of S or P (when participant plurality is indeed what they indicate).

For example, in (5.67), the with the monadic verb *-xatekhe'-* 'get up', the distributive indicates plurality of the S argument. When the verb is made into a causative, with a masculine A and a feminine P *sakcha'a* 'child', the A is indicated by the pronominal prefix but the distributive now indicates plurality of the P argument.

(5.67) a. **apxatekhak** xeyk
ap-xatekh-ak =xeyk
M-get.up-DECL =TC:HOD
'He woke up'

b. ap**naq**xatekhak xeyk
ap-naq-xatekh-ak =xeyk
M-DIST-get.up-DECL =TC:HOD

'They woke up'

c. **apxatekhássek** xeyk sakcha'a
ap-xatekh-as-sek =xeyk sakcha'a
M-get.up-VAL-DECL =TC:HOD child
'He woke up the child'

d. ap**naq**xatekhássek xeyk sakcha'a
ap-naq-xatekh-as-sek =xeyk sakcha'a
M-DIST-get.up-VAL-DECL =TC:HOD child
'He woke up the children'

Whatsapp notes

It is not, however, terribly meaningful to say that Enxet Sur has some kind of split-ergative system, as the absolutive nature of verbal plurality or pluractionals is common across a broad swath of languages despite their core alignment types. This "absolutive" distribution of pluractional markers or verbal plurals been described for numerous otherwise nominative-accusative languages, dating back to Sapir (1930, p. 242). The appearance of an absolutive distribution with verbal plurals is more a by-product of the semantics of pluractionality than a true means of alignment, and such morphology often does not indicate participant plurality at all, as is true of Enxet Sur, as in (5.68). The lexical or semantic function of the distributive in this verb stem is not entirely clear, but it clear is not being used to distinguish participant number.

(5.68) a. **apkelpólchássegkek** doctor wokma'ák apháxamap
apk-el-polch-ass-eg-kek doctor wokma'ak ap-hax-amap
M-DIST-fall.flat-VAL-COMPL-DECL doctor boy M.PART-slump-M.MID.NM:PV
'The doctor laid down the sick boy'

b. **apkelpólchássegkek** doctor wokma'ák apkelháxamap
apk-el-polch-ass-eg-kek doctor wokma'ak
M-DIST-fall.flat-VAL-COMPL-DECL doctor boy
apk-el-hax-amap
M.PART-DIST-slump-M.MID.NM:PV
'The doctor laid down the sick boys'

Skype Notes 2020.4.20

Hierarchical argument selection

There is a debate on the degree to which hierarchical argument selection, also called semantic alignment, should really be referred to as a type of alignment system (Witzlack Makarevich, Zakharko, Bierkandt, Zúñiga, and Bickel, 2016), but argument selection hierarchies are certainly a key component of grammatical relations in a language either way. In Enxet Sur, the primary instantiation of this "alignment" type is in the use of first person patient pronominal prefixes. A first person s-argument, regardless of the semantic role of the first person, must be indicated by the pronominal prefix of a verb. That

means that while first person A or S are marked like non-first person A or S arguments, first person P or R arguments are indicated with a first person patient pronominal prefix which in a sense "overrides" the tendency to indicate the A argument in cases without a first person participant. A basic contrastive example can be seen in (5.69) in the first person singular, and some of uses of the patient first person prefixes in natural speech is given in (5.70).

(5.69) a. étamchek
ey-etam-chek
1SG-search.for-DECL
'I looked for it'

b. ektamchek
e-ktam-chek
1SG.PAT-search-DECL
'He looked for me'

EDP enx034 27:01

(5.70) a. *Context: referring to a kind of wasp with no stinger*
wánxa apma'ák **hentakxek**
wanxa ap-ma'ak hen-takx-ek
only M.POSS-teeth 1PL.PAT.IRR-bite-NM:PO
'It can only *bite us* with its teeth'

EDP enx025 25:32

b. axta aptahak **segáneya**
axta ap-tah-ak seg-aney-a
TC:PST M-be/say-DECL 1PL.PAT.PART-tell-NM:IP
'That's what he *said to us*'

EDP enx047 21:21

This tendency is very strong, and the requirement for first person arguments to occupy the pronominal prefix position extends to those in benefactor/malefactor roles, as in (5.71).

(5.71) **hemagkáxenchesha** hana ko'o ka'a nátegma

he-magkáxen-ches-ha =hana ko'o ka'a nátegma
1SG.PAT.IRR-ask-VAL-AMB =TC:PLZ 1SG yerba village

'Go ask for yerba mate *for me* in the village'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

A secondary, minimal kind of argument hierarchy can be seen in word order involving pronouns. Enxet Sur has first and second person independent pronouns which, unless in a focus position, come after the PREDICATE and before the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT, meaning

that they always precede any constituent s-argument nominal expressions, as in (5.72a-5.72b), and, furthermore, first person pronouns always come before second person ones, as in (5.72c). Although these ordering restrictions can be interrupted or altered by the use of focus or other fronting constructions, they apply regardless of the semantic roles of the various s-arguments, and therefore constitute a kind of hierarchical alignment in the syntax. Furthermore, because there are second person pronouns which must come before overt NPs, and there are no true independent third person pronouns, this hierarchical word order restriction is the only instance of a [1 > 2 > 3] hierarchy, whereas the pronominal prefix hierarchy is strictly [1 > 2/3].

(5.72) a. apkelyegwakkaseya axta **kéxegke pomo'o**?
apkel-yegwak-kas-se =ya =axta kéxegke pomo'o
M.DIST-scare-VAL-DECL =TC:Q =TC:PST 2PL rat
'Did the rats scare y'all?'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hlpaqhetchessakpoho sa' **negko'o Mario**
hl-paqhet-ches-sakp-oho =sa' negko'o Mario
1PL.PAT.IRR.DIST-chat-VAL-M.MID-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL Mario
'He will speak with Mario on our behalf'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. asextók ektamheykha ewáxok kóltéhek sélyekpelchémo **ko'o kéxegke**
a-sext-ók ek-tamh-eykha e-wáxok
F.STAT-few-INTS.DECL F.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV 1SG.POSS-innermost
kól-téh-ek sél-yekpelch-émo ko'o kéxegke
2PL.IRR-be/say-NM:PO 1SG.PAT.PART.DIST-recognize-INTS.NM:PV 1SG 2PL
'I care very little if I am judged by you', literally 'very little is the worry of my innermost if y'all say that *y'all recognize/judge me*'
TA 1 Corinthians 4:3

d. Ẽltennáseykha axta nahan **kél**mámenyého **kélagko'** hek hẽlwetak negko'o kéxegke
eg-el-tennás-eykha =axta =nahan
1PL.PAT-DIST-tell-VAL-AMB.NM:PV =TC:PST =AND
kél-m-á-menyé-ho =**kélagko'** =hek
2PL.PART-TI-VBLZ-want/like-NM.PV =DEG.2PL =TC:REP
heg-el-wet-ak negko'o kéxegke
1PL.PAT.IRR-DIST-see-NM:PO 1PL 2PL
'He told us about y'all's great desire to see us' TA 2 Corinthians 7:7

There is an interesting interaction between the hierarchical argument selection and the absolutive selection displayed by verbal plurals. Because first person patient prefixes distinguish singular and plural s-arguments inherently (unlike third person marking), when verbal plurals are used with first person patient prefixes, they indicate the plurality

of the A rather than the plurality of the first person P, as in (5.73). In this sense, although there are typological reasons to not refer to first person patient pronominal prefixes as representing an "inverse" voice system (see below), there is a sense in which hierarchical selection does appear to "invert" potential asymmetries in the marking of agents and patients in dyadic verbs.

(5.73) ensát agkok **hélpasmak**, mowanchek alának xama aqsok

ensát =agkok hél-pasm-ak // mo-wanch-ek
TC:FUT =TC:COND 1SG.PAT.IRR.DIST-help-SCND // NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL
a-l-án-ak xama aqsok
1SG.IRR-DIST-make-NM:PO one thing

'If y'all don't help me out, I can't do anything'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is often some confusion between selectional hierachies affecting alignment patterns on the one hand and what are conventionally called "inverse alignment" or "inverse voice" structures on the other. The canonical inverse system is represented by a language like Cree (Algonquian), wherein agent and patient are both indicated by a pronominal morpheme on the verb which does not indicate thematic role, and an inverse marking morpheme is used to indicate when the argument lower on the hierarchy is acting as agent as opposed to its more typical patient role. In Enxet Sur there is no "inverse marker", and only a single pronominal slot is available to the verb. The hierarchy in Enxet serves to determine which s-argument is indicated by the pronominal prefix, and distinct pronominal prefixes are used to indicate whether the first person argument is agent or patient. Therefore, while functionally similar, there are some important distinctions between the hierarchical selection effects in Enxet Sur and a canonical inverse system.

Active-stative

Finally, there is an open question regarding whether or not to identify certain qualities of the Enxet Sur alignment system as **active-stative**. I do not believe it is a particularly useful descriptor for Enxet Sur, but typologies which operate on pre-determined alignment labels which allow for a great deal of variability in the expression of such alignment types may see the Enxet Sur data as representing a type of active-stative system.

Canonical active-stative systems, like that of Guaraní (cf. Payne 1994), have two distinct pronominal paradigms: one 'active', which indicates that the marked argument is an agentive actor, and one 'stative', which indicates that the marked argument is a more patient-like experiencer. Where the "split" tends to occur is in the assignation of S arguments — more agentive intransitives are marked with agent markers and align with A arguments, while others are more stative and align with P arguments, as in the first person examples in (5.74).

(5.74) Guaraní (Estigarribia, 2017, p. 9)

Pronominal category	A	S_{ACTIVE}	$S_{SEMIVERB}$	P
1SG	ek-	ek-	e-	e-
1PL	neg-	neg-	eg-	eg-
F	(eg)-	(eg)-	a-	—
M	ap-	ap-	ap-	—
2PL	kél-	kél-	kél-	—

Figure 5.4: Alignment patterns for pronominal prefixes showing something like active-stative alignment, if semiverbs arguments are treated as a type of verbal argument.

a. **a**-guata
   1SG.ACT-walk
   'I walk'
b. **che**-kane'o
   1SG.INACT-tired
   'I am tired'
c. **a**-hecha nde-róga
   1SG.ACT-see 2SG.INACT-house
   'I see your house'
d. **che**-hecha nde
   1SG.INACT-see 2SG
   'You see me'

To the degree that Enxet Sur has an active-stative alignment, it is signaled by the isomorphy (same shape) of first person patient pronominal prefixes and the first person stative pronominal prefixes found on semiverbs. I argue below that the similarity of form between the two prefix sets should be considered homophony and not common identity, but, if, for the sake of argument, we consider the semiverb prefixes as indicating a stative S, we do end up with what appears to be a [A, S_A] vs. [S_S, P] or active-stative alignment, but only in the first person, as indicated in figure 5.4 and as can be seen in the examples in (5.75).

(5.75) *Apparent split-S alignment in the first person singular*

a. **ek**-paqmet-chek
   1SG-chat-DECL
   'I spoke'
b. **e**-sam-chek
   1SG.STAT-bad-DECL
   'I am bad/evil'
c. **ek**-tekpog-kek =xeyk yátnáxeg
   1SG-hit-DECL =TC:HPST horse
   'I hit the horse'

d. **e**-tekpog-kek =xeyk yátnáxeg
1SG.PAT-hit-DECL =TC:HPST horse
'The horse hit me'

Whatsapp Notes

Furthermore, if stative semiverb prefixes indicate an S_S participant, we see outright nominative-accusative systems for the masculine and second person plural pronominal categories, and a split S which does not align with P in the feminine. This is largely a product of the fact that verbs only have pronominal marking for a single s-argument, and lack any kind of non-first person P marking in polyadic verbs. As described in the section on ergativity above, we *could* consider the distributive morpheme as being a pronominal indication of plural absolutive s-arguments, although, as described above and in §10.2, this is not really a desirable analysis. However, because neither can be applied to semiverbs, and they would mark absolutive participants (P and S), we would in effect see an alignment of S_A with P, which is not only very typologically unusual[19], it would be misleading to suggest it is actually any kind of verbal alignment since these markers do not really directly cross-reference s-arguments in particular.

Still, I would even argue against an analysis that S_S and P marking are aligned in Enxet Sur in the first person — although it is a point which informed linguists could reasonably disagree upon. First, Ch. 8 presents a number of arguments against considering semiverbs as simply verbs which take stative as opposed to active prefixes, the primary one being that in order to take any verbal morphology other than the declarative or intensive, they require a derivational stem morpheme, at which point they take the same pronominal prefixes as any other verbs. In other words, the different sets of pronominal prefixes they take should be seen as two different paradigms for two distinct word classes, rather than two semantically distinct sets of prefixes which both attach to verbs.

Furthermore, there is a complex relationship between the Enxet Sur pronominal system and a distinction made in the active-stative alignment literature between Split-S and Fluid-S systems (Dixon, 1979). In a Split-S system, the differential marking for S is strictly lexically determined, while in a Fluid-S system, a single monadic verb stem/lexeme can take either P-like or A-like marking for semantic effect. Enxet Sur does not really have either type of system. Monadic true verbs must take the "active", A-aligned prefixes, similar to a Split-S system. Semiverb stems typically take "stative" pronominal prefixes, but *can* take the "active" pronominal prefixes, like in the alternation between (5.76a) and (5.76b), which more resembles a Fluid-S system. However, this requires a derivational prefix on the verb stem which contributes achievement aspectual semantics in the declarative form but which is semantically inert in other verb forms. The appearance of a Fluid-S system exists only semiverbs and not a broader set of verbs, and only through a morphological process I describe as derivation (see §8.6), and thus the appearance of an active-stative alignment in the first person should not be treated as such, since S_S marking is only relevant to semiverbs, which is word class distinct from verbs and not a sub-class of verbs.

(5.76) a. **asamchek** computadora ahagkok

[19]Though not unheard of, see van Gysel (2019b).

a-sam-chek computadora ahagkok
F.STAT-bad-DECL computer 1SG.POSS
'My computer is bad (poor quality, ugly color)'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

b. **kesagkek** computadora ahagkok
k-e-sag-kek computadora ahagkok
F-VBLZ-bad-DECL computer 1SG.POSS
'My computer doesn't work anymore.'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

Patient first person prefixes and semiverb first person prefixes are also negated differently. As is described in the chapter on negation (§14.2.1 and §14.2.3), patient first person prefixes are negated like any other verbal negation, wherein a negative element *m(e)-* combines with an irrealis pronominal prefix, producing NEG.1SG *mehe-* and NEG.1PL *meheg-*. However, semiverbs are negated with a distinct negation paradigm that does not make use of the irrealis pronominal prefix, producing *mo-*/*mog-* for 1SG/1PL respectively. This further suggests that, despite homophony, the *e-*/*eg-* pronominal prefixes of semiverbs are not identical with those of patient-marked verbs.

A final piece of evidence against identity of these two paradigms, albeit one that should be considered with caution for now due to the lack of major comparative phonological studies between EE languages, is that they do not appear to be homophonous in other languages of the family, as in Enenlhet (Unruh et al., 2003). It is not yet clear, however, whether homophony between the two is an innovation restricted to only a few languages of the family, or whether it is in fact the ancestral pattern.

In summary, although Enxet Sur may have the appearance of an active-stative alignment in the first person, saying that Enxet Sur is a language with an active-stative alignment system would either require enough qualification so as to make such a claim misleading, or it would be pushing the bounds of the typological concept of active-stative alignment to the degree that its intent becomes too diffuse to be meaningful. Rather, it is better to consider it a minor element of the overall landscape of alignment in the language, much the way that ergativity plays a minor role in many predominantly nominative-accusative languages (English included). In its core syntax, Enxet Sur is a nominative-accusative dominant language with a robust hierarchical selection for first person s-arguments, and elements of any other alignment type are relatively minor.

5.2.4 Focus in the declarative clause

Enxet Sur has a dedicated constituent focus construction in which a focus element, most often a nominal COMPLEMENT but also sometimes an adverb, can occur clause-initially, followed by TAME clitics (optionally) and a second position declarative verb, the morphology of which is described in §3.4.1. Although the discursive function of "focus" is complex, and a full accounting of how the focus construction is used in discourse is outside of the

scope of this dissertation, it typically is used when the focus element [the NP or adverb in focus] is *new* information in the discourse while the event indicated by the verb is *given*, or more generally when the focus element is simply more newsworthy than the verb. For example, in (5.77), the speaker is listing out things that the Enxet Sur do with *mémog* 'palo santo', and uses the constituent focus construction for the last line to put focus on another distinct use for the plant he is adding to the list.

(5.77) *Context: Speaker, standing next to a palo santo tree, is talking about ways the Enxet Sur use it, listing a number of medicinal and practical uses, ending in the following...*
empehek, anlók negko'o empehek, tomar terere o mate, keso, **artesania nenlának negko'o**

e-empehek // an-l-ók negko'o e-empehek // tomar tereré o
F.POSS-skin // 1PL.IRR-emit-INTS.NM:PO 1PL F.POSS-skin // drink tereré or
mate // keso // artesania nen-l-án-ak negko'o
mate // this // crafts 1PL-DIST-make-SCND 1PL

'Its bark, we take off its bark, drink [it in] tereré or mate, this, *we make crafts with it*'

EDP enx001 13:16

The focus construction is often used in responses to questions, and in elicitation sessions, the elicitation of a question and response pair was often the most reliable means of eliciting a second position verb form, as in (5.78).

(5.78) Q: yaqsa akkelana?
A: pánaqte ektak

yaqsa apk-el-an-a // panaqte ek-t-ak
what M.PART-DIST-do-NM:IP // medicine 1SG-eat-SCND

Q: 'What are you doing?' A: 'I'm taking a pill'

Notes 8.1.2018

It is important to make explicit note of the fact that there are other constructions which have a similar pragmatic function of placing focus on the constituent of the declarative verb, but they are structurally just nominal identity predicates which equate a nominal expression with a participant denoting nominalized verb (described in §5.2.1; also see the description of the 'event protagonist' construction in §15.3). These are structurally analogous to an English constituent focus expression like *Maria is the one who came here* where a copular expression establishes identity between 'Maria' and the relative clause 'who came here'. Such an English construction is often times the best functional translation of the second-position focus constructions in Enxet, but that should not be taken as any kind of evidence that the Enxet focus construction is equivalent in structure — this true focus construction has a declarative, fully finite verb which is distributionally distinct from the nominalized verb forms whose syntax is described in Ch. 15.

An important descriptive question is what limits exist on this fronting construction, and which kinds of constituents can fill this position. It is very clear that canonical agent and patient nominal expressions can both be fronted in this kind of construction, as in (5.79) and (5.80), respectively.

(5.79) *Agent focus*

a. **Juan** axta apmeykessásak átog
Juan =axta ap-meykes-sás-ak a-atog
Juan =TC:PST M-open-VAL-SCND F.POSS-door
'Juan opened the door for him'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **Pók** hekñat apsáwak yátapexpáxa, **pók** hekñat apsáwak melwaktama yakwayam sat elemhagkok apnaktósama.
pók =hek =ñat ap-sáw-ak yátapexpáxa // pók =hek
M.other =TC:REP =TC:RPST M-carry-SCND bow // M.other =TC:REP
=ñat ap-sáw-ak melwaktama yaqwayam =sat
=TC:RPST M-carry-SCND sling for =TC:FUT
el-emh-agk-ok ap-naq-tósama
M.IRR.DIST-stand-COMPL-NM:PO M.PART-PL-animals
'Others carried bows (and arrows), others carried slings to slaughter their livestock'
López Ramírez (1996)

c. **Juan** exchek apkelanak axta'a exchek
Juan =exchek apk-el-an-ak axta'a =exchek
Juan =TC:HOD M-DIST-attend-SCND night =TC:HOD
'Juan took care of it last night'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(5.80) *Patient focus*

a. **nápakha exagkok** ekyagqaxqátak
nápakha e-xagkok ek-yagqaxqát-ak
side.M 1SG.POSS-house 1SG-pierce-SCND
'I pierced [put a hole in] the wall of my house'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **Yásek** axta apkelágkok énxet negmase ektamheyak
yásek =axta apk-el-ágk-ok énxet negmase
k.o.plant =TC:PST M-DIST-distribute-SCND person disease
ek-tamh-eyak
F.PART-be/say-COMPL.NM:PV
'Yásek is what they gave to people when they were afflicted by disease'
Schoolbook Grade 1

Some verbs, like *-h-* 'sit' or *-mahag-* 'head to', conventionally have a local s-argument (e.g. the place one sits, the place one is heading towards), and these local s-arguments can appear in the focus position, as seen in (5.81).

(5.81) *nm:obal argument*

a. **Elvio apxagkok** ekmeyákxa'
Elvio ap-xagkok ek-mey-ákx-a'
Elvio M.POSS-house 1SG-head.to-DUP-SCND
'I'm going to Elvio's house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, even COMPLEMENTS providing spatial or temporal modification that is not canonically necessitated by verbal semantics can occur in the constituent-focus position, as in (5.82).

(5.82) Time-denoting nominal expressions in the focus position

a. **Xama ekhem** axtanxegak Máleg
Xama ekhem =axta n-xeg-ak Máleg
one day =TC:PST F-go-SCND fox
'One day, the fox left.'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. **mók semana** kelántepak
mók semana kelán-tep-ak
F.other week DIST-emerge-SCND
'the next week they left again'

NNE190 04:06

Thus, there are no apparent semantic or syntactic restrictions on which kinds of nominal expressions can be the focus element of a constituent focus construction. This is unsurprising, given the claims made in §5.1 about the lack of argument role assignment given to nominal expressions — any kind of nominal expression can serve as the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT and therefore any kind of nominal expressions can be a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT in focus in this constituent-focus construction.

A fascinating and somewhat bizarre feature of this construction is that the fronted element can be null. As described in §5.2.1, there is significant evidence in favor of a phonologically null third person pronoun, at least in initial position, based on both semantic qualities of TAME initial constructions and the fact that some "initial" TAME clitics have unusually post-vocalic behaviors and undergo apocope for which there is otherwise no phonological motivation. Whether or not we view such constructions as having a syntactically extant but phonologically null initial phrase, it is clear that the focus construction can also have an essentially empty focus position, where a clause begins with TAME clitics followed by a second position verb, or potentially just a second position verb.

I should pause here momentarily to apologize for any confusion caused by discussing a "second position verb" in initial position. To be clear, the second position declarative

verb or "second position" verb is so named because it is used when the COMPLEMENT and PREDICATE switch positions for focus on the COMPLEMENT, putting the declarative verb PREDICATE in the "second" position. However, if the focus element is null, and there are no TAME clitics, the second position verb can be the first (phonologically realized) element in the clause.

Such constructions have a range of functions, but in general they serve to place focus on a null element which has anaphoric or cataphoric reference. In (5.83a-5.83c)[20], the null third person focus element has anaphoric reference, referring to something previously topicalized in the discourse, as in (5.83a), where the speaker brings the attention to the deictic center with *ko'ónek payho s'e* 'I think it was *here*, followed by the null focus construction *axta apyagqak* '*this* is where he was grazing'. Since the focus of the latter expression is co-referent with the location indicated in the clause immediately before, the continuity of focus or attention is indicated by a null element.

(5.83) *Focus constructions with null focus*

a. wa' apyagqak axta napóxeg, ko'ónek payho s'e, **axta apyagqak**
   wa' // ap-yagq-ak =axta napóxeg // ko'ónek payho =s'e // axta
   look // M-stand-DECL =TC:PST tapir // I.THINK place =PROX // TC:PST
   ap-yagq-ak
   M-stand-SCND
   'So, the tapir was grazing, I think it was here, this is where he was grazing'
   EDP enx025 08:28

b. **exchek ektahak** sekpeywa seyáneya
   exchek ek-tah-ak sek-peywa sey-áney-a
   TC:HOD 1SG-be/say-SCND 1SG.PART-words 1SG.PART-tell-NM:IP
   'That's what I told him'
   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. Sewhen kelweykmek nahan ma'a, keleñama Nánaw'a, ñat entahak ma'a
   Sewhen kel-wey-km-ek =nahan =ma'a // kel-eñam-a
   Nivaclé DIST-arrive-TERM-DECL =AND =DMSTR // DIST-come.from-NM:IP
   Nánaw'a // ñat en-tah-ak =ma'a
   Nanawa // TC:RPST F-be/say-SCND =DMSTR
   'The Nivaclé arrived there, coming from Nánaw'a, that's what they said'
   NNE190 14:11

d. exchek élmaxneyaha m'a
   exchek él-maxney-aha =m'a
   TC:HOD 1SG.DIST-ask-AMB.SCND =DMSTR
   'I just want to ask you this...'
   (Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

[20]Note that, as described in §3.4.1, many second position declarative verbs are homophonous with their unmarked initial position forms, as in (5.83a), but a second position form is still identifiable if there is a declarative verb in the post-TAME position.

e. exchek ekhésaktak ko'o wokma'ák se'e
exchek ek-h-ésak-t-ak ko'o wokma'ák =se'e
TC:HOD 1SG-sit-VAL-CISL-SCND 1SG boy =PROX
'I gathered the boys here'
(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

f. exchek ekpéwok ko'o sekxega **néten ámay nak**
exchek ek-péw-ok ko'o sek-xeg-a néten ámay =nak
TC:HOD 1SG-straight-INTS.SCND 1SG 1SG.PART-go-NM:IP above road =TC:VIS
'I was headed straight down the road' (note: *néten ámay* 'raised road' is used to refer to the Transchaco highway)
(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

g. axta negya'eykekxa' chá'a negko'o kelasma **ságe nak**
axta neg-ya'ey-k-ekxa' chá'a negko'o kelasma ságe
TC:PST 1PL.PART-arrive.purpose-TI-DUP.NM:PV always 1PL fish lake
=nak
=TC:VIS
'We used to go fishing in this lake'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (5.83c-5.83e), a demonstrative with clausal scope helps to define the referent of the null third person focus element. Note that, as described in Ch. 7, demonstratives are not independent phrases within the clause and are not *complements*, and therefore cannot be in the initial constituent focus position. In fact, in a construction like (5.83e), the function of the null focus element appears to be to place the deictic semantics of the demonstrative in focus, an apparent workaround for the fact that the demonstrative itself is not syntactically capable of being in the focus position. Note also that in (5.83e), there is both a zero focus element *and* a clearly constituent NOMINAL COMPLEMENT *wokma'ák* 'boys' (constituency indicated by the presence of the following demonstrative *se'e* which must be licensed by the declarative verb). This shows that the zero focus position leaves the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position open. This is logically consistent if we think of the zero focus element as a pronoun, since pronouns do not occupy the COMPLEMENT position.

Sometimes, this null focus construction has simple cataphoric reference, as it does in (5.83d), but there also appears to be another interesting function of this focused zero cataphora which is motivated by the limits of the clausal structure. As described in §5.1.3, there is an empirically-based argument to be made that the Enxet Sur clause can only contain a single NOMINAL COMPLEMENT, and that any additional nominal expressions which pile up at the right periphery of clauses are in fact just paratactic nominal PREDICATES. In (5.83f-5.83g), the zero focus appears to have cataphoric reference to local nouns (nouns provided spatial information about the verb) in nominal PREDICATES to the right of the clause with the focus construction (nominal PREDICATES are bolded in these two examples). Both of the clauses with the focus construction however, appear to contain nominal COMPLEMENTS: *sekxega* 'my going' in (5.83f) and *kelasma* fish in (5.83g). Although these

nouns are not followed by a demonstrative that would unambiguously indicate their dependency to the verbs that precede them, they are both very strongly semantically tied with the semantics of the declarative verb in their respective clauses and are therefore likely NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS. If these post-verbal nouns are filling the COMPLEMENT position, as they may well need to for the sake of the semantic purposes of the verb, then the focus position cannot be filled a local noun that a speaker may wish to place focus on, and instead a zero focus element is used which has cataphoric reference to the nominal expression introduced by the following nominal PREDICATE

It should be noted that most examples of zero focus are from the Rojas Curtis dictionary, and therefore are presented outside of their context — context which would help clarify the functional value of such constructions. This zero focus is probably not so rare in conversation, however, which is sorely lacking in the available corpus. A continued effort to grow the natural language corpus would likely lead to more data to help us understand this interesting phenomenon.

Finally, I refer to this construction as a "constituent focus" construction rather than an "*complement* focus" construction, because, along with the nominal *complement*, lexical adverbs (§9.3.1) or personal pronouns, which I do not analyze as filling the COMPLEMENT position, can also be fronted ahead of a second position verb, as in the examples in (5.84).

(5.84) a. kaxwo' eksawhák

kaxwo' ek-sawh-ak
now 1SG-exhaust-SCND
'Recently I finished'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kaxwo' ekseyásak

kaxwo' ek-sey-as-ak
now 1SG-carry-VAL-SCND
'I just brought it back'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

5.3 Interrogative Clauses

Enxet Sur has two interrogative clause types:

- Polar (Yes/No) questions, which are structurally identical to indicative clauses but formed with one of several TAME clitics (interrogative *ya*, conjectural *enxoho*, dubiative *kexa* or *l'a*)[21] which semantically or pragmatically indicate a question
- Content questions, which are formed by a non-verbal identity construction between a content question word and a nominalized verb form

[21] Details of the functions of these clitics are discussed in §6.2.6.

While polar (yes/no) questions show no formal distinction from their non-interrogative counterparts aside from the inclusion of an interrogative clitic (and sometimes a question intonation), content questions are structurally very different from non-interrogative counterparts, involving nominalization of the verb.

5.3.1 Polar questions

A few of the TAME clitics have either as their core semantics or a discourse function the ability to turn an indicative clause into an interrogative one. While the semantic and functional differences between different TAME clitics are interesting, the structural qualities of such polar question clauses are rather straightforward, and are not distinct from the basic unmarked structure of simple clauses. Compare the indicative clause and its interrogative form in (5.85)[22].

(5.85) a. leyawok apwáxok
ley-awok ap-waxok
emit-INTS.DECL M.POSS-innermost
'He is satisfied', literally 'his innermost is letting it out'

b. leyawó**ya** apwáxok?
ley-awo =ya ap-waxok
emit-INTS.DECL =TC:Q M.POSS-innermost
'Is he satisfied?'

Whatsapp Notes

At least four different TAME markers are used in what would generally be considered interrogative clauses. Their interrogative use is reviewed here, but see their respective sections in the chapter on TAME clitics for more examples and a broader, more inclusive description of their use.

The most basic and straightforwardly interrogative one is the marker *ya*, which has the exclusive function of marking the clause as a polar question, and does not appear to have any secondary epistemically modal value. Some treatments of interrogatives, like Landaburu (2005) or Evans, Bergqvist, and San Roque (2018b), consider them as asserting a lack of speaker knowledge coinciding with a presumption of interlocutor knowledge. While to some degree this could be said of any interrogative clause in any language, it is more characteristic of the nature of the dubitative *kexa*, and *ya* is best simply understood as a marker of information request.

(5.86) **mekoya** exchep selyaqye?
meko =ya exchep selyaqye
NEG.EXIST =TC:Q 2SG.M money
'Do you not have any money?'

[22]The loss of the verb final *-k* in the latter of these examples is a common phonological effect of the *ya* interrogative TAME clitic, as described in §6.2.2.

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The conjectural clitic *enxoho* (§6.2.3) is used in an interrogative sense if a speaker presumes what they say to be true, but are asking for confirmation. While it is often translated into Spanish as a question by consultants, it appears equally valid to translate clauses like that in (5.87) as something like 'I imagine X is true, yes?'. The conjectural is used in non-interrogative contexts as well.

(5.87) ekyetleyekmoho agkoya axta so axát'ak nak, mók nekha **enxoho** axta eykel'a apma

ek-yetley-ekm-oho =agko =ya =axta =so axát'ak =nak //
F.PART-follow-TERM-INTS.NM:PV =TC:DEG.F =TC:Q =TC:PST =PROX cord =TC:VIS //
mók nekha =**enxoho** =axta =eyke =l'a ap-m-a
other.F F.side =TC:CONJ =TC:PST =TC:ASR =DMSTR M.PART-have-NM:PV

'Did the cord come with it, or did you get it somewhere else?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The two dubitative markers *kexa* and *la'a* are both used in essentially interrogative expressions, but like *enxoho*, they are ultimately markers which assert a particular stance on epistemic access, and their interrogative functions are more pragmatic than a core feature of their semantics. Both commonly appear in non-interrogative contexts. The distinction between the two is discussed in detail in §6.2.6, but in interrogative contexts, *kexa* tends to assert that 'I don't know, but I presume you do', while *la'a* is used more for hypothetical or abstract questions for which the speaker does not presume their interlocutor has an answer, a contrast which can be seen in (5.88).

(5.88) a. apwakxeyk kexa apxagkok

ap-wa-kx-eyk =kexa ap-xagkok
M-arrive-DUP-DECL =TC:DUB M.POSS-house

'I assume he got back to his house, yea?'

b. apwakxeyk la'a apxagkok

ap-wa-kx-eyk =la'a ap-xagkok
M-arrive-DUP-DECL =TC:DUB M.POSS-house

'Did he get back to his house? (Who knows?)'

Notes 2018.8.1

Constituent focus questions

The above examples all represent predicate-focus questions, but the interrogative uses for various TAME clitics also holds for constituent focus questions as well. There are at least two distinct means of non-interrogative constituent focus in Enxet Sur: 1) simple movement of the focus element to the clause-initial position, described in §5.2.4, or 2) a

nominal PREDICATE construction with an event protagonist nominalization, described in §15.3. The first, declarative constituent focus, cannot simply take one of the previously mentioned interrogative TAME clitics and act as an interrogative clause. Constructions like (5.89a) are therefore ungrammatical.

(5.89) a. **Mario ya **apyensa'ak** xa bicicleta nak?
Mario =ya ap-yensa'-ak =xa bicicleta =nak
Mario =TC:Q M-leave.behind-SCND =DMSTR bicycle =TC:VIS
'Was it Mario that left the bicycle?'
Skype 4.20.2020

b. Mario ya **apyense** xa bicicleta nak
Mario =ya ap-yens-e =xa bicicleta =nak
Mario =TC:Q M-leave.behind-NM:PV =DMSTR bicycle =TC:VIS
'Was it Mario that left the bicycle' or, literally 'Was it Mario? The one who stole the bicycle?'
Skype 4.20.2020

Rather, constituent focus constructions must be interrogative forms of nominal predicate constructions with nominalized, argument denoting verbs, as in (5.89b). This is similar to many languages in which constituent focus polar questions are constructed with copular constructions with relative clauses, like the English translation in (5.89a).

Responding to polar questions

Responses to polar questions are dependent on the structure of the question. Most kinds of polar question can be responded to with *Ehay/hay/hoy* 'yes' or *ma'* 'no', but more often than not, answers are more contentful, typically with an affirmative single word clause which matches the predicate of the polar question. If the question is an interrogative form of a nominal predicate, the affirmative response is the same non-interrogative nominal predicate, while the negative response uses the identity negative *háwe*.

5.3.2 Content questions

Content questions[23] are used to elicit specific information as opposed to eliciting confirmation of the truth value of a proposition, and in Enxet Sur they have formal qualities which are distinct from indicative clauses. All content questions in Enxet Sur are formed through nominal identity predicates, wherein the question word is a nominal PREDICATE, and the clause from which a semantic constituent is being questioned is represented as a nominalized verb (§15.1) which syntactically can either be a subject-like COMPLEMENT of the question word PREDICATE or can be an independent, co-referential PREDICATE. For example, in (5.90), *yaqsa* 'what/who' is the PREDICATE, as indicated by its initial, pre-TAME position, and the nominalized clause *elyensáseykha mesa* 'the one who scratched the table'

[23] Also commonly referred to as *wh*-questions, constituent questions, or question-word clauses.

is a constituent COMPLEMENT. A literal translation of this content question structure, in the case of (5.90), might be something like 'The one who scratched the table was who?'

(5.90) **yaqsa** axta **elyensáseykha mesa**?

yaqsa =axta el-yens-ás-eykha mesa
what =TC:PST F.PART.DIST-injured-VAL-AMB.NM:PV table

'Who scratched the table?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Therefore, although the question words *yaqsa* 'what, who' and *haxko* 'where, how' are always the first element in the interrogative clause, rather than being in a post-verbal "argument" position, it does not appear that these content question constructions actually involve something like WH-movement, as occurs in English and many other languages. The WH-word is not really at all a part of the clause from which some content is being questioned. Rather, the clause is a nominalized constituent of the WH-word as a nominal PREDICATE.

Content question words do not occur with finite, declarative verbs at all (with the exception of question words which are the heads of fact-denoting "complement clauses" and some declarative items which are not true verbs, see below). The development of question constructions from relative clause structures, to which Enxet Sur nominalizations are comparable (§15.4), is crosslinguistically not uncommon (Lehmann 1984, p. 394), and Shibatani (2019, p. 63) points out that the "NP-use of argument nominalization plays an important role in the formation of Wh-questions [...] in a fair number of languages".

The available content question words consist strictly of *yaqsa* 'what, which, who' and *háxko* 'where, how, when', or phrases derived from these base question words. In general, these two question words tend to co-occur with different nominalized verb forms. *Yaqsa* generally questions core s-arguments of verbs, and therefore uses core s-argument nominalization types (§15.1). However, whereas argument denoting nominalizations often alternate between imperfective and perfective form verbs, there is a strong preference for content questions with *yaqsa* to use the imperfective form of the verb. In (5.91), the verb is in the imperfective form when used in a content question, despite the fact that the answer in (5.91b)is given with a perfective form verb.

(5.91) a. yaqsa axta **ekyepta** weykcha'áhak
yaqsa =axta ek-yept-a weykcha'áhak
what =TC:PST F.PART-rip-NM:IP book
'Who ripped the page out of the book?'

b. ko'o axta **sekyepto** weykcha'áhak
ko'o =axta sek-yept-o weykcha'áhak
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.PART-rip-NM:PV book
'I'm the one who ripped the page out of the book'

EDP enx042 12:14

It is important to note that temporal indefinite imperfective forms are sometimes homophonous with perfective forms (§3.4.3). For example, (5.92b) gives the temporal indefinite variant of the imperfective verb in (5.92a), and *élso* is both the temporal indefinite imperfective form and perfective form of the verb -saw- 'carry'. However, because we very rarely see perfective forms in this type of construction, it is safe to assume that in these homophonous, ambiguous situations, it is the temporal indefinite imperfective form we find.

(5.92) a. yaqsak axta **élsawa** yátaxpog Misión?
yaqsak =axta el-saw-a yataxpog Mision
what =TC:PST F.PART.DIST-carry-NM:IP guitar mission
'Who took the guitar from the Mission?'

b. yaqsak axta **élso** yataxpog Misión?
yaqsak =axta el-s-o yataxpog Mision
what =TC:PST F.PART.DIST-carry-TI.NM:IP guitar mission
'Who took the guitar from the Mission?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Háxko, on the other hand, is generally the question word used for oblique nominalization forms, which themselves typically denote the time, location, or manner of an event. Some examples are given in (5.93)

(5.93) a. yawhan, haxko **apmeyakxexa**
yawhan // haxko ap-mey-akx-exa
k.o.bee // where M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:OB
'the *yawhan*, where did it go?'

EDP enx025 17:26

b. háxko exchek **ekyagqaxakxa** amnek
haxko =exchek ek-yagqaxak-xa a-mnek
where =TC:HOD F.PART-pierce-NM:OB F.POSS-foot
'where did the tire get pierced?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

While *yaqsa* generally selects for imperfective nominalizations, and *háxko* for oblique nominalization forms, the potential form can be substituted for any nominalized form when the verb in question is hypothetical, habitual, or in the future, or otherwise in a semantic context which fits the semantic profile of the potential forms. This is true in content questions, but is also generally true of any construction which uses nominalized verb forms (see §15.1).

(5.94) a. yaqsa sa kexaha **hempasmok**?
yaqsa =sa =kexaha hem-pasm-ok
what =TC:FUT =TC:DUB 1PL.PAT.IRR-help-NM:PO

'Who will help us?'

b. yaqsak sa' **atwohok** xamo' sekto?
yaqsak =sa' a-tw-ohok xamo' sek-t-o
who =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-eat-INTS.NM:PO together 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV
'Who will I eat with?'

c. Háxko **kólnegkenwók** ax'áwa'?
haxko kol-negken-w-ok ax'awa'
where IMPR.IRR-place.PL-ARR-NM:PO palm.frond
'Where are the palm fronds placed?'

d. háxko sa' ko'o peyk apwa'a enxoho?
haxko =sa' ko'o a-xn-es-ek ap-wa'-a =enxoho
where =TC:FUT 1SG 1SG.IRR-sit-VAL-NM:PO M.PART-arrive-NM:IP =TC:CONJ
'Where will I stay when I arrive?'

Furthermore, since both *yaqsa* and *haxko* are just nominal PREDICATES, they do not need nominal COMPLEMENTS, and can instead simply take a topical demonstrative to point to what is being questioned, as in (5.95a). Often, instead of taking simple nouns as COMPLEMENTS, content question word PREDICATES sometimes simply take identificational demonstratives followed by paratactic nominal PREDICATES, as in (5.95b).

(5.95) a. **yaqsa s'e**
yaqsa =s'e
what =PROX
'What is this'

b. **háxko m'a** Juan?
haxko =m'a Juan
where =DMSTR Juan
'where is Juan'

While true verbs are never in the declarative form in content questions, it appears that semiverbs (§8.1) and grammaticalized verb forms like *peyk* (§3.3.4) can occur in the declarative form after question words, as in the examples in (5.96). It is unclear what motivates the distinction, but these "exceptions" actually serve to reinforce the rule, since these declarative forms are not true verbs.

(5.96) a. Háxko **peyk** emhagkok
haxko peyk e-mh-agkok
where INCP.DECL M.IRR-head.to-COMPL.NM:PO
'Where are you going?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Háxko **egwanchek** agwetak nósa?
haxko eg-wanch-ek ag-wet-ak nosa
where 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-see-NM:PO mistól

'Where can we find mistól?'

Schoolbook Grade 1

As seen in some of the examples above, the content question word PREDICATES are often used with TAME clitics, including the dubitative *kexa* or *la'a*, or the conjectural *enx-oho*. They are never used with the interrogative marker *=ya*, and in fact, the word *yaqsa* 'what/which' appears to have been formed historically from the interrogative *ya*. There is no transparent etymology for *háxko*, although Rojas and Curtis (2017) claims it comes from *sekyahaxko*, the meaning of which is not clear.

Finally, since content question words function as PREDICATES and not arguments raised to an initial position, there are not any real syntactic limitations on what kinds of structural positions can be questioned. For example, in (5.97), the item being questioned is the patient of the verb *ayenyekxa'* which is a dependent of the nominalized verb *kélámenyého* 'that y'all want', which itself is either the head of complex nominal COMPLEMENT or a modifier of *énxet* 'man', depending on the interpretation of *yaqsa énxet* (see the next subsection).

(5.97) Yaqsa énxet kélámenyého kéxegke ayenyekxa'

yaqsa enxet kel-a-menye-ho kexegke a-yeny-ekx-a'
what person 2PL.PART-VBLZ-want-NM:IP 2PL 1.IRR-let.go-DUP-NM:PO

'Whom do you all want me to release?'

Question word collocations and compounds

The two base question words also routinely co-occur with nominal elements that in some cases come to function like compound, complex question words. A list of these collocations is given in table 5.2. By collocation, I mean that the two items frequently occur adjacent to one another, but this term does not confer any particular syntactic configuration to this adjacency.

Collocation	Gloss	Identity of second element
Yaqsa aqsok	'what thing'	simple noun 'thing'
Yaqsa énxet	'what person, who'	simple noun 'man/person'
Yaqsa ektaha/ekteme	'why'	imperfective nominalization of *-teh-* 'be/do/say'
Háxko ekwanxa	'how much'	oblique nominalization of *-wokm-* 'arrive at new place'
Háxko ekpayho	'where'	perfective nominalization of *-payh-* 'to be situated'

Table 5.2: Question words collocations and compounds

In some cases, apparent compounds are just common collocations, and the nominal element is clearly the head of a distinct complex noun phrase with the clause from which the question derived acting as a nominal modifier. For example in (5.98a), although the

string *yaqsa aqsok* may appear to function like an interrogative NP 'what thing', the clause actually consists of the PREDICATE *yaqsa* 'is what' and a complex NP *aqsok seyexna* 'thing that I put up high' acting as its semantic "subject". Similarly, although less semantically transparent, is the way the imperfective form of the verb *-teh-* 'be, say, do' is combined in the collocation *yaqsa ektaha* or its temporal indefinite form *yaqsa ektéma* to mean 'why', literally 'its doing/being is what'. In such constructions like (5.98b) the verb being questioned is rendered as nominalized constituent of the nominalized 'be/say/do' verb, such that the "subject" of the sentence is *ektaha apxegakmo* 'the doing/being of his going', coupled with the PREDICATE 'is what'. That *yaqsa ektaha/ektema* does not constitute a constituent phrase is shown in (5.98c), where the TAME clitic *axta* comes between the two elements.

(5.98) *Questioned clauses as modifiers of the nominal COMPLEMENT*

a. **yaqsa aqsok** seyexna
yaqsa aqsok sey-exn-a
what thing 1SG.PART-place.high-NM:IP
'What did I put up there?'

EDP enx044 27:42

b. **yaqsaktáha** apxegakmo?
yaqsa ek-tah-a ap-xeg-akm-o
what F.PART-be-NM:IP M.PART-go-TERM-NM:IP
'Why did you go there?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **yaqsak axta ektéma** mexñama?
yaqsak =axta ek-tem-a m-e-xñ-am-a
what =TC:PST F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP NEG-M.IRR-go-TI-NM:IP
'Why didn't you go?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, with some of these collocations, TAME clitics can appear to the right of the whole collocation rather than to the right of the question word only, suggesting that the two words are being used as a complete compound phrase. There is typically variation regarding where the TAME clitic goes in relation to such collocations, as in (5.99) suggesting that even for those which are optionally rendered as a single constituent phrase, this is not fully lexicalized or set in the language.

(5.99) a. **haxkol'a ekwanxa** so pan
[haxko] =**l'a** ek-w-anxa =so pan
[how] =TC:DUB F.PART-arrive-TERM.NM:OB =PROX bread
'How much is this bread?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **haxko ekwanxal'a** so pan

[haxko ek-w-anxa] **=l'a** =so pan
[how F.PART-arrive-TERM.NM:OB] =TC:DUB =PROX bread

'How much is this bread?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Some of these content question word collocations present substantial puzzles for syntactic analysis, especially *yaqsa énxet* 'what person'. For example, in (5.100a), the simplest analysis is that *yaqsa énxet* is a single noun phrase in the PREDICATE position ('is who'), with the pronoun *xép* as the "subject". Pronouns typically come before the nominal COMPLEMENT (which in this case might otherwise be *énxet*) and are rarely realized as topicalized, appositive predicates (§5.1). Therefore, the simplest analysis is that *xép* is in its expected position as a pronoun, which requires that *yaqsa énxet* be viewed as a single phrase in the PREDICATE position.

(5.100) a. **Yaqsa énxet** xép?
yaqsa enxet xe:p
what person 2SG.M
'Who are you?'

b. **Yaqsa énxet** apketche exche'?
yaqsa enxet ap-ketche exche'
what person M.POS-child 2SG.F
'Whose daughter are you?'

c. **Yaqsa énxet** ma'a Jesé exnek apketche?
yaqsa enxet =ma'a Jese =exnek apk-etche
what person =DMSTR Jesse =TC:HOD M.POSS-child
'Who is the son of Jesse?', literally 'That is what person? He's supposedly the son of Jesse'

d. **Yaqsa axta énxet** apyaqmáseykencha'a?
yaqsa =axta enxet ap-yaqmas-eyk-encha'a
what =TC:PST man M.PART-pursue-TI-AMB.NM:IP
'Who are you pursuing?'

We might take a similar analysis with (5.100b), where the pronoun *exche'* is the "subject' and the predicate is a complex noun phrase *yaqsa énxet apketche* 'which person's child'. In such an analysis, *yaqsa énxet* would not just be a PREDICATE question word, but it would be an embedded noun phrase acting as the possessor of *apketche*. However, (5.100b) could also be structurally comparable to (5.100c), which, given the placement of the demonstrative and PREDICATE-indicating TAME clitic *exnek*, must be treated as two distinct clauses. In (5.100c), there are two clauses *yaqsa énxet ma'a* 'Who's that' and *Jesé exnek apketche* 'he is Jesse's son' — the latter displaying the unusual configuration for possessive NP PREDICATES (see §13.4.4) — and the two clauses together functionally mean 'who is the son of Jesse'.

There is, in fact, no particular reason that (5.100b) could not be analyzed the same way: *yaqsa énxet* 'it is who' and *apketche exche*' 'you are his child'. Such a string of simple predicate clauses would not uncharacteristic for Enxet Sur (see §5.1). On top of this range of analyses, we see that, in (5.100d), a TAME clitic can break up the two elements such that only *yaqsa* is in the PREDICATE position, and the two do not constitute a single unit.

Question word collocations, and the degree to which they constitute cohesive phrases, and especially the degree to which any of them can function as something other than a PREDICATE, are worthy of further investigation.

Responding to content questions

In terms of their syntax, responses to content questions are much more varied in their structure than the content questions themselves. For example, content question responses are one of the most common uses of the second-position constituent focus construction (5.2.4). Especially in this context, it is not uncommon for the null focus construction to be used, as in (5.101), following with a general tendency to front TAME clitics when one clause has some kind of semantic or discursive dependence on what precedes it. The precise local semantics of such responses are interesting, and not entirely transparent to me at this time. Null constituent focus, like null PREDICATES, can be thought of as third person pronouns, and therefore the response in (5.101) has two parts: *exchek émpa'awók* 'I came *from there*' and a right-dislocated *exagkok* 'my house'. Since the answer to the question is the most *new*, and of the most pragmatic importance, it is unclear why it is not in the clause initial position.

(5.101) a. háxko **apkempa'awókxa**
haxko apk-empa'-awo-kxa
where M.PART-start-INTS-NM:OB
'Where are you coming from?'

b. exchek **émpa'awók** exagkok
exchek ey-empa'-awok e-xagkok
TC:HOD 1SG-start-INTS.SCND 1SG.POSS-house
'I just came from my house.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Sometimes, the right dislocation of the "answer" to the question could be motivated by the fact that it requires TAME modification and needs to be a separate predicate, as in (5.102b), but more generally is appears likely that the null focus element in these types of answers in fact has anaphoric reference to the question itself. For example, in (5.102), the question poses an assumed state of affairs — that the interlocutor did not go — and the null focus element in the answer apparently has anaphoric reference to that state of affairs posited by the question.

(5.102) a. Q: **yaqsak axta ektéma** mexñama?
yaqsak =axta ek-tém-a m-e-xñ-am-a
what =TC:PST F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP NEG-M.IRR-go-TI-NM:IP

'Why didn't you go?' literally 'the occurrence of your not going was what?'

b. A: se, axta egkeñamak ma'a **ekmámeka axta**

se // axta egk-eñam-ak =ma'a ek-mámek-a =axta
well // TC:PST F-come.from-SCND =DMSTR F.PART-rain-NM:IP =TC:PST

'Well, because it was raining', literally 'Well, it came from this: it was the raining'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The answer can also mirror the question, but with interesting and important differences. For example, in the question and response pair in (5.103-5.104), repeated from above, the answer places the question in the same position as the question word *yaqsa* in the original question. However, the content question with *yaqsa* gives the verb *ekyepta* 'rip' in the imperfective form, but the answer is given with *sekyepto* in the perfective. The perfective form is more semantically neutral for these participant denoting nominalizations (see §15.4) and thus quite natural for the response, but, as described above, the preferred form for the question is the imperfective form. A semantic or functional account for this alternation could yield some interesting further insight into the nature of the distinction between these two nominalization forms.

(5.103) yaqsa axta **ekyepta** weykcha'áhak

yaqsa =axta ek-yept-a weykcha'áhak
what =TC:PST F.PART-rip-NM:IP book

'Who ripped the page out of the book?'

(5.104) ko'o axta **sekyepto** weykcha'áhak

ko'o =axta sek-yept-o weykcha'áhak
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.PART-rip-INF book

'I ripped the book (It was I who ripped the book)'

EDP enx044 14:58

Finally, such questions can of course be answered with a simple noun or a complex noun phrase which answers the question, but, given the nature of the nominal PREDICATE and the functions of nouns discussed in §5.2.1 and §5.1.3 respectively, such answers are not necessarily "elided", as is their frequent interpretation in many Western languages. Rather, they constitute full clauses.

Question words in other contexts

Where content question words appear in non-initial positions, they are fact-denoting semantic arguments, as in the examples in (5.105). However, it does not appear that they function as constituent nominal COMPLEMENTS, since, as in (5.105b), they can be followed by TAME clitics which mark them as PREDICATES.

(5.105) a. media noche, la una, la tres kexa, **may'ásegkok yaqsa hora**
media noche // las una // las tres =kexa //
middle night // the one // the three =TC:DUB //
m-a-y'ás-egkok yaqsa hora
NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPL.SCND what hour
'midnight, one o'clock, maybe three o'clock... I don't know what time'
EDP enx009 16:04

b. **may'ásegkok haxko exa** apwánxa Lengua, xámok axta
m-a-y'as-egkok haxko =exa ap-wa-n-xa
NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPL.SCND where =TC:DUB M.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB
Lengua // xamok =axta
Lengua // many.DECL =TC:PST
'I don't know how many Enxet there were, there were a lot'
NNE170 13:05

5.4 Directions for further research

One problem with the "string of simple clauses" view of complex constructions in Enxet Sur is that it makes developing syntactic tests rather difficult. If grammatical relations are minimal and semantic relationships are minimally indicated and distinguished by morphosyntactic means, assumptions about structures become somewhat difficult to falsify. Unlike many other topics in this dissertation, which I think would benefit from more data, the issues surrounding basic clause structure in Enxet Sur or related languages has mostly been covered here and in Kalisch (2009), and the way forward, towards a better understanding of EE clause structure, is more about improving the conceptual framework and integrating it better with regional typology and description.

Chapter 6

TAME clitics

6.1 Overview of TAME clitics

In Enxet Sur, the primary means of assigning TAME semantics — short for tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality — to clauses is through a closed class of grammatical morphemes which cliticize to the right edge of PREDICATES. A basic preliminary example of the most common TAME clitic — the past tense marker *axta* — can be seen in (6.1).

(6.1) ekwa'ak **axta** ko'o payho El Estribo

ek-wa'-ak	**=axta**	ko'o	payho	El Estribo
1SG-arrive-DECL	=TC:PST	1SG	place	El Estribo

'I arrived at the location of El Estribo'

EDP enx028 01:56

In this dissertation, this class of items is referred to as TAME clitics, although in previous works on Enlhet-Enenlhet languages, they have been referred to as *predicative particles* due to their role in predication (Kalisch, 2009, van Gysel, 2017). I prefer the term TAME clitics, since it refers to their semantic value and not to a potentially controversial and potentially not-EE-wide claim about their syntactic function. However, the analysis of Enxet Sur syntax presented in this dissertation (see §5.1.3 specifically) asserts a very similar claim to that of these previous sources — that the presence of a TAME clitic inherently indentifies its host as a PREDICATE, and therefore the nucleus of an independent clause.

As such, the semantic values available in the TAME clitic inventory have scope over the whole clause, and typically have relational semantics. Aspectual categories which pertain to the internal temporal values and delineation of the limits of an event, like the temporal indefinite (§3.5), perfectivity (Ch. 15), or the aspectual functions of directional morphemes (Ch. 12), are generally found in the domain of bound verbal morphology. TAME clitics, by contrast, generally indicate semantic values which express the position of the content of the PREDICATE relative to the speaker or interlocutor. This includes true tense, evidentiality, and epistemic and deontic modality. These semantic values express relation to the speaker (or sometimes interlocutor) in ways that aspectual values do not.

For example, the completive or achievement semantics of the bound verbal terminative suffix *-m* (§12.2.4) concerns the internal temporal values of an event, regardless of when that event happened in time and how the speaker feels about the event. By contrast, the epistemic modal values in certain TAME clitics serve to indicate the degree of certainty the speaker has about the truth value of the proposition made by the PREDICATE, and tense values place the event in relation to the time of utterance.

The designation of these markers as clitics is based on both phonological and syntactic features. Phonologically, they do not receive independent stress and do not affect the suprasegmental phonological structure of their host. With segmental phonological processes, they operate within the domain of their host with regard to some processes but not with other. For example, they can undergo apocope (§2.4.2) applied based on a phonological environment which must include the TAME clitic and its host — this yields most of the allomorphy described for individual TAME clitics below. However, the factors which determine changes in vowel quality (§2.4.5) within the phonological word never include clitics, which distinguishes clitics from bound morphology.

Syntactically, they have a fixed position in the clause, immediately after the first lexical word or complex phrase, which is typically the PREDICATE but can be the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT in the case of the constituent focus construction (§5.2.4), which places the declarative verb after instead of before the TAME clitics, as in (6.2). In this way they behave like Wackernagel or Second Position clitics.

(6.2) Yelpa' **exchek** éltexnassásegkok ahaqta'ák

yelpa'	=**exchek** e:l-texn-as-sás-eg-kok	ah-aqta-'ák
mud	=TC:HOD 1SG.PAT.DIST-cover-VAL-VAL-COMPL-SCND	1SG.POSS-eye-PL

'He put mud on my eyes'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Another defining syntactic feature of TAME clitics is the templatic structure which governs their relative ordering. The term "template" is sometimes controversial, but here it is employed simply as a shorthand to refer to the fact that when multiple TAME clitics apply to a single host, the order in which they occur is pre-determined and — for most clitics in the set — invariable. The order of clitics cannot be changed for semantic effects, meaning there is no manipulation of semantic scope which can be achieved through variations in the order of these clitics. However, the existence of obligatory ordering restrictions or a "template", does not indicate that slots in the "template" are always extant and that null markers can fill a slot for particular semantic effect. For example, although there are three mutually exclusive evidential particles forming an evidential "slot" in the TAME clitic template, marking visual, reportative, and conjectural evidentiality, respectively, evidentiality marking is non-obligatory and the absence of one of the three markers does not indicate a fourth null-marked evidentiality value which contrasts with the other three. The TAME clitic template is presented in figure 6.1.

This ordering template is maintained even when other structural elements of the clause change their order, as in constituent focus (§5.2.4) and negation focus (§14.2.4) constructions. Based on the available data, the only region of the TAME template which

=DEG	=Q	=EVIDENTIAL	=DEONTIC	=TENSE	=EPISTEMIC
=agko' [DEG]	*=ya* [Q]	*=nak* [VIS]	*=anna* [CFD]	*=axta* [PST]	*=eyke* [ASR]
		=hek [REP]	*=hana* [PLZ]	*=xeyk* [HOD]	*=agkok* [COND]
		=enxoho [CONJ]		*=sa'* [FUT]	*=eykhe* [FRUST]
				=ñat [RPST]	*=kexaha* [DUB]
					=la'a [DUB]

Figure 6.1: The TAME clitic ordering template and possible clitics for each region

has variable ordering is the handful of epistemic mood markers. These are always to the right of the other categories of clitics, but they are not mutually exclusive of one another like the evidential or tense clitics, and so multiple can occur on a given host. The ordering of epistemic clitics appears somewhat predictable, since any combination of multiple epistemic clitics always occurs in the same order, but this ordering cannot be expressed as a single linear order of all of the epistemic clitics.

The templatic ordering structure treats the TAME clitics like grammaticalized elements in an organized morphological structure as opposed to some more free element like an adverb. These facts, coupled with the fact that speakers generally have difficulty recognizing most TAME clitics or their meaning as independent words, and the fact that many of them are attested in the non-standardized orthographies of Enxet Sur writers as being part of a single orthographic word with their hosts, is why they are designated as clitics — items which are neither truly bound morphology nor independent words.

Their clitic status, however, is complicated by the fact that a couple of different constructions — null PREDICATES (§5.2.1) and null focus constructions (5.2.4) — can allow TAME clitics to take a phonologically null host, and if there are no other lexical items in the clause, as is quite common in such situations, the TAME clitic alone can constitute a full clause. I interpret this not as some kind of failure of a diagnostic test for an *a priori*, cross-linguistic category of CLITIC, but instead see such data as further evidence of the complexity and typological diversity of grammatical morphemes with cliticizing behaviors.

This chapter mostly contains descriptions of the semantics of each of the TAME clitics individually, but this is followed by some information on the way that clusters of TAME clitics behave phonologically and semantically.

6.2 Semantics of TAME clitics

This section describes the semantic values of each TAME clitic. Many TAME clitics have a range of functional or pragmatic values, and this description, to the extent possible, attempts to account for the range of semantic functions for a given clitic by way of a single, core semantic value from which various functions proceed. The TAME clitics are organized here based on their position in the TAME ordering template described in figure 6.1.

6.2.1 Degree marker *agko'*

The closest clitic to the right edge of a clausal head, when present, is always the degree marker *agko'*, which is inflected for the five person and number categories. This clitic typically serves as an emphatic for a limited range for items whose semantics are relatively stative and atelic. It is used for verbs of quantity (6.3a) and quality (6.3b), verbs which indicate internal emotional states or emotional actions of the *-waxok* or 'innermost' (6.3c), property denoting via nominal predicates (6.3d), or adverbs (6.3e). Generally speaking, it is not used for more active verbs — it cannot be applied to a verb like 'hit' to mean something like 'hit very hard'.

(6.3) *Degree clitic agko' with a range of predicates*

a. **apxámok apagko'** axta énxet
ap-xamok =**apagko'** =axta enxet
M-many =TC:M.DEG =TC:PST man
'There were really a lot of people.'

EDP enx028 06:30

b. **ekpeysyam agko'** axta yaphopé ekyetna takhapxet énxet
ek-peys-yam =**agko'** =axta yaphope ek-yetn-a
F.PART-black-TERM.NM:PV =TC:F.DEG =TC:PST cloud F.PART-lie-NM:PV
takhapxet enxet
above.M man
'The clouds sitting above the men were very dark.'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. **xéneykha agko'** axta chá'a awáxok
ø-xen-ey-kha =**agko'** =axta cha'a a-waxok
F-show-TI-AMB.DECL =TC:F.DEG =TC:PST always F.POSS-innermost
'She is always thinking of it.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **ciudad agko'** ma'a
ciudad =agko' =ma'a
city =TC:F.DEG =DMSTR
'It's a big city' (literally 'It's very city-ish)

e. hakte **kaxwók agko'** sa' kólwagkasaxchek teyp kéxegke

hakte kaxwo-ok =agko' =sa' kol-wag-kas-axch-ek teyp
because NOW-DECL =TC:F.DEG =TC:FUT 2PL.IRR-arrive-VAL-MID-POT M.side
kexegke
2PL

'Your redemption is drawing near.'

Luke 21:28

Interestingly, this degree marker is inflected for the core person/number categories, as in table 6.1. Generally speaking, if the degree marker's host is a verb, semiverb, or related noun (items which require pronominal prefixes) the pronominal inflection on the degree marker matches that of the host, as in (6.4).

Person/number/gender	DEGREE clitic
+1.SG	ahagko'
+1.PL	egagko' or egegko'
F	agko'
M	apagko'
2.PL	kélagko'

Table 6.1: DEGREE clitic paradigm

(6.4) Xama ekhem sa' eyke **ag**wethok **egagko'**

xama ekhem =sa' =eyke **ag**-wet-hok=**egagko'**
one day =TC:FUT =TC:ASR 1PL.IRR-see-INTS.NM:PO =TC:1PL.DEG

'But one day we will truly see'

In some contexts, however, the pronominal marking on the degree clitic does not match that of its host. In (6.5), the depersonalized negative existential verb *mékoho* has no person marking, but the degree particle is marked for the first person singular as a kind of semantic argument.

(6.5) Mékoho **ahagko'** eyke ko'o

mekoho =ahagko '=eyke ko'o
NEG.EXIST.INTS =TC:1SG.DEG =TC:ASR 1SG

'I have absolutely nothing'

Notes 2018.8.11

Similarly, in (6.6), the first-person-marked degree marker *ahagko'* takes the noun phrase *Makxawe enxet* 'Enxet from Makxawaya' as its host, even though this noun phrase has no first person pronominal marking. In such instances, a nominal PREDICATE like *Makxawe enxet* can be marked as having a first person semantic "subject" without the need for an overt pronoun.

(6.6) hakte éñamak ko'o Makxawe, ko'o sekteme **Makxawe enxet ahagko'**

hakte e-eñam-ak ko'o Makxawe // ko'o sek-tem-e
because 1SG-come.from-DECL 1SG Makxawaya // 1SG 1SG.PART-be.TI-NM:PV
Makxawe enxet =ahagko'
Makxawaya man =TC:1SG.DEG

'Because I'm from Makxawaya, I'm a true Makxawaya Enxet'

EDP enx028 06:42

In other instances, the degree clitic may not match the gender of a nominal PREDICATE because the nominal predicate is not the "subject" of the sentence. For example, in (6.7), *paye* 'mosquito' is a MASCULINE noun and the nominal PREDICATE of the clause, but the degree marker is not MASCULINE marked. This is because the degree marker agrees with the FEMININE subject ('it, the environment') and not with *paye* as the PREDICATE.

(6.7) paye agko'

paye =agko'
mosquito =TC:F.DEG

'It's very mosquito-y, There's a lot of mosquitoes'

It is common for the degree clitic to accompany the intensive suffix, as in (6.8), although this is certainly not obligatory.

(6.8) awanhek keso laguna nak, **awanhok agko'**

a-wanh-ek keso laguna =nak // a-wanh-ók =**agko'**
F.STAT-large-DECL this lake =TC:VIS // F.STAT-large-DECL.INTS =TC:F.DEG

'This lake here is large, very large'

EDP enx033

6.2.2 Interrogative *ya*

The interrogative marker *ya* serves to question the truth of the element to which is it attached. This can be a verb (6.9), or a noun phrase (6.10)[1].

(6.9) apxegke**ya**?

ap-xeg-ke-**ya**
M-GO-DECL=TC:Q

[1]The use of *ko'o eyeneyk* 'I think' in this example is not predicative, and is used more like an epistemic modal particle than a verb phrase. It is more commonly rendered *ko'onek*, representing the spoken form which has been phonologically reduced. This form is discussed in the section on epistemic modality (§6.2.6). The full form here comes from a textual example, wherein authors sometimes prefer to "undo" what they see as contractions of rapid speech.

'Are you going?'

(6.10) xapop ánek **ya** makham peyk hetnessásekxa'?

xapop ánek =**ya** makham ø-p-eyk he-tn-es-sás-ekx-a'
earth grain =TC:Q still F-start-DECL

'Will you turn me back into dust?'

It is one of the more common TAME clitics found fronted ahead of an irrealis-marked second position verb in the negation focus construction (§14.2.4, either on its own as in (6.11a, or with other TAME clitics, as in (6.11b).

(6.11) *Interrogative ya in Negation Focus constructions*

a. **ya** exñak?
ya e-xñ-ak
TC:Q M.IRR-go-SCND
'You didn't go?'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

b. **yáxchek** ewaktak Pedro?
ya =xchek e-wakt-ak Pedro
TC:Q =TC:HOD M.IRR-return-NEG Pedro
'Has Pedro not returned?'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

The interrogative also has a distinct initial form with a dummy *ke-*, likely similar to *ke-/cha-* elements which allow other clitics to occur utterance initially (see §7.4, §16.2). This initial form, unlike the negation focus form described above, is used exclusively for null PREDICATES, a formal distinction not seen in any other TAME clitic. The formal distinction may have to do with the fact that the negation focus construction historically had an overt negator morpheme ahead of the preverbal TAME clitics, whereas the *keya* form has always had a null host, although, again, the dummy *ke-* does not show up with other TAME clitics in null PREDICATE constructions.

(6.12) **keya** apxega axta Filadelfia xa?

keya ap-xeg-a =axta Filadelfia =xa
TC:Q M.IRR-go-NM:PV =TC:PST Filadelfia =DMSTR

'Is that the one who went to Filadelfia?'

EDP enx043

(6.13) **keya** camión apagkok sekweta axta hem axta?

keya camion apagkok sek-wet-a =axta hem =axta
TC:Q truck M.POSS 1SG.PART-see-NM:PV =TC:PST day =TC:PST

'Is that his car that I saw yesterday?', literally 'His car is this? It was what I saw yesterday.

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

6.2.3 Evidential particles

The first major TAME slot, or set of mutually exclusive TAME clitcs, is referred to here as a group as *evidential markers.* Evidentiality is the grammaticalized indication of the source of information supporting the proposition being made (Cornillie, 2009). Although the source of evidence for a proposition often implies an epistemic stance — how strongly the speaker believes the statement to be true — the *evidential* label indicates that the primary semantic function of these markers is the representation of evidence and epistemic access, not speaker judgements about truth value.

Enxet Sur has three mutually exclusive evidential markers, listed in table 6.2. While the reportative *hek* functions like a fairly straightforward evidential marker, primarily indicating the evidence for propositions, the other two evidential markers have a more complex web of functions and semantic properties which require a more nuanced description than these basic labels would entail. Each is described in detail in subsections below.

Evidential marker	Gloss	Evidential Function
nak	VIS	accessible at present
hek/*exnek*	REP	reportative, second-hand information
enxoho	CONJ	conjectural

Table 6.2: Enxet Sur evidential categories

Unlike some other languages of Lowland South America, evidential particles in Enxet Sur are *not* required elements of the clause or verb and are omitted more often than they are included. Their omission does not indicate some particular null-marked evidential category.

Presently accessible *nak*

Enxet Sur *nak* is the second most frequently used TAME clitic in the corpus, after the past tense marker *axta*. It has a range of apparent functions which present as visual evidentiality (6.14a), present tense (6.14b), spatial/temporal deixis (6.14c), and anaphoric definiteness (6.14d), respectively. Each of these functional descriptions captures only a portion of its general semantic value.

(6.14) a. *Context: while taking honey combs out of a tree trunk, speaker sees more inside*
wa' **kémexche' nak** makham
wa' k-emexch-e' =**nak** makham
so F-lack-DECL =TC:VIS still

'Look, there's still more'

EDP enx026 20:13

b. háweya aptaxno **apyetna nak** so?
hawe =ya ap-taxn-o ap-yetn-a =**nak** =so
NEG =TC:Q M.PART-enter-NM:PV M.PART-lie-NM:IP =TC:VIS =PROX
'It's not your shirt that's lying right here?'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. *Context: Walking through woods, explaining why forest burning is not practiced in indigenous communities*
hakte **naxma nak** segmésso anhan negko'o mámeye
hakte naxma =**nak** seg-m-e:s-so =anhan negko'o mámeye
because forest =TC:VIS 1PL.PART-have-CAUS-PART =AND 1PL rain
'because this forest is also what gives us rain'

EDP enx005 26:22

d. negmaha negko'o keso, keso **aqsok nak** se'e
neg-ma-ha negko'o keso // keso aqsok=**nak** =se'e
1PL-have-AMB.DECL 1PL this // this thing =TC:VIS =PROX
'We use this, this thing here'

EDP enx001 04:58

The common semantic denominator of these functions is that *nak* indicates that both speaker and interlocutor have some kind of epistemic access to its host. This is in many ways similar to what Evans, Bergqvist, and San Roque (2018a) refers to as *engagement* — grammaticalized simultaneous indications of presumptions of speaker and interlocutor knowledge. While other languages have been described as having robust, symmetrical engagement paradigms (like the Colombian language Andoke, see Landaburu 2005), it is not clear that such a system exists in Enxet Sur. Rather, I suggest that the seemingly disparate uses of *nak* as both visual evidential and something akin to a definite marker derive from a single set of semantic specifications regarding the use of *nak*:

- The host of *nak* is something that is accessible or "present" at time of utterance — either in physical space or conceptual/discursive space
- *Nak* is an assertion of shared epistemic access to the host between speaker and interlocutor

Thus, while *nak* does indicate something approaching evidentiality, in that it regards the epistemic means by which a speaker has ground to make a statement, it indicates more than simply the source of information, as is the traditional understanding of *evidentiality*.

The set of semantic parameters given above yields the various local functions we see *nak* being used for, especially when we account for certain variations in function and

meaning produced by the difference between TAME marking on propositions versus referents. For example, the notion of visual evidentiality is most prominent for non-embedded propositions. In (6.15), the proposition 'you went to the beach' is marked with *nak* because the evidence for the statement — a picture uploaded to the text chat where the conversation is occurring — is presently accessible to both parties.

(6.15) *Context: In a text chat, interlocutor sends a picture of himself at the beach, prompting this reply*
Nekha watsam nak axteke apmahagkok

nekha watsam =**nak** =axta =eyke ap-maha-gk-ok
beside.F river =TC:VIS =TC:PST =TC:ASR M-GO-COMPL-SCND

'Looks like you went to the beach'

Whatsapp Notes

Other examples of *nak* with the past tense marker *axta*, as in (6.16-6.18), reinforce two important points. First the co-occurence of *nak* with the past tense *axta* clearly precludes any possibility of analyzing *nak* as a present tense marker, as is the analysis in Powys (1929) and Rojas and Curtis (2017). Second, while the proposition is assigned past tense, in these situations the evidence for the proposition occurs at the time of utterance. This is especially clear with accompanying expressions which establish joint attention, like *kóllano* 'look!' in (6.17).

(6.16) *Context: Speaker shows off an old photo of Enxet in a school house in Makxawaya c. 1930*
indígena, akkexxegamchek nak

indigena apk-el-xeg-am-chek =nak
indigenous M-DIST-GO-TI-DECL =TC:VIS

'The indigenous, they would go [to school]'

EDP enx037 08:19

(6.17) Kóllano, yásekhoho apagko' **nak axta** eykel'a Lázaro xa!

kól-lan-o // y-ásekh-oho =apagko' =**nak** =**axta** =eyke
2PL.IRR-look-INTS // M.IRR-love-INTS.NM:PO =TC:M.DEG =TC:VIS =TC:PST =TC:ASR
=l'a Lazarus =xa
=TC:DUB Lazarus=DMSTR

'Look! He loved Lazarus very much!'

TA John 11:35

There is a related but somewhat different usage where *nak* is used in various subjunctive-like constructions when it becomes clear to a speaker that a different set of choices or circumstances would have been preferable, as in (6.18-6.19). This is a functional extension beyond first-hand evidential semantics, in that the proposition is not actually known, but supposed based on contextual information. That such instances use *nak* rather than the conjectural *enxoho* may yield a more emphatic interpretation, emphasizing that the assumption being made is obvious or clear based on the context of the utterance.

(6.18) Táse' **nak axta** eykhe ayaqpássekxak ma'a keñe ataqmelwók

ø-tás-e' =**nak** =**axta** =eykhe a-yaqpás-sekx-ak=ma'a keñe
F-good-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:PST =TC:FRUS 1SG.IRR-bathe-DUP-NM:PO =DMSTR
a-taqmel-w-o:k
after 1SG.IRR-good-ARR-INTS-NM:PO

'It would have been better had we gone to bathe there and then been clean'

TA 2 Kings 5:11

(6.19) wántek **nak** xeykhela koo amonye exchek ekxega

w-ánt-ek =**nak** =xeyk =eykhe =l'a ko'o a-mony-e'
1SG.IRR-mount-NM:PO =TC:VIS =TC:HOD =FRUST =TC:DUB 1SG F.STAT-ahead-DECL
=exchek ek-xeg-a
=TC:HOD F.PART-go-PART

'I should have gotten on the one (bus) that went first'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

With verbal predicates, the evidential-like function only really extends to physical evidence. While the engagement-like semantics described above might allow for discursive evidence rather than physical evidence — that is, using *nak* to mark a proposition being made based on information gained in the course of a conversation — no such usage has yet been found. This could, however, be a result of limited conversational data and such uses may in fact be possible, or even common.

With nominal predicates, *nak* can function as both physical and discursive evidential. With regard to the former, it is attached to items which refer to objects or locations that are physically present in the interactive space (6.20), as well as the more general present location (6.21) and expressions referring to the present time (6.22). In this way, its demonstrative-like value is largely deictic and cislocative — referring to the here and now. As such, it often co-occurs in this function with proximal or medial deictic demonstratives. Again, although in such instances *nak* has a semantic value similar to that of a demonstrative, it is distinctly a marker of nominal TAME, not a demonstrative. There is no single TAME marker which works contrastively to establish referents as occurring outside of the here and now.

(6.20) agyepkónek hana agketmok se'e **kañe nak**

ag-yepkon-ek =hana ag-ketm-ok =se'e kañe =**nak**
1PL.IRR-try-NM:PO =TC:PLS 1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO =PROX inside =NAK

'Let's try to look in here'

EDP enx025 10:57

(6.21) hakte átehek nahan kaxwok wokmek chá'a cuarenta grado **keso yókxexma nak se'e**

hakte a-ateh-ek =nahan kaxwok ø-wok-m-ek cha'a cuarenta
because F.STAT-hot-DECL =AND now F-arrive-TERM-DECL always forty
grado keso yokxexma =nak =se'e
degrees this country =TC:VIS =PROX

'Because its also hot now, it gets up to forty degrees (C) in this area

EDP enx028 05:15

(6.22) ekwet'ak han nélpaxqexchek waley **keso kaxwo nak se'e**

ek-wet'-ak =han nel-paxq-exch-e' waley keso kaxwo =nak
1SG-see-DECL =AND 1PL.PART.DIST-mix-MID-NM:PV Paraguayan this now =TC:VIS
=se'e
=PROX

'And I see how we've integrated with the Paraguayans these days'

EDP enx047 02:10

This cislocative spatial/temporal deixis feature can be applied to present referents even when the larger clause or proposition is non-present, for example when the larger clause is in the past tense, as in (6.23).

(6.23) hakte méko axta anhan waley keso yókxexma nak

hakte meko =axta =anhan waley keso yokxexma =**nak**
because NEG.EXIST =TC:PST =AND Paraguayan this country =TC:VIS

'because there weren't any Paraguayans in **this country** back then.'

EDP enx047 01:47

While *nak* can be used with deictic demonstrative-like semantics in some cases, it is in fact much more frequently used with nominal predicates to indicate anaphoric definiteness of the noun in predicate position. Anaphoric definiteness refers to semantically

indicating that a referent is 'the X that we are talking about'[2] The clearest examples of this process occur when a speaker introduces a new discourse referent — a new participant or object in a story — and then refers back to the same participant or object with an NP marked with *nak*. For example in the contiguous examples (6.24a-6.24b), the speaker introduces a character, Simon Recalde, and then refers back to him with *enxet nak* 'it is the man (that we're talking about)'.

(6.24) a. xama ekhem axta appaqmeteyncha'a Simon Recalde

xama ekhem =axta ap-paqmet-ey-ench-a'-a Simon Recalde
one day =TC:PST M.PART-speak-TI-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP Simon Recalde

'One day, Simon Recalde spoke to people'

b. lider egagkok axta negko'o xa **énxet nak**

lider egagkok =axta negko'o =xa enxet =**nak**
leader 1PL.POSS =TC:PST 1PL =DMSTR man =TC:VIS

'this man was our leader'

EDP enx028 02:21

In (6.25), after describing how to make a fire fan, a school text then refers back to the fan in a question using *nak*.

(6.25) *Context: School text describes the production of a fire fan, followed by questions for students to answer*
Yaqsa elanamáxche' **negaléwasso nak táxa**?

yaqsa el-an-am-axch-e' neg-alew-as-so =**tc:vis** taxa
what F.PART.DIST-make-MID-NM:PV 1PL.PART-light.up-CAUS-NM:PV =NAK fire

'What is the fire fan made of?'

Schoolbook Grade 4

In (6.26a), the speaker introduces 'Paraguayans' as a participant, and then later refers back to these Paraguayans using *nak* in (6.26b).

(6.26) a. waley sa' élpaxqeykpok

waley =sa' e-el-paxqey-kp-ok
Paraguayan =TC:FUT M.IRR-DIST-mix-MID.M-NM:PO

'[He said] you will integrate with the Paraguayns'

b. ekwet'ak xa **waley nélpaxqamaxche' nak** negko'o

[2]The use of tense particles as discourse and coreferential markers is referenced for Enlhet Norte in Kalisch (2009) and for Sanapaná in van Gysel (2017), and a similar process occurs for this evidential marker in Enxet Sur.

ek-wet'-ak =xa waley nel-paxq-am-axch-e' =**nak**
1SG-see-DECL =DMSTR Paraguayan 1PL.PART.DIST-mix-TI-MID-NM:PV =TC:VIS
negko'o
1PL

'I see the Paraguayans we've integrated with'

EDP enx047 18:48

Reportative *hek*

The marker *hek*/*exnek* is a marker of secondhand or reported knowledge. This can be both in the form of reported speech or as general knowledge not known by first-hand experience.

(6.27) a. sakhem hek xeyk katsapok ekhem
sakhem =hek =xeyk ka-tsap-ok ekhem
today =TC:REP =TC:HOD F.IRR-die-NM:PO sun

'They say there's going to be an eclipse today' (literally 'the sun will die today')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hakte apmenyeyk **hek** xeyk etnehek aptáwa'
hakte ap-meny-eyk =**hek** =xeyk e-tneh-ek
because M.STAT-want/like-DECL =TC:REP =TC:HOD M.IRR-be-NM:PO
ap-táwa'
M.POS-spouse

'Because supposedly he wants to make you his wife'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. naqsoya apyentama exnek apketche Nepyeyam?
naqso-ya ap-yentam-ac=exnek ap-ketche Nepyeyam
certain-TC:Q M.PART-lead-NM:IP =TC:REP M.POSS-child Asunción

'Is is certain that he took his son to Asunción?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. melxeghek hek énxet ekmasextoho nak apmopwanchaa castellano
mel-xeg-hek=hek e:nxet ek-ma-sext-oho
NEG.M.DIST-go-NEG.NM:PO =TC:REP person
=nak ap-m-ap-wan-cha'a
F.PART-have-few-INTS.NM:PV =TC:VIS
castellano
M.PART-have-M.STAT-can-PL.PART Spanish

'The people with little Spanish ability will not go'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The form of the reportative marker is variable based on whether the word to which it attaches is vowel or consonant-final.[3] This is an example of the h/xn alternation described in §2.4.8.

(6.28) ewápakha **exnek** xeyk tat'a

e-wápak-ha =exnek =xeyk tat'a
M.IRR-twist.neck-AMB.NM:PO =TC:REP =TC:HOD chicken

'They want you to twist the chicken's neck'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

With a null anaphoric host (§5.2.1), the reportative can be used for a type of quotative construction, as in (6.29).

(6.29) keso selhagkawo ko'o s'e, exnek katnehek yexem

keso sel-hagk-awo ko'o =s'e // exnek
this 1SG.PAT.DIST.PART-obscured-INTS.NM:IP 1SG =PROX // =TC:REP
ka-tn-ehek yexem
F.IRR-do/be-NM:PO eel

'Here I am with the cloudy view, says the eel'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Conjectural *enxoho*

The particle *enxoho* is generally a marker of conjectural evidentiality, meaning that the truth of a statement is based on contextual reasoning or inference rather than first or second hand information. A single noted example of its use in a null predicate construction (§5.2.1) in (6.30) is a good demonstration of its more abstract semantics outside of particular constructions.

(6.30) *Context: The consultant, Asunción Rojas, translates 'her hair is long' as* ahóxekcha'ak áwa', *and I ask if the non-plural version of this sentence,* ahóxek áwa' *could be used contrastively to refer to a single hair being long. He laughs, and responds with the following.*

enxoho
TC:CONJ

[3]Powys also reports an alternation between <hik> and <ithnik>.

'Could be...'

Skype Notes 2020.6.20

Its use in isolation like in (6.30) indicates the speaker thinks something could be true, but that their assessment is based off of an imagined or presumed situation, rather than a real world one they have experienced. Rarely, however, is its use so obviously an explicit declaration of conjecture. It has been described as both an interrogative particle (Powys, 1929, Rojas and Curtis, 2017) and as a particle of potential or hypothetical mood, translated as something like 'in the case of' (Rojas and Curtis, 2017), and a number of other uses are identified here, but these descriptions all fit within the conjectural evidential semantics of the marker.

Its use as something of an interrogative particle can be seen in (6.31). Most of the time, when it is used in a simple polar question like in (6.31), there is some implication that the speaker expects the answer to be 'yes'. In fact, *enxoho* can take this question function with a negated verb if the expected answer is 'no'. In this way, the literal semantics of such phrases is something like 'I assume this to be true', or 'it's like this, right?' rather than a strict interrogative.

(6.31) apwetek enxoho mokwa?

ap-wet-ek =enxoho mokwa
M-raw-DECL =TC:CONJ peanut

'Are the peanuts raw?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It is commonly used for content questions as well, as in (6.32). However, because content questions lack an actual proposition which *enxoho* can suppose the truth value of, it is unclear how content questions with *enxoho* differ from other pragmatically interrogative markers in this context.

(6.32) **háxko enxoho axta** ekwesey kelán'a ekxegkessamo axta katsapok?

haxko =**enxoho** =**axta** ek-wesey kelan'a ek-xeg-kes-samo =axta
how =TC:CONJ =TC:PST F.PART-name woman F.PART-go-VAL-INTS.NM:PV =TC:PST
ka-tsap-ok
F.IRR-die-NM:PO

'What was the name of the woman who almost died?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Its use in indicating a hypothetical situation can be seen in (6.33), where it is used on hypothetical adverbial clauses (§15.2.3) with an 'if/when' feel, as in (**??**). Another TAME clitic *agkok* is commonly used for conditionals as well. The difference between the two is that *enxoho* is used for more general or hypothetical situations, while *agkok* refers to specific instances.

(6.33) malwataksek ko'o alanok **sekweta enxoho yáteyem**

m-a-l-wat-aks-ek ko'o a-lan-ok sek-wet-a
NEG-1SG-DIST-short-VAL-NEG 1SG 1SG.IRR-look-INTS.NM:PO 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP
=enxoho yáteyem
=TC:CONJ yacaré

'When I see a caiman, I don't stop looking at it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Enxoho is also the evidential frequently used when referring to general knowledge or things which are done regularly, as in (6.34). Here, 'making food' is something that of course occurs all the time, but *enxoho* is used because the event referenced is not a particular, specific event, but rather an event type.

(6.34) xamok témakxa aksok nelmeykha negko'o, yaqwayam **enxoho** anlának negko'o nento

ø-xámok ek-té-m-akxa aqsok nel-m-eykha
F-many F.PART-be/do-TI-NM:OB thing 1PL.DIST.PART-have-AMB.NM:PV.PART
negko'o yaqwayam=**enxoho** an-lán-ak negko'o nen-t-o
1PL for =TC:CONJ 1PL.IRR-make-NM:PO 1PL

1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV

'There are lots of kinds of things we use in order to prepare our food'

EDP enx005 00:51

Rojas and Curtis (2017) reports that the conjectural *enxoho* is often interchangeable with the dubitative *la'a*, but the two are also commonly found together. For example, *enxoho* is often combined with the dubitative *l'a* when making guesses about someone's intentions, as in (6.35).

(6.35) apmeyakxeyk axta néten xápop yaqwayam **enxohol'a** ennapakpok

ap-mey-akx-eyk =axta neten xapop yaqwayam =enxoho =l'a
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST above earth for =TC:CONJ =TC:DUB
en-nap-akp-ok
M.IRR.DIST-kill.many-MID.M-NM:PO

'He went to the high ground in order to fight'

EDP enx006 04:00

6.2.4 Deontic modality

Deontic modality is a cover term for features which indicate obligation, intention, or notions about the way things should be. The particles described in this section are not terribly common — at least within the available corpus — but they are not considered archaic or out of use by speakers. Unlike evidential or tense clitics, they do not constitute such a clear 'slot', although their relative position is quite clear.

Pleasative *hana*

The particle *hana* is used almost exclusively with verbs in the imperative form as a form of politeness in commands. Enxet Sur has no other formalized indirect request or command form (like 'could you do this'), so the use of this particle is the only morphosyntactic means of making a command politely. It is marked in the gloss as PLZ. Because of the paucity of conversational data in the corpus, examples of this clitic only come from the Rojas and Curtis dictionary. Anecdotally, however, I can attest to its frequent use in conversation.

(6.36) a. heyaqhasses **hana** popyet
he-aqh-as-ses =**hana** popyet
1SG.STAT.IRR-kill-VAL-VAL =TC:PLZ deer
'Do me the favor of killing the deer.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hentegyés **hana** ka'a
hen-tegy-es =**hana** kaʔa
1PL.STAT.IRR-search-VAL =TC:PLZ yerba.mate
'Get us some yerba mate'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. éta **hana** apmonye
e-eta =hana ap-monye
M.IRR-see =TC:PLZ M.POSS-front
'Look first, please'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The only simulataneous TAME marking with *hana* is the future marker *sa'*, as in (6.37). This is expected, since it is the only other TAME clitic which occurs with imperative verbs. Like most uses of *sa'* with imperatives (see §6.2.5 below), when a request is made, it implies that the requested action does not take place immediately.

(6.37) hẽlsantagkas **hana sa'** negko'o radio egagkok
heg-el-s-ant-agkas =**hana** =**sa'** negko'o radio egagkok
1PL.STAT.IRR-DIST-carry-CISL-VAL =TC:PLZ =TC:FUT 1PL radio 1PL.POSS

'Please bring us our radio'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In one attested example, (6.38), *hana* is be used outside of an imperative context, but it still appears to have a fairly deontic meaning, as in "I should go do that". It is unclear if this is actually typical and productive, however, and if it is the semantic value of this clitic might need to be reevaluated.

(6.38) wahaxnagkok **hana** seknaqtósso yaqsak kexaha ekwet'a

wa-haxnagk-ok =hana sek-naq-tósso yaqsak =kexaha
1SG.IRR-attend.to-NM:PO =TC:PLZ 1SG.PART-DIST-domestic.animal what =TC:DUB
ek-wet'-a
F.PART-see-NM:IP

'I'm going to see what my dogs have seen'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Counterfactual desidertative *anna*

The TAME clitic *anna* is labeled here the 'counterfactual desiderative', because it is used to express a desire for something that is counter the actual state of affairs. It is not simply a counterfactual marker, and both the counterfactual and desiderative semantic conditions must hold. Several examples are given in (6.39). This marker is not attested in any of the natural speech portion of the corpus, so all examples come from text sources or direct elicitation.

(6.39) a. katnoho **anna** l'a negmasse

ka-tn-oho =anna =l'a negmasse
F.IRR-be/say-INTS.NM:PO =TC:CFD =TC:DUB disease

'I hope he gets sick'

Skype notes

b. emhok **annal'a** exagkok

e-mh-ok =anna =l'a e-xagkok
M.IRR-head.to-COMPL.NM:PO =TC:CFD =TC:DUB 1SG.POSS-house

'You should have come to my house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. kaxho **anna** l'a ápetek yaqwayam antawagkok

ka-x-ho =anna =l'a a-apetek yaqwayam
F.IRR-sit-INTS.NM:PO =TC:CFD =TC:DUB F.POSS-flesh for
an-taw-agk-ok
1PL.IRR-eat-COMPL-NM:PO

'If only we had some meat to eat'

Tense clitic	Function
axta	pre-hodiernal past
xeyk/exchek	hodiernal past
sa'	future
ñat	remote past

Table 6.3: Tense clitics

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. etnoho **annal'a** apyamhagko
e-tn-oho =anna =l'a ap-yamhagk-o
M.IRR-be/say-INTS.NM:PO =TC:CFD =TC:DUB M.PART-skinny-NM:PV
'If only you were skinny'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. wanát xak la'a **anna** colectivo
w-anát =xakla'a =anna colectivo
1SG.IRR-mount =TC:HOD.DUB =TC:CFD bus
'I should have gotten on the bus'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Anna appears to exclusively co-occur with the dubitative marker *la'a*, which expresses that the truth value of the proposition made by the PREDICATE which hosts it is fundamentally unknowable — quite fitting for a counterfactual. Similarly, all attested examples are with irrealis form verbs.

6.2.5 Tense particles

The other clear 'slot' of mutually exclusive TAME clitics is the set of **tense** clitics, listed in table 6.3. Here, tense is defined using the definition in Comrie (1985), in which tense is a semantic category which restricts the temporal location of an event or state relative to the utterance time (or a relative topic time distinct from utterance time). Enxet Sur (and presumably EE languages in general) are unusual in the region in having markers of true tense, rather than relying on aspectual, evidential, or directional markers which imply relative temporal location (see Bertinetto 2013, Campbell, Díaz, and Ángel 2020, p. 306). The description of tense markers here is relatively short, due to the fact that the tense semantics and functions of these TAME clitics is very much cross-linguistically typical and, frankly, not particularly noteworthy.

The four particles described here are distributionally exclusive of one another - they cannot co-occur, and they occur in the same relative location in the clitic template. However, as has been mentioned previously, the absence of a given TAME clitic or an unfilled slot in the clitic template does not necessarily indicate or encode for a specific zero-marked category. Tense markers, like any TAME clitic, are completely non-obligatory and their absence does not in-and-of-itself indicate a particular tense for the utterance.

Past tense *axta*

The past-tense marker *axta* is the single most common orthographic word in the Enxet Sur corpus used for this dissertation. It marks the pre-hodiernal past, or past tense before "today". In the glossing scheme in this dissertation, this is labeled simply TC:PST. A series of examples from running speech which use the past tense *axta* clitic are given in (6.40), but this marker is attested in hundreds of examples across this dissertation.

(6.40) *Context: Describing the founding of the village of Palo Santo/San Carlos*

a. sókmek **axta** tegma, póte, kélyenmaga
   só-km-ek =axta tegma póte kélyenmaga
   carry-TERM-DECL =TC:PST house axe sheet.metal
   'We brought housing supplies, axes, sheet metal'

b. ektémakxa **axta** nenxegayam negko'o
   ek-tém-akxa =axta nen-xegay-am negko'o
   F.PART-be/say.TI-NM:OB =TC:PST 1PL.PART-go-TERM.NM:PV 1PL
   'That was how we came here'

c. awanhek **axta** mameye náxet ámay
   a-wanh-ek =axta mameye náxet ámay
   F.STAT-large-DECL =TC:PST rain F.middle road
   'There was a lot of rain in the middle of the road'

d. nenténchek **axta** negko'o náxet ámay
   nen-tén-chek =axta negko'o náxet ámay
   1PL-sleep-DECL =TC:PST 1PL F.middle road
   'We slept in the middle of the road'

EDP enx028 01:26

Hodiernal *xeyk*

The hodiernal marker *xeyk*[4] (or EXCHEK after a verb) is most frequently used to indicate that an event has happened earlier in the day. The example in (6.41) is from a bushwalk video. Earlier in the video, we had come across a spot where boar footprints could be seen heading from the woods out into the road, and upon returning to the same road, the speaker refers to that previous event (seeing the boar footprints) using this hodiernal *xeyk*.

(6.41) keso ámay, ámay negmeyákxo, negwet'ak **xeyk** aptepa pomap

[4]Powys (1929) writes this as <thlaik>, the vowel difference representing the diachronic phonological change of [aj] to [e:]. Some older speakers use the form *xak*, which is more similar to the Enlhet Norte form *lhaak*.

keso ámay // ámay neg-meyá-kx-o // neg-wet'-ak =**xeyk**
this road // road 1PL.PART-go-DUP-PART // 1PL-see-DECL =TC:HOD
ap-tép-a pomap
M.PART-go.out-NM:IP boar

'This road, the road we are heading back to, we saw that the boars come out onto it'

EDP enx009 18:01

Hodiernal can extend to talking about the previous night, if one is speaking during the day, as in (6.42). Anecdotally, it does not seem to be appropriate to use *xeyk* to talk about the previous night if one is speaking at night, but there are no recordings done at night with which to confirm this.

(6.42) ekyekxágkek **xeyk** axta'a **exchek**

ek-yekx-ág-kek =**xeyk** axta'a =**exchek**
1SG-vomit-EXTS-DECL =TC:HOD night =TC:HOD

'I was throwing up last night'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

van Gysel (2017) describes the corresponding Sanapaná marker *ɬke* as a marker of *phasal aspect*, unlike the true tense markers. This description is intended to account for a distribution which marks both past and future events within the a 24-hour window. In Enxet Sur, however, it is not generally used to indicate events which are imminent, likely because Enxet Sur has grammaticalized the verb *-pe'-* 'to start' as an incipient marker (§3.3.4).

In most other EE languages, the form of the hodiernal marker is *xak*, and this form seems to have been preserved in a couple of Enxet Sur expressions. Rojas and Curtis (2017) records *Xak xak xak!* as an exclamation used when a goal is imminent in a soccer game, which seems related to the 'hodiernal future' which is a possible use of this clitic in some other EE languages. The fact that it is a conservative form, however, suggests that this is a fixed, lexicalized phrase. The hodiernal marker in Enxet Sur is only, productively, a marker of the hodiernal past tense.

Formally, the hodiernal could be thought of as having an underlying form //xeyek//. If it occurs after a vowel, the first vowel of this clitic deletes (§2.4.2), and the //y// becomes [ch] (§2.2.1), giving surface [xchek] (orthographic *exchek*, see §2.3.1 on dummy vowels). Otherwise, the //eye// sequence reduces to a long [e:] (§2.4.6), orthographically *xeyk* (§2.3.1).

Future tense *sa'*

The TAME clitic *sa'* is a fairly cut-and-dry indicator of the future tense — it denotes that something has not yet happened. As such, it almost exclusively occurs with potential

form nominalizations of verbs (§3.4.2), which carry irrealis pronominal prefixes that correspond to the hypothetical and non-realis nature of future events. Some basic examples are given in (6.43), although, like the past tense above, the semantics here are not peculiar in any way and there are hundreds of examples throughout this dissertation.

(6.43) a. wa' antexek **sa'** se'e
wa' an-tex-ek =sa' =se'e
so 1PL.IRR-enter-NM:PO =TC:FUT =PROX
'We are going to go in here'
EDP enx009 03:14

b. waley **sa'** élpaxqeykpok
waley =sa' él-paxqey-kp-ok
Paraguayan =TC:FUT M.IRR.DIST-mix-MID.M-NM:PO
'You will intermix with the Paraguayans'
EDP enx047 01:59

c. wa' keso, katyepok **sa'** ekyexna, anséta' nempeywa negko'o énxet
wa' keso // ka-tyep-ok =sa' ek-yexna // anséta'
so this // F.IRR-emerge-NM:PO =TC:FUT F.PART-fruit // passionfruit
nem-peywa negko'o énxet
1PL.PART-words 1PL Enxet
'Ah this, its fruit will come out soon, *anséta'* (passionfruit) is out word for it'
EDP enx001 04:28

When used with verbs in the imperative form, it typically indicates some intended temporal distance between utterance time and when the requested action is intended to take place. For example, in (6.44), the first example with *sa'* indicates something that, if it does happen, will take place later on, but requests without *sa'* tend to indicate that something should be done immediately.

(6.44) a. *Context: Said from one boy to another as they are going to sleep*
héxatekhes **sa'** apmaka enxoho yegmen
hé-xatekh-es =sa' ap-mak-a =enxoho yegmen
1SG.PAT.IRR-get.up-VAL =TC:FUT M.PART-want-NM:IP =TC:CONJ water
'Wake me up if you want water'
EDP enx006 02:05

b. héhanches hana sekto
hé-hanch-es =hana sek-t-o
1SG.PAT.IRR-cook-VAL =TC:PLZ 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV
'Please cook me some food'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Remote past tense *ñat*

The particle *ñat* is used for the remote past, typically before the lifetime of the speaker, but older speakers may use it to refer to their childhood or young adulthood. For example, the speaker in (6.45) was in his 90's at the time of recording, and uses the remote past marker when referring to his work as a cowhand as a young man.

(6.45) Misión í, ekeso élyaqtamakxa **ñat** wey m'a

Mision i // ekeso e:l-yaqt-am-akxa **=ñat** wey =m'a
Mision i // this F.DIST.PART-graze-TI-NM:OB =TC:RPST buffalo =DMSTR

'Misión í, this is where the buffalo grazed back then'

EDP enx047 33:36

Most often, however, it is found in combination with the reportative marker *hek*, as events which occur before the lifetime of the speaker cannot come from first-hand knowledge. The text in López Ramírez (1996) frequently uses *hekñat* to refer to actions in the remote past, like in 6.46. The first part of López Ramírez (1996) is made up of stories from the pre-mission and early mission periods, in a time a half century before the birth of the writer, based on stories told to the writer by an Enxet man named Leon Chavez.

(6.46) Tásek **hekñat** amyep, xámok **hekñat** pehéye, sappo, kenhan latsehe, kenhan mók aksok

∅-tás-ek =hek =ñat amyep // ∅-xámok=hek=ñat pehéye sappo
F-good-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST plantation // F-many =TC:REP =TC:RPST
kenhan latsehe kenhan mók aqsok
potato manioc and corn and other.F thing

'The plantation was good, there was lots of potato, manioc, corn, and other things'

López Ramírez (1996)

Occasionally, sources use both the combined reportative/remote past and the simple remote past in alternation, as in (6.47) below. There are three clauses, each marked with a remote past marker, but only two with the form *hekñat* to also mark reportative evidentiality. The final clause *tásek ñat se'e* 'this was good' is not marked with the reportative evidential marker, perhaps because it is the speaker's (writer's) judgement or opinion of traditional clothing, not second-hand information.

(6.47) Kenhan méko hekñat apáwa énxet nano', kenhan kelán'ák elyekmeykha hekñat popyet apyempe'ek, tásek **ñat** se'e

Particle	Function
la'a	dubitative: unknowable
kexaha	dubitative: someone else likely knows
eyke	assertive, counter to expectations
eykhe	frustrative
agkok	conditional
ko'ónek	'I think'

Table 6.4: Epistemic modal TAME clitics and their functions

kenhan méko =hek =ñat ap-páwa énxet nano' // kenhan
and NEG.EXIST =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.POSS-clothes Enxet old.time // and
kelán-'ák el-yekm-eykha =hek =ñat popyet
woman-PL F.DIST.PART-wear.skirt-AMB.NM:PV =TC:REP =TC:RPST brocket.deer
ap-yempe'ek // ø-tás-ek **=ñat** =se'e
M.POSS-skin // F-good-DECL =TC:RPST =PROX

'And there were no clothes for the Enxet back then, and the women wore deer skin skirts... this was good.'

López Ramírez (1996)

It is not so clear that such distinctions are particularly productive, however. In general, the use of this marker is on the decline, at least in the communities where fieldwork was done for this grammar. It is not found anywhere in the spoken portion of the corpus, and is not used in the new Bible translation (Equipo de traducción Enxet Sur, 2015). It is, however, still very much fully productive in other EE languages.

6.2.6 Epistemic modality

After tense markers, there are a number of TAME clitics which I group together as markers of epistemic modality — what a speaker feels about the truth value of her statement, independently or in relation to presumptions about the epistemic stance of the listener. They are summarized in table 6.4.

Some of the TAME clitics I place in this category may not fit very well with the "epistemic modality" label, especially the frustrative marker, but most of these markers do have some kind of epistemic semantics. Furthermore, unlike the other categories described above, these latter TAME clitics are not all exclusive of one another, as in (6.48), and they do not, therefore, form a cohesive 'slot' in the way the evidentials or tense markers do. However, when viewed as a group, they are always the farthest right in the TAME template, and because they mostly fit within the same semantic domain, I group them together in this dissertation

(6.48) táse' nak axta **eyke eykhe** axek aqsa m'a

ø-tás-e' =nak =axta =eyke =eykhe a-x-ek aqsa m'a
F-good-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:PST =TC:ASR =TC:FRUST 1SG.IRR-sit-NM:PO just =DMSTR

'It would be better for me to still be there'

Assertive eyke

The clitic *eyke*, which in a few instances takes the form *akke*, is labeled here and in the gloss as a marker of *assertive* mood, in that its use confers a sense of the speaker's certainty of the truth value of their statement. Compare, for example, the contrastive examples of the dubitative in (6.49a) and the assertive in (6.49b).

(6.49) a. axt**éxa** emhagkok
axta =exa e-mhagk-ok
TC:PST =TC:DUB M.IRR-go-NEG
'Maybe he didn't go'
Notes 2018.8.16

b. axt**eyke** emhagkok
axta =eyke e-mhagk-ok
TC:PST =TC:ASR M.IRR-go-NEG
'Surely, he didn't go'
Notes 2018.8.16

It is sometimes used when there is a presumption that the interlocutor is being presented with new information, or that the interlocutor needs to pay attention to what is being said because they do not appreciate its meaning, as in (6.50).

(6.50) hakte cháxa aqsok nak ma'a kelyekhama agko', awanchek eyke hentók

hakte cháxa aqsok =nak =ma'a kelyekhama =agko' // a-wanch-ek
because that thing =TC:VIS =DMSTR demon =TC:F.DEG // F.STAT-able-DECL
=eyke hen-tó-k
=TC:ASR 1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO

'Because that thing is a real demon, it can eat us!'

EDP enx006 06:37

More often however, its use is similar to coordinating conjunctions like English *but* or Spanish *pero*, where the proposition marked with the assertive runs counter to expectations or contradicts what has been said previously, sometimes by an interlocutor, as seen in (6.51).

(6.51) *Counterassumptive uses of eyke*
a. *Context: Talking about a swarm of yawhan bees*
aplamchek, **méko eyke** apma'ák
ap-l-am-chek // méko =eyke ap-ma'ák
M-mad-TI-DECL // NEG.EXIST =TC:ASR M.POSS-thorn

'They are aggressive, but they don't have stingers'

EDP enx025 26:22

b. *Context: evaluating the beehive that was just found in the woods*
ko'ónek apha axnagkok, ketsek ko'ónek apyegmenek, ehh, **negwete eyke**
ko'ónek ap-h-a axnagkok // k-etsek ko'ónek ap-yegmenek //
I.THINK M.PART-sit-NM:PV F.new // F-few I.THINK M.POSS-liquid //
neg-wet-e =eyke
1PL.PART-see-NM:PV =TC:ASR

'I think they settled here recently, I think it's just a little honey, but at least we saw it'

EDP enx025 35:47

c. *Context: Historical narrative about moving to El Estribo*
hakte háwe axta neghóxama negko'o Lengua Norte, **kaxwók eyke** egketchek keltámeyagke ektémakxa apkelpeywa Lengua Norte
hakte háwe =axta neg-hóxama negko'o Lengua Norte // kaxwo-ok
because NEG.EXIST =PST 1PL-neighbor 1PL Enlhet Norte // now-DECL
=eyke egk-etchek kel-támey-ag-ke' ek-tém-akxa
=TC:ASR 1PL.POSS-child DIST-learn-COMPL-DECL F.PART-be/say-NM:OB
apk-el-peywa Lengua Norte
M.PART-DIST-words Enlhet Norte

'Because the Enlhet Norte were not our neighbors, but now our children have learned to speak Enlhet Norte'

EDP enx028 03:01

Frustrative *eykhe*

The semantics of the clitic *eykhe* fit quite well with what are often described as *frustrative* markers. Frustratives are quite common in the TAME inventories of languages in Lowland South America, and can express a range of semantic values that touch on aspect, epistemic mood, and speaker stance (Kroeger, 2017, Overall, 2017), including the following:

- An event begins but does not finish (incompletive)
- An event was about to begin but did not
- An event could not occur because certain necessary conditions weren't met
- Speaker is disappointed by the interruption of an event
- A past state no longer holds
- An event is desirable (but unfortunately did not or has not happened)

To some degree or another, all of these functions are attested in Enxet Sur. Carol and Salanova (2017) suggests that many of these variations on the frustrative semantics can be accounted for with a wider view of an event timeline which extends from planning, through development and culmination, and on to consequences of the event. Frustratives express a cessation of the timeline at any of these stages, generally with the implication that such a cessation was undesirable.

At the beginning of the event timeline, *eykhe* is used to indicate that an intended or desired action did not occur, although this 'cessation at planning stage' reading appears to only occur with nominalized verbs, as in (6.52).

(6.52) *Intended event failed to occur*

a. sekteyenma axta eykhe ko'o
   sek-teyen-ma =axta =eykhe ko'o
   1SG.PART-sleep-NM:PV =TC:PST =TC:FRUST 1SG
   'I needed to sleep but couldn't'

Skype 4.10.2020

b. ekmaktegwokmo' aqsa weyke ekwányam, sekmakta eykhe wenak
   ek-makteg-wok-m-o' aqsa weyke ek-wány-am //
   1SG-shoot-ARR-TERM-INTS.DECL just cow F.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV //
   sek-makt-a =eykhe wenak
   1SG.PART-shoot-NM:IP =TC:FRUST stork
   'I shot the old cow... I meant to shoot the stork'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The incompletive reading — indicating that an event was in process but did not come to its conclusion — is the least well attested in the corpus, and the examples of its use in (6.53) could possibly be understood as something other than strictly incompletive. For example, in (6.53b), the verb stem *-emh-* in the ambulative means 'to go after someone', often indicating that the agent is following somebody in order to meet up with them. Here, with the frustrative marker, it means 'to be looking for' as opposed to 'following', which could be interpreted as a 'following' event being interrupted or incomplete because that which the agent is trying to follow has not yet been found.

(6.53) *Possible incompletive aspect of in-progress events*

a. chágketwakte' eykhel'a Yatnáta'
   ch-ágket-wak-t-e' =eykhe =l'a Yatnáta'
   F-approach-ARR-CISL-DECL =TC:FRUST =TC:DUB Yatnáta'
   'We are close to the village of Yatnáta"

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. sakcha'a emháha eykhe

sakcha'a e-emhá-ha =eykhe
child 1SG-stand-AMB.SCND =TC:FRUST
'I'm looking for the child'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

By far the most common usage of the frustrative in the available corpus is to indicate that the presumed consequences of the event marked by the frustrative do not occur, as in (6.54). Rather than the event itself not occurring, some outcome which was hoped, intended, or presumed by the event did not happen. In Rojas and Curtis (2017), a translation-oriented dictionary, *eykhe* is described as an adverb which is translated as *aunque*, or *a pesar de que* 'although, despite', which is indicative of this 'non-occurrence of presumed outcomes' function. Note, however, that *eykhe* does not indicate a subordinate clause the way *although* or *aunque* do in English or Spanish, respectively.

(6.54) *Presumed consequences do not occur*

a. kelxegáxche' **eykhe**, makke kalanak ewáxok alyetlók
k-el-xeg-áxche' =eykhe m =akke ka-l-an-ak
F-DIST-GO-MID.DECL =TC:FRUST NEG =TC:ASR F.IRR-DIST-make-SCND
e-wáxok a-l-yetl-ók
1SG.POSS-innermost 1SG.IRR-DIST-follow-INTS.NM:PO
'Although they left, I didn't have any desire to follow them'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. eyaqhaxche' **eykhe** pelota, makke awatnak
ey-aqh-axche' =eykhe pelota m =akke a-watn-ak
1SG-kill-MID.DECL =TC:FRUST ball NEG =TC:ASR 1SG.IRR-burn-SCND
'Although I wore myself out playing futbol, I did not win'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. étagkásegkek **eykhe** selyaqye axagkok apagkok aptegkesso, móteyákxa'
ey-etagk-ás-eg-kek =eykhe selyaqye a-xagkok apagkok
1SG-search.for-VAL-COMPL-DECL =TC:FRUST money F.POSS-house M.POSS
ap-tegk-ess-o // m-o-otey-ákx-a'
M.PART-fall-VAL-NM:PV // NEG-1SG.IRR-see-DUP-SCND
'I looked for the wallet that he dropped, but I didn't find it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. negmasseáto **eykhe** magweyxek atneykha chá'a
negmasse-áto =eykhe mag-weyx-ek
disease-stricken =FRUST NEG-1SG.IRR-reduce-NEG.NM:PO
a-tn-eykha chá'a
1SG.IRR-work-TI.AMB.NM:PO always

'Although I was sick, I still worked'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. ektaqhessásawok axta ko'o segkésso naqsa axta **eykhe**
ek-taqh-ess-ás-awok =axta ko'o se-gkéss-o =naqsa
1SG-turn-VAL-VAL-INTS.DECL =TC:PST 1SG 1SG.PAT.PART-give-NM:PV just
=axta =eykhe
=TC:PST =TC:FRUST
'I rejected the gift he gave me'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The frustrative can also indicate that a previous state no longer holds, as in (6.55), and this is probably not so different from the previous category — the failure for consequences to occur. Once a state is achieved, the expected consequence is that the state holds, and therefore a reversal or change of state constitutes a subversion of the expected consequences of having achieved it.

(6.55) *A previous state no longer holds*

a. massegke' axta **eykhe** sekmowána apawaksek piano, eyewagkekxeyk eyke makham sekpáwásso
ø-mass-eg-ke' =axta =eykhe sek-m-o-wán-a
F-diminish-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST =TC:FRUST 1SG.PART-TI-VBLZ-able-NM:PV
a-pawak-s-ek piano // ey-e-wagk-ekx-eyk =eyke makham
1SG.IRR-noise-VAL-NM:PO piano // 1SG-VBLZ-able-DUP-DECL =TC:ASR still
sek-páw-áss-o
1SG.PART-noise-VAL-NM:PV
'I lost my ability to play piano, but I have regained it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. exchek amakok **eykhe** atneykha, ekyespagwokmók eyke kaxwo'
exchek a-mak-ok =eykhe a-tn-eykha //
TC:HOD 1SG.IRR-want-SCND =FRUST 1SG.IRR-be-TI.AMB.NM:PO //
ek-yespag-wok-m-ók =eyke kaxwo'
1SG-like-ARR-TERM-NM:PO =TC:ASR NOW
'I didn't want to work, but I like [working] now'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. masse' axta **eykhe** ekyentaxno negha, keñe so kaxwo' nak yentaxneykxoho makham

ø-mass-e' =axta =eykhe ek-yentaxn-o neg-h-a //
F-diminish-DECL =TC:PST =FRUST F.PART-heavy-NM:PV 1PL.PART-sit-NM:PV //
keñe =so kaxwo' =nak ø-yentaxn-ey-kx-oho makham
then =PROX now =TC:VIS F-heavy-TI-DUP-INTS.DECL still

'The seriousness of our situation had lessened, but now it has gotten serious again'

The Enxet Sur frustrative, as frustratives in most South American languages, does *not* indicate that the speaker is frustrated by the event denoted by the predicate/verb. Rather, it indicates that the event denoted by the predicate/verb did not come to fruition or completion, and this, more often than not, is frustrating to the speaker.

Dubitatives *(k)exa(ha)* and *la'a*

Enxet Sur has two TAME clitics which could be given the generic label of *dubitatives* — markers which indicate that the speaker doubts or is unsure of the truth value of the proposition to which they are attached. An initial example of each dubitative marker, *kexa* and *la'a*, respectively, are given in (6.56a) and (6.56b)[5].

(6.56) a. **méko sa' kexa** sektamheykha kaxwo keso año nak
meko =sa' =kexa sek-tamh-eykha kaxwo keso año =nak
NEG.EXIST =TC:FUT =TC:DUB 1SG.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV now this year =TC:VIS
'I might not work this year'

EDP enx028 07:09

b. **wánexchek sa' eykel'a** waqhak
w-an-exch-ek =sa' =eyke =l'a w-aqh-ak
1SG.IRR-think-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT =TC:ASR =TC:DUB 1SG.IRR-kill-NM:PO
'I will be thought to have killed him'

López Ramírez (1996)

To the degree that there is a productive semantic distinction between them[6], it has to do with whether or not the speaker presumes someone else to have the knowledge that they lack. *Kexa* generally indicates 'I don't know, but maybe you/someone else does or we will find out eventually', while *la'a* means something closer to 'who knows'. Alternatively, *kexa* indicates that the unknown is yet knowable, while *la'a* indicates an unknown

[5]The dubitative *la'a* is sometimes written as part of a single orthographic word with whatever is to its left, which may be its actual host or another TAME clitic. This is not indicative of any special morphosyntactic quality of *la'a* distinct from other TAME clitics. Rather it is probably a product of the phonological shape of this clitic and its inability to stand as a phonologically plausible orthographic word when its first vowel is deleted due to apocope — *l'a* is unacceptable as an independent orthographic word, and a version with a dummy vowel (§2.3.1) like **al'a* is equally unacceptable since there is no context in which the clitic might be pronounced as such. Instead, speakers often just write this clitic as it is pronounced (either *la'a* or *l'a*) and write it as part of whatever is to its left.

[6]There are some constructions in which one or the other of these dubitatives is fixed, and there is no productive alternation between them.

which is inherently unknowable. This section describes the various uses of each, with a summary of the distinction at the end.

The dubitative marker *kexa* also appears as *exa* and *kexaha*[7]. In its most common use, it indicates that the speaker is making a claim about something they lack direct knowledge of, but that they presume someone else would know. For example, in (6.57), a speaker talks about a type of deer (*laneyp*) which lives farther to the east and with which the speaker is not particularly familiar. The speaker lacks personal knowledge of the subject, but presumes that others would, in fact, know about it and be able to confirm or deny his claims.

(6.57) laneyp, haxko **exa** apteme laneyp... magwet'ak negko'o s'e... **máxa exa** popyet

laneyp // haxko **=exa** ap-tem-e laneyp // m-ag-wet'-ak
deer // how =TC:DUB M.PART-be.TI-NM:PV deer // NEG-1PL.IRR-see-SCND
negko'o =s'e // máxa **=exa** popyet
1PL =PROX // like =TC:DUB brocket.deer

'*Laneyp*... what is a *laneyp* like... we don't see it here... maybe it's like a *popyet* (other kind of deer)'

EDP enx038 07:00

Or in (6.58), the speaker, who lives in El Estribo, talks about an airstrip used by Anglican missionaries at Makxawaya when he was a child, but which he has not seen in a long time.

(6.58) yetneyk makham aviación, págqak **kexa** kaxwo

yetneyk makham aviación // ø-pagq-ak **=kexa** kaxwo
EXIST still airstrip // F-overgrown-DECL =TC:DUB now

'There's still an airstrip, it might be overgrown with weeds now though'

EDP enx038 10:12

The dubitative *exa* is one of the few TAME clitics which is regularly used as an independent expression, to mean 'I don't know'. A good example of the use of this particle as both an independent expression and with a predicate host can be seen in (6.59).

(6.59) wánxa chá'a negwet'a negko'o Mendoza apmenek, **kexa**, axta'a exchek essenhan axto'ók xeyk. Apchaqhak **kexaha** popyet makke esakxak ápetek enxagkok, pomap **kexa** apchaqhak, magya'ásegkok

[7] As far as I can tell, this is not the result of any kind of consistent allomorphy — it's just variation among speakers and some speakers individually vary between two or three of these. Likely the original form was just *exa*, and the k-initial variants are the product of the application of the *ke-/kya-* element often added to utterance initial clitics, with the *k* simply being reanalyzed as part of the base morpheme instead of being exclusively used in the initial form.

wanxa cha'a neg-wet'-a negko'o Mendoza ap-menek // **kexa** // axta'a
only always 1PL-see-NM:IP 1.PL Mendoza M.POSS-foot // TC:DUB // night
=exchek essenhan axto'-o:k =xeyk // ap-chaqh-ak =**kexaha** popyet m
=TC:HOD or morning-INTS =TC:HOD // M-kill-DECL =TC:DUB deer NEG
=akke e-sakx-ak a-apetek en-xagkok // pomap =**kexa**
=TC:ASR M.IRR-carry.there-NM:PO F.POSS-meat 1PL-house // boar =TC:DUB
ap-chaqh-ak // m-ag-ya'ás-egk-ok
M-kill-SCND // NEG-1PL.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND

'And then we see Mendoza's footprints, I don't know, maybe from last night or early this morning. Maybe he killed a deer but didn't bring it to our house, maybe he killed a boar, we don't know.'

EDP enx009

It should be noted, however, that as a member of this TAME clitic class of items, the apparently isolated use of *kexa* does not suggest that the item is being employed as a proposition or that it can serve as a predicate. It cannot take other TAME clitics as a means of modifying the 'I don't know' semantics. It cannot, for example, take the past tense **kexa axta* to mean 'I didn't know'. Semantically, TAME clitics with null hosts have third person copular propositional semantics (§5.2.1).

As a marker of a speaker's lack of certainty or knowledge, it quite naturally occurs in questions. This is most often with content question words, as in (6.60). In these instances, the speaker uses *kexa* to indicate that they do not know, while they presume that their interlocutor does. These content questions do not, however, require the dubitative.

(6.60) a. **Haxko exa** ekwanxa
haxko =exa ek-w-anxa
how =TC:DUB F.PART-arrive-TERM.NM:OB
'How much is it?'

b. **Yaqsa exa** hora
yaqsa =exa hora
what =TC:DUB hour
'What time is it?'

However, this usage of *exa* for content questions doesn't have to include a content question word, and instead the clitic can attach to a head noun for the sake of asking to specify some kind of information about the head noun, like in (6.61). Here the *kexa* after the fronted noun *aqsok* 'thing' gives an interrogative reading like 'what thing'.

(6.61) aqsok **kexa** peyk altennaksek heyke?
aqsok =**kexa** p-eyk a-l-tenn-aks-ek =h =eyke
thing =TC:DUB START-DECL 1SG.IRR-DIST-speak-VAL-IRR =TC:FUT =TC:ASR

'What is it that we are going to discuss?'

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It should not be assumed that this is a formal mechanism for creating precise content questions — *kexa* does not function like "what/which" when attached to predicate nouns. The example in (6.61) could be interpreted as something more like 'So we were going to talk about something?', asking to define the *aqsok* 'thing' in a pragmatic sense, and less so by way of the discrete semantics of the phrase. In other instances, nouns can host this dubitative clitic without an interrogative reading. In (6.62), for example, *énxet kexa* does not mean 'which man', but rather that the speaker is not sure that if it was the man who fell off his horse, of if it was the horse who fell, taking the man with it.

(6.62) *Context: In a story, a man falls off his horse and becomes badly injured*
natámen ma'a, **énxet kexa**, apteyekmek náxop

natámen =ma'a // e:nxet =**kexa** // ap-tey-ekm-ek náxop
then =DMSTR // man =TC:DUB // M-fall-TERM-DECL on.ground

'So then, I guess the man fell to the ground'

EDP enx047 31:18

A final major category of use for *kexa* is for as-yet-undecided actions, and in these instances, there appears to be some semantic and distributional overlap with *la'a*. For example, in both (6.63a) and (6.63b), the speaker is talking about their future actions, and the use of *kexa* indicates their uncertainty about what they will do. Such instances, however, do not fit the generalization that *kexa* implies a presumption that someone else knows what the speaker does not.

(6.63) a. may'ásegkok **axog sa' kexa**
m-a-y'as-egk-ok a-xog =sa' =kexa
NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND 1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO =TC:FUT =TC:DUB
'I don't know if I will go'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **apqánet pelten kexa** sekha
apq-anet pelten =kexa sek-h-a
M-two moon =TC:DUB 1SG.PART-sit-NM:IP
'I might stay for two months'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In keeping with the semantic parameters proposed above, we could posit that *kexa* is used in contexts like (6.63a-6.63b) situations because the speaker does not know at present what they will do, but their actions will be revealed in the course of time. However, very similar circumstances might yield a *la'a* instead of a *kexa*. The example in (6.64)

is semantically very similar to (6.63a) (although structurally there are some substantial differences — with the dubitative on the action verb *axog* in (6.63a) and on the predicate *xegkessek* 'almost' in the other (6.64)). In such cases, the distinction likely relies heavily on pragmatic or construction factors — this is worthy of further study.

(6.64) xegkessekla'a axog

ø-xeg-kes-sek =la'a a-xog
F-go-CAUS-DECL =TC:DUB 1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO

'I guess I'm about to go'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Like *kexa*, the clitic *la'a* generally expresses a lack of certainty regarding the truth value of the statement, but tends to be used more for situations where the proposition being made is not necessarily directly knowable. For example, when *la'a* is used with content question words rather than *kexa*, the questions tend to be more rhetorical rather than requests for information, as in (6.65-6.66)[8].

(6.65) *Context: The speaker is guiding the cameraman around his garden, and wonders out loud where they should go and what they should look at next*
haxkol'a olmahagkok

haxko =l'a ol-mah-agkok
where =TC:DUB 1PL.IRR.DIST-head.to-COMPL.NM:PO

'Where are we gonna go?'

EDP enx001 27:12

(6.66) *Context: In a story, a character realizes his friend is dead and he is alone in the woods*
háxkol'a atnehek? Exakko' kaxwo'. Aptókakpek sekxegexma.

haxko =l'a a-tneh-ek // e-xakko' kaxwo' // ap-tok-akp-ek
how =TC:DUB 1SG.IRR-be-NM:PO // 1SG.STAT-alone now // M-eat-MID.M-DECL
sek-xegexma
1SG.PART-companion

'What will I do. I'm alone now. My friend has been eaten.'

López Ramírez (1996)

When used as the sole TAME clitic in a null predicate construction (see §5.2.1), *la'a* confers a sense of belief or opinion, as in (6.67). This is consistent with an analysis of *la'a* as indicating something which is inherently uncomfirmable. Note that here, *la'a* takes the initial element *chá* that is commonly used with utterance initial clitics (compare to §7.4).

[8]These examples also show an interesting orthographic feature of *la'a*, that it is often written as part of the orthographic word to its left, typically when it has undergone apocope and is in the shape *l'a*

(6.67) **chál'a** so

chal'a =so
TC:DUB =PROX

'This is what I believe'

EDP enx038 04:27

In the Bible translation in (6.68), *la'a* is used again for rhetorical questions.

(6.68) Háweya yántéseksek **apkelanél'a** xa, María **étchel'a**, Santiago **apepmal'a**

hawe =ya yanteseksek apk-el-an-e =l'a =xa // Maria
NEG =TC:Q table M.PART-DIST-make-NM:PV =TC:DUB =DMSTR // Mary
e-etche =l'a // Santiago ap-epma =l'a
F.POSS-child =TC:DUB // James M.POSS-older.brother =TC:DUB

'Isn't this the carpenter? Son of Mary? Brother of James?

TA Mark 6:3

In (6.69), when a storyteller describes the presumed actions of an "off-screen" character, he uses *la'a* because his presumption is unconfirmable in the context of the story.

(6.69) *Context: In a story, a character leaves in the middle of the night, unbeknownst to the protagonist*
meltennásak ma'a pók apmeyakxo m'a ságe, **apyahágweykxo eykhel'a** yegmen

m-el-tenn-as-ak =ma'a pok ap-mey-akx-o =m'a
NEG-M.IRR.DIST-say-VAL-SCND =DMSTR M.other M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP =DMSTR
sage // ap-yahag-wey-kx-o =eykhe =l'a yegmen
lake // M.PART-go.purpose-ARR-DUP-NM:IP =TC:FRUST =TC:DUB water

'he didn't tell his friend he was headed to the lake, unfortunately maybe going into the water

EDP enx006 02:29

Rojas and Curtis (2017) says that phrases with *la'a* are often interchangeable with *enxoho*, which would fit with their semantics — the dubitative *la'a* being related to the conjectural *enxoho*. For example, (6.70a) and (6.70b) are presented as being functionally equivalent.

(6.70) a. altennaksek sa' **sekwetal'a**

a-l-tennak-s-ek =sa' sek-wet-a =l'a
1SG.IRR-DIST-tell-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP =TC:DUB

'I'll tell him if I seem him'

b. altennaksek sa' **sekweta enxoho**
a-l-tennak-s-ek =sa' sek-wet-a =enxoho
1SG.IRR-DIST-tell-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP =TC:CONJ
'I'll tell him if I see him'

The semantics of *la'a* which relate to 'unknowability' also result in its use in a subjunctive, deontic sense. For example, in (6.71), when combined with *-tase'* 'good' and a past tense marker, *la'a* indicates what 'should have happened'. These kinds of retrospective statements, typically have some kind of past tense marking, and indicate situations which did not actually happen and which are therefore unknowable.

(6.71) tások xeyk la'a etegyek gaseosa

ø-tas-ok =xeyk =la'a e-tegy-ek gaseosa
F-good-INTS =TC:HOD =TC:DUB M.IRR-search-NM:PO soda

'You should have bought some soda'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Similarly, it is used in the phrase *yámek la'a* 'If only there was X', as in (6.72), often translated into Spanish with the word *ojalá*.

(6.72) **yámek la'a** sekto alagkok meyk'a ahagkok

yamek =la'a sek-t-o a-l-agk-ok meyk'a
if.only =TC:DUB 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV 1SG.IRR-DIST-distribute-NM:PO visitor
ahagkok
1PL.POSS

'If only I had food to give to my visitors'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The *la'a* dubitative is frequently used when discussing the reason someone does something (6.73a-6.73b), including the motivations of the speaker themselves. Similarly, it is used when expressing causal relationships (6.73c-6.73f). This likely relates to the 'unknowability' component of *la'a* in that causal relationships or motivations are always presumed rather than directly knowable. The interclausal relationship between cause and effect often creates null predicates marked with *la'a*, as in (6.73d-6.73f).

(6.73) *Dubitative la'a for motivation and causation*

a. apketsek apkexxekmósso **yaqwayam enxohol'a kaltámeyagkok**

apk-etsek apk-el-xekmos-so yaqwayam =enxoho =l'a
M-small M.PART-DIST-show-NM:PV for =TC:CONJ =TC:DUB
ka-l-tamey-agk-ok
F.IRR-DIST-learn-COMPL-NM:PO
'They taught them a little bit so that they would learn'

EDP enx037

b. yaqsaktaha apkelpelapmeyncha'a, **chaqhak enxel'a**?
yaqsa ek-tah-a apk-el-pelap-m-eyn-cha'-a // ch-aqh-ak
what F.PART-be-NM:IP M-DIST-trip-TI-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP // F-kill-DECL
=enxe =l'a
=TC:CONJ =TC:DUB
'Why are you going around tripping all over yourself? Are you drunk?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **kessásawókla'axma** táxa
k-essas-awok =la'a =xma taxa
F-light.up-INTS.DECL =TC:DUB =environment fire
'The sky is red with fire'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. ekháxahanteyk xeyk ko'o, **la'a mehetyegwa nak pelota**
ek-haxah-an-t-eyk =xeyk ko'o // la'a
1SG-curve-COMPL-CISL-DECL =TC:HOD 1SG // TC:DUB
m-ehe-tyeg-w-a =nak pelota
NEG-1SG.PAT.IRR-fall-ARR-NM:IP =TC:VIS ball
'I ducked, that's why I didn't get to the ball'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. amya'a ekhaxnenta', **la'a sekwakto**
amya'a ek-haxn-en-t-a' // la'a sek-wak-t-o
story 1SG-listen-COMPL-CISL-SCND // TC:DUB 1SG.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP
'I heard the news, that's why I came'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. negmasse axta negkenak, **la'a melwa'a axta**
negmasse =axta ø-negken-ak // la'a m-el-wa'-a
disease =TC:PST F-place.PL-SCND // TC:DUB NEG-M.IRR.DIST-arrive-NM:IP
=axta
=TC:PST

'They were sick in bed, that's why they didn't come'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is an association between *la'a* and words meaning 'small' or 'few'. Semantically, this is difficult to square with the dubitative semantics — if anything, references to a given size or quantity as 'small' or 'few' is inherently relative to expected sizes/quantities, and therefore cannot really be absolute.

(6.74) a. máxa axta aptemessásak ma'a yátépépe' **apketcheyetsék la'a**
maxa =axta ap-tem-es-sas-ak =ma'a yatepepe' apk-etchey-etsek
like =TC:PST M.PART-be.TI-VAL-VAL-SCND =DMSTR cotton M-PL-small
=la'a
=TC:DUB
'as though they were short threads'

TA Judges 16 12

b. **apyephahawo' la'a** énxet nak
ap-yephah-awo' =la'a enxet =nak
M-short-INTS.DECL =TC:DUB man =TC:VIS
'That person is very short'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. exche' m'a xama kéltáwa' **étkok agko' la'a** ektaqmópéyák
exhce' =m'a xama kel-tawa' e-etkok =agko' =la'a
2SG.F =DMSTR one IMPRS.POSS-spouse F.STAT-young =TC:DEG.F =TC:DUB
ek-taqmop-eyak
F.PART-abandon-COMPL.NM:PV
'You were like a young abandoned wife'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

'

In summary, while both dubitatives *kexa* and *la'a* are used in some pre-determined constructions, and there is some functional overlap in their use, there is a fairly clear distinction between the two based on a speaker's presumption of epistemic access or knowability of the subject on the part of others. The description of the evidential particle *nak* above (sec. 6.2.3) makes reference to the semantic category of **engagement** (Evans et al., 2018a), which is a semantic category which simultaneous indicates both speaker and addressee epistemic access to a topic. Although the dubitatives do not form a paradigm with *nak* — they occur in a different region of the TAME template and are not mutually exclusive with *nak* (see §6.3.2) — viewing them through a lens of engagement, or stance more generally, is likely the most felicitous to their usage in the language.

The description of the engagement system of the Colombian language Andoke found in Landaburu (2005) describes two markers which indicate lack of speaker epistemic access. The one which also indicates interlocutor access is used for straightforward polar interrogatives, while the marker which indicates a lack of epistemic access for both speaker and interlocutor is used for hypothetical or rhetorical questions. Although in Enxet Sur there is a separate dedicated interrogative marker *ya*, the distinction between *kexa* and *la'a* clearly has some similarities with the distinction between the two speaker-negative engagement markers in Andoke.

A major difference, however, is that while a system like that of Andoke is really only sensitive to epistemic access of speaker and interlocutor, the Enxet Sur dubitatives do not distinguish between epistemic access of interlocutors and other non-speech act participants. In a way, this mirrors the pronominal ambiguity between second and third persons.

Conditional *agkok*

The conditional marker *agkok*, or its variant form *agke'*, occurs exclusively with declarative form verbs, and almost always appears with a second clause ('if...then'), as in (6.76).

(6.75) a. **apchaqhak agkok** yexem esantak se'e epekkenek
apch-aqh-ak =agkok yexem e-sant-ak =se'e
M-kill-DECL =TC:COND eel M.IRR-carry.here-NM:PO =PROX
e-pekken-ek
M.IRR-place-NM:PO
'If he kills an eel, he brings it back here and puts it down'

EDP enx002

b. **apmenyeyk agkok** yantápak, yetneyk ya pók énxet bicicleta
ap-menyey-k =agkok yantapak yetneyk cha'a pok enxet bicicleta
M.STAT-want-DECL =TC:COND firewood EXIST always other.M man bicycle
'If he wants firewood, other people have bicycles'

EDP enx009

Although this conditional reading accounts for the vast majority of cases, there are a few examples of the use of *agkok* in non-conditional clauses which suggest that *agkok* may have a broader usage or semantic profile. In (6.76a-6.76b), *agkok* is being used in situations where it becomes apparent to a speaker that they had previously been wrong. In both, the visual evidential *nak* and the counterfactual *eyke* appear to account for the epistemic semantics and the pragmatic content, and it is not entirely clear what *agkok* is providing to the clause. Crosslinguistically, it is not uncommon for conditional markers to come from items which mark irrealis or hypothetical mood or some other kind of limited reality status or epistemic access, and *agkok* in these examples may be serving such a purpose.

(6.76) a. *Context: said when seeing someone you thought was dead*
neyke **agkok** yetsapak
n =eyke =agkok y-etsap-ak
TC:VIS =TC:ASR =TC:COND M.IRR-die-SCND
'He must not have died...'

EDP enx034

b. *Context: said when you finally realize who actually did something* neyagkok xa
n =ey =**agkok** =xa
TC:VIS =TC:ASR =TC:COND =DMSTR
'*That's* the one'

EDP enx034

Similarly, in (6.77), conditional *agke'* is used in a standalone, non-conditional expression. As in (6.76a) above, its use here seems to be related to the proposition being somehow in opposition to other observed facts or assumptions in a given context.

(6.77) *Context: A child whines to a parent to get them a ball, and when they get the ball, they promptly lose it. They whine to the parent about losing the ball, and the angry parent says...*
aptegyak axta agke' pelota
ap-tegy-ak =axta =agke' pelota
M-search.for-DECL =TC:PST =TC:COND ball
'You got your ball, didn't you!!'

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These standalone uses of *agkok/agke'* are very infrequent, and more data is needed to understand the core epistemic values that account for both the standalone uses and the conditional uses which make up the overwhelming majority of observed examples of this clitic.

'I think' *ko'ónek*

The final epistemic modal particle *ko'ónek* 'I think' is only tenuously included in the category of TAME clitics, and in fact, is likely an example of grammaticalization in progress. The particle *ko'ónek* 'I think' is a reduced form of the productive verb phrase with the same meaning, given and parsed in (6.78).

(6.78) ko'o eyeneyk
ko-o ey-eney-ek
1SG 1SG-put.forward-DECL
'I think'

While most speakers recognize the reduced particle form *ko'ónek* and the full *ko'o eyenek* as one in the same (a degree of meta-linguistic awareness most speakers lack when discussing other particles in this class), the reduced form, in its function and syntactic behavior, shows signs of being grammaticalized into the larger TAME-clitic template. For example, it typically appears where the template does after either the predicate or a focus element (§5.2.4 as in (6.79)

(6.79) éten **ko'ónek** kekkak

e:ten ko'ónek k-ekk-ak
smoke I.THINK F-fear-SCND

'I think they are afraid of the smoke'

EDP enx027 35:13

6.3 TAME clitic clusters

The TAME template described in §6.1 determines the order of TAME clitics relative to one another when multiple of them occur on a single host, and this ordering template is used to help identify TAME clitics as a distinct, closed class of morphemes. However, there are other important topics surrounding clitic clusters, or the use of multiple TAME clitics on a single host. These include 1) morphophonological interactions between clustered clitics which do not necessarily occur at the word=clitic boundary or even follow regular phonological rules, and 2) semantic idiosyncrasies of certain combinations of TAME clitics which are not entirely semantically transparent or compositional. This section describes these clitic-specific phonological interactions, followed by descriptions of semantically non-compositional clitic clusters. All of these phenomena raise interesting questions about the ability for clitic clusters to become lexicalized in the language.

6.3.1 Phonological interactions

Because clitics cluster at the right edge of PREDICATES, adjacent clitics can trigger phonological alternations in each other. For example, the alternation between the *xeyk* and *exchek* forms of the hodiernal past clitic, wherein the latter form occurs after vowels, occurs regardless of whether the unit to the left of *exchek* is a lexical PREDICATE or another TAME clitic, like the conjectural *enxoho*. While the primary phonological interaction between clitics and their leftward hosts is application of the apocope rule (§2.4.2), the only other major segmental interaction is that described for the interrogative *ya*, which is itself somewhat idiosyncratic.

However, a number of specific TAME clitic combinations have phonological interactions at their borders with each other that they do not have with lexical hosts to their left, or with all other TAME clitics which might occur to their right. To restate an example given above, adjacent *hek* 'reportative' and *axta* 'past tense' give *héxta*. Speakers recognize this as a discrete unit, and represent it orthographically as a distinct word. These

morphophonologically fused combinations of TAME clitics have been represented in previous works (Kalisch, 2009, Rojas and Curtis, 2017) as single units, when in fact they are morphologically complex, and their semantic properties, generally speaking, are directly compositional based on the semantics of the individual particles that they are composed of. A list of these composite particles, with their orthographic representations and morphological analysis, is given in table 6.5.

Clitic cluster	Component clitics
enxel'a/enxol'a	enxoho + l'a
enxeykel'a	enxoho + eyke + l'a
héxta	hek + axta
kékhel'a	eyke + eykhe + l'a
nel'a	nak + l'a
neyke	nak + eyke
neykhe	nak + eykhe
xeykhe	xeyk + eykhe

Table 6.5: Phonologically irregular or fusional TAME clitic combinations

Orthographically these are very interesting, in that a cluster of clitics constitute an orthographic word distinct from their host.

This apparent combination of TAME clitics is generally a morphophonological and orthographic issue, but the critical question for semantics and function is whether or not any of these commonly occurring compound particles are not semantically compositional, and if they have developed or are developing unique semantic functions.

6.3.2 Lexicalized clusters

One particular TAME clitic combination whose semantics are not necessarily compositional is the combination of the engagement marker *nak* and the dubitative *la'a*. This combination is used to indicate some kind of degree or intensive, typically regarding quantity. As seen in the examples in (6.80), it can be used either for expressing that there is a large amount of something, or that there is a total absence of something.

(6.80) *Nak la'a in expressions of quantity*

a. méko agko' **nak la'a** kelasma
meko =agko' =nak =la'a kelasma
NEG.EXIST =F.DEG =TC:VIS =TC:DUB fish
'There are absolutely no fish.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. nélpatmeyk **nak la'a** ápetek
nel-patm-eyk =nak =la'a a-apetek
1PL.DIST-carry.shoulder-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB F.STAT-flesh
'We brought a lot of meat.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ekyése' **nak la'a** axta'a exchek sektena
ek-yes-e' =nak =la'a axta'a =exchek sek-ten-a
1SG-wet-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB night =TC:HOD 1SG.PART-sleep-NM:IP
'I was sweating a lot last night while sleeping'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It can also, however, indicate some kind of intensity not related to quantity. When not talking about quantity but instead about intensity, the predicate which hosts *nak la'a* either has stative semantics (6.81a) or a verbal stem affix which already indicates intensity in someway (6.81b-6.81d).

(6.81) a. atse' **nak la'a** aphanma
a-ats-e' =nak =la'a ap-han-ma
F.STAT-sweet-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB M.PART-cook-NM:PV
'Your cooking is really delicious'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekwetawo' **nak la'a** Estribo
ek-wet-awo' =nak =la'a Estribo
1SG-see-INTS.DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB Estribo
'I really miss El Estribo'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. apketámegke' **nak la'a** séxakkasa caramelos wokma'ák apketkók
apk-etam-eg-ke' =nak =la'a sey-exak-kas-a
M-search-COMPL-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB 1SG.PART-get.rid.of-VAL-NM:IP
caramelos wokma'ak apk-etko-ok
caramels boy M-young-INTS
'The little boys really went for it when I sold them the caramels'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. métegke' **nak la'a** yókxexma
met-eg-ke' =nak =la'a yokxexma
burn-COMPL-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB camp
'The camp burned really quickly'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Examples of both *nak* and *la'a* appearing along with other TAME clitics are quite scarce, but when the two do co-occur with others, the same intensity or quantity semantics do not hold, as in (6.82).

(6.82) wántek **nak xeykhel'a** ko'o amonye' exchek ekxega

w-ant-ek =nak =xeyk =eykhe =l'a ko'o a-monye'
1SG.IRR-mount-NM:PO =TC:VIS =TC:HOD =TC:FRUST =TC:DUB 1SG F.STAT-front
=exchek ek-xeg-a
=TC:HOD F.PART-go-NM:IP

'I should have gotten on the bus that went first.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Semantically, it is not entirely clear why this particular combination of clitics would yield an intensity reading, especially given how many other intensifying mechanism the language already has at its disposal (see §6.2.1, §10.4). In fact, *nak* and *la'a* have more or less contradictory semantics, since by themselves, *nak* indicates that speaker and interlocutor both have epistemic access, and *la'a* indicates, essentially, that neither speaker has epistemic access. That the two co-occur at all is unusual but that they have the intensity reading that they do is very unexpected. However, *la'a* is often used with expressions of quantity, both very small and very large, and *nak* can have an emphatic quality to it at times, so the semantic value of *nak la'a* as a unit may be a combination of secondary semantic or pragmatic values of both rather than involving the core semantics of either.

6.4 Directions for Further Research

The semantic values of many of the TAME clitics is worthy of further investigation and could be valuable to typological study, espcially since the Enxet Sur TAME inventory shows similarities, both in semantic values and in morphosyntactic function, with similar inventories in other Lowland South American Indigenous languages. *Nak* and the dubitative markers especially present some very interesting questions regarding when they can and cannot be used, and I strongly believe that more data and better elicitation methodologies, like game playing, would yield interesting new data that could provide additional insights.

Chapter 7

Topical Demonstratives

7.1 Overview of Topical Demonstratives

The demonstrative enclitics in Enxet Sur, which constitute a clearly defined, closed, mostly homogenous class of morphemes, perform the critical functions of referentiality, anaphora, cataphora, and deixis. However, like the TAME clitics described Ch. 6, they are primarily a clause level phenomenon — they have a fixed position in the clause and do not really operate like independent phrases or as constituent parts of independent phrases within the clause. Instead, these demonstratives "point" to the topic of the whole clause upon whose right edge they sit, and therefore like TAME clitics they have scope over the entirety of the clause to which they are dependent. For this reason, I call them **topical demonstratives**, but as there are no other kinds of demonstratives in Enxet Sur, the label *topical* does not distinguish these demonstrative morphemes from any other kind of demonstratives in the language. The set of topical demonstratives is listed in table 7.1.

Clitic form	Initial form	Function	Gloss
so	keso	Proximal, "right here"	PROX
he, e	chehe, cháhek	Medial, "next to you"	MED
á, ahá	cha'á	Distal, "way over there"	DIST
se'e	kes'e	proximal	PROX
xa	chaxa	anaphora, cataphora (links endophoric and exophoric spheres)	DMSTR
ma'a	cham'a	anaphora, cataphora (purely endophoric)	DMSTR

Table 7.1: Demonstrative enclitics in Enxet Sur

Demonstrative typologies (cf. Diessel 1999) generally recognize four distributional categories of demonstrative which might be formally distinguished in a language (i.e. have different forms, like *this* versus *here*) and therefore belong to different grammatical categories: pronominal ('I need *this*'), adnominal ('I need *this* money'), adverbial ('I

put it *here*'), and identificational ('*That there* is a snake')[1]. Enxet Sur makes no formal distinctions between demonstratives in any of these distributions. That is, the different demonstrative forms listed in table 7.1 distinguish different deictic or anaphoric categories (e.g. 'proximal' vs. 'distal'), but do not change form based on whether they appear in adverbial/pronominal/identificational use (the difference between the clitic forms and independent forms is not one of grammatical category).

Of the four syntactic types of demonstrative outlined in Diessel, three appear to be ill-fitting analyses for Enxet Sur demonstratives, as is shown throughout this chapter. There are no true adnominal demonstratives, since, despite frequent adjacency to nouns, demonstratives do not constitute part of the noun phrase. As described in §7.5 below, demonstratives point to the topic of the leftward clause, and the topic can then be defined through the use of a paratactic nominal PREDICATE clause to the right — nominal PREDICATE clauses serve the same function even without any demonstratives involved (§5.1). Demonstratives can often appear to be acting as adverbs or pronouns, and are most easily translated as such, but upon further inspection, they do not act as phrases with any degree of independence, and fail to pattern in any way like other adverbs or pronouns.

In fact, the only one of these syntactic categories of demonstrative with which the Enxet Sur demonstrative forms have an undeniable affiliation is the identificational demonstrative. Cross-linguistically, identificational demonstratives may constitute a formally distinct category of demonstrative which is used to simultaneously locate and identify a referent. English lacks such a demonstrative, but in languages that have them, they typically co-occur with a nominal expression in what some, like Diessel, call a "presentational" construction, which does not distinguish between a identificational and a locative existential reading.

Presentational constructions in Enxet Sur, like that in (7.1), are minimally composed of a nominal PREDICATE and a topical demonstrative. Nominal PREDICATES, as described in §5.2.1 and §9.1, are vaguely defined in terms of their precise semantic function, and can be used to produce identity, existential, or locative readings even without a demonstrative. So in a presentational construction like (7.1), there is a comment *ámay* 'it is/there is a path', and the proximal demonstrative *se'e* simply points to what is being commented on, and the whole clause could be interpreted either as 'there is a path here' or 'this is a path'. Because *se'e* can be interpreted neither strictly pronominally or strictly adverbially, it is neither a "subject" of the PREDICATE or an adverbial modifier.

(7.1) ámay nahan se'e

ámay =nahan =se'e
path =AND =PROX

'This here's a path'

EDP enx001 27:23

[1]Strictly speaking, English does not have a distinct category of identificational demonstratives, since the same function is covered by a copula construction with a pronominal demonstrative.

Formally distinct categories of demonstratives which serve this presentational function and have similar syntactic behaviors have been referred to by a number of different names in the literature: 'predicative demonstrative' (Denny, 1982, Diessel, 1997) (Heath, 1984, p. 269–336), 'presentational demonstrative' (Lionnet, 2013, 2014), 'deictic predicator' (Schuh, 1977, p. 7), 'predicative pronoun' (Marconnès, 1931, p. 110), 'existential demonstrative' (Benton, 2019, p. 80), 'pointing demonstrative' (Rehg and Sohl, 1981, p. 143), and 'deictic identifier pronoun' (Carlson, 2011, p. 160). Some of these analyses take the demonstrative itself to be the predicate, while others are agnostic on the syntactic configuration of the construction. In the Enxet Sur example, constructions with an identificational demonstrative like (7.1) quite clearly have a nominal predicate (see §5.2.1) with an dependent identificational demonstrative.

Regardless of the various views on syntactic configurations, one thing that descriptions of identificational demonstratives agree on is that they do not meaningfully distinguish between the indication of a location and an object — something broadly true of Enxet Sur demonstratives even outside of the prototypical presentational constructions with nominal PREDICATES. In demonstrating this ambiguity, I refer in this chapter to pronominal and adverbial *functions* of a single grammatical category of topical demonstrative, which is important to distinguish from a claim about actual syntactic structures or word classes. For example, topical demonstratives may have a local adverbial function, specifying the location of the event indicated by the verb, as in (7.2).

(7.2) *Demonstratives with local adverbial semantics*

a. **Asamchek negha s'e**, méko egkexe, cha'a **tásek ma'a** neyp alwáta, netna'awók egkexe. Sat **ólpakxenagkok ma'a**.

a-sam-chek neg-h-a =s'e // méko egkexe // cha'a
F.STAT-bad-DECL 1PL.PART-sit-NM:PV =PROX // NEG.EXIST hill // always
ø-tásek =ma'a neyp alwáta // netna'-awók egkexe // sat
F-good =DMSTR side.F river // high-INTS hill // TC:FUT
ól-pakxen-agk-ok =ma'a
1PL.IRR.DIST-equip-COMPL-NM:PO =DMSTR

'It's bad that *we're staying here*, there's no high ground, *it's good over there* on the other side of the river, there is a high hill, *we will set up camp over there*'

López Ramírez (1996)

In other contexts and constructions, the topical demonstratives appear to have fairly unambiguous pronominal reference, as in (7.3a), where the demonstrative *xa* refers to the plant which is the topic of discussion. To the degree that the pointing semantics are endophoric (discursive, centered in the conversation rather than in physical space), they can be anaphoric or immediately cataphoric, as in the examples in (7.3b). Where demonstratives are immediately followed by a co-referent noun phrase, as in *xa aqsok nawhak nak* 'that (*aforementioned*) animal', I argue, as has been described for a number of languages in the Americas and Australia, that the demonstrative is in a paratactic co-referent relation with the following NP, and that demonstratives do not have a true adnominal distribution.

(7.3) *Demonstratives with argument-referential (pronominal) semantics*

a. *Context: In a schoolbook, a description of a kind of large tuber which holds a lot of water and is used times of drought*
Agwet: Ekyexna egwanchek anyenek egmenek segaqha enxoho hem, náxma han kemhak **xa**.

agwet // ek-yexn-a eg-wanch-ek an-yen-ek
yvy'a // F.PART-fruit-NM:PV 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-drink-NM:PO
e-egmenek seg-aqh-a =enxoho hem // náxma =han
F.POSS-water 1PL.PAT.PART-kill-NM:IP =TC:CONJ sun // WOODS =AND
k-emh-ak =xa
F-stand-SCND =DMSTR

'Yvy'a: We can drink the juice of its fruit if we are thirsty [lit. 'if the sun is killing us'], and *it* stands in the forest'

Book 4 Grade

b. *Context: In a schoolbook, tradition warns that pregnant women should not eat parts of the head of the peccary, for the following reason*
hakte tokek agkok **xa** ketlawhok hek etche nápat esenhan nat **xa** aksok nawhak nak

hakte ø-to-kek =agkok =xa ke-tlaw-hok =hek
because F-eat-DECL =COND =DMSTR F.IRR-follow-INTS.NM:PO =TC:REP
e-etche nápat esenhan nat =xa aksok nawhak =nak
F.POSS-child M.POSS.face or F.POSS.face =DMSTR thing wild =TC:VIS

'Because if she eats **it**, the face of her child will be like **that** animal

Book 4 Grade

The pronominal versus adverbial function can at times be obscured because of the semantic role of that which is referred to. For example, in (7.4), the *ma'a* which accompanies *katyegwatak* 'fall into' refers to *xama wégke apwanyam* 'a big pot', whose semantic argument status relative to a 'fall' verb like *katyegwatak* is vague in Enxet Sur. The goal argument of a motion verb is represented in some ways like a more "core" patient and in others like an "oblique".

(7.4) Xama wégke apwanyam axta pekenák néseksa taxa yakwayam katyegwatak máleg **ma'a** ekteyakmo enxoho

xama wégke ap-wany-am =axta ø-pekken-ak néseksa taxa
one pot M.PART-GROW-TERM.NM:PV =TC:PST F-place-SCND amidst fire
yakwayam ka-tyeg-wa-t-ak máleg =ma'a ek-teyak-m-o
for F.IRR-fall-ARR-CISL-NM:PO FOX =DMSTR F.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP
=enxoho
=TC:CONJ

'She put a big cooking pot into the fire so that the fox would fall into *it* [the pot] if she fell'

Schoolbook Grade 1

However, the lack of a pronominal/adverbial distinction is not limited to motion verbs with goal arguments. In a simple sentence like that in (7.5)[2], the proximal demonstrative *se'e* can be interpreted either as having a pronominal function (e.g. 'let's eat this') or as having an spatial adverbial function (e.g. 'let's eat here'). Based on the "topical" analysis I present here, the multiple readings arise because *se'e* is neither an argument or an adverbial modifier, but simply points to what is being talked about. The topic of the utterance is in the proximal field, and whether the speaker is pointing to a place or a particular food item can simply be worked out from the larger context.

(7.5) antok **se'e**

an-t-ok =se'e
1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO =PROX

'Let's eat this' or 'Let's eat here'

Skype 9.17.2019

The fact that demonstratives are unspecified in their grammatical relationship to the clause is, in fact, very much in keeping with the broad syntactic profile of the language as a whole. Noun phrases, whether dependent COMPLEMENTS or paratactic PREDICATES, lack clear specification of a grammatical label or role (i.e. 'agent', 'patient', 'oblique', 'local argument', etc.; see §5.1).

Furthermore, the vagueness present in constructions like (7.5) is not an instance of simple homophony or polysemy (a single morpheme *se'e* means either 'this' or 'here' depending on context). Only one demonstrative is permitted for any given clause, and a construction like that in (7.6a), which might allow for both pronominal and adverbial reference using demonstratives, is impossible. Even if the verb semantically takes both a direct object and a local argument, as in (7.6b), they cannot both be referenced in the clause by demonstratives. The fact that there cannot be both a pronominal and an adverbial demonstrative in the clause seems to go against the notion that demonstratives are ever really discretely one or the other, and instead supports the notion that a single topical demonstrative is being used to point to the topic of the whole clause.

(7.6) a. **antok **xa á**

**an-t-ok =xa =a
1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO =DMSTR =DIST

**'Let's eat that over there'

[2]Although the translations provided for this utterance are in the imperative, the verb here is in the potential form, not the imperative form.

Skype 9.17.2019

b. **ansakxak sa' **se'e á**
an-s-akx-ak =sa' =se'e =a
1PL.IRR-carry-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT =PROX =DIST
**'We will take this over there'

Skype 9.17.2019

While both noun phrases and adverbs (or NPs acting in an adverbial capacity, §9.1) can be fronted ahead of finite verbs or serve as their own predicates, such operations are not syntactically possible for demonstratives — neither in their adverbial or pronominal functions (§7.4), nor when they are in an adnominal position (§7.3). Furthermore, although the coordination of adverbial phrases or noun phrases within the clause is itself highly limited and, in my view, hardly constitutive of coordination at all (§16), the ability to coordinate demonstratives (e.g. 'I want that one and that one', or 'There's a palo santo tree over here and over there') appears completely absent from the language. Therefore, any tests or operations which would identify an item as acting as an independent phrase excludes topical demonstratives.

To be clear, I argue here that the *only* grammatical category of Enxet Sur demonstrative is the kind of extended identificational demonstrative I call the topical demonstrative, and thus all "pointing" semantics, exophoric or endophoric, are entered into the grammar in this way and not in any other. Much as English lacks a distinct identificational demonstrative but accomplishes a similar function with a combination of adverbial and pronominal demonstratives in a copular clause, as in '*That there*'s a snake', Enxet Sur lacks adverbial/pronominal/adnominal demonstratives but accomplishes the same function through topical demonstratives, which provide broad deictic pointing semantics to the clause which aid in the resolution of the semantics of the predicate.

Although the Enxet Sur topical demonstratives are cross-linguistically unusual and perhaps somewhat unique (unique demonstrative systems are a dime a dozen in Lowland South America), the components underlying the system do not deviate much from what is known about the demonstrative systems in other languages. In many languages, demonstrative systems make use of a simple and transparent morphological logic which combines a formative with deictic/anaphoric semantics and one that specifies the grammatical category of the demonstrative item. In Paraguayan Guaraní, for example — a second or first language of most Enxet Sur speakers — a sizeable inventory of deictic formatives includes the speaker proximal *ko* and hearer proximal *upe* (Estigarribia, 2017). These items cannot stand alone, and require further morphology to define their grammatical category. As seen in (7.7), they can attach directly to nouns to become adnominal demonstratives, take a nominalizer *-va* to become pronominal demonstratives, or take the locative *-pe* to become adverbial demonstratives.

(7.7) *Proximal and distal demonstratives (adnominal, pronominal, and adverbial) in Guaraní, adapted from Estigarribia (2017)*
a. ko óga // kova // ko'ape
PROX house // this // here
'This house' // 'this' // 'here'

b. upe ára // upeva // upépe
MED day // that // there
'that day' // 'that' // 'there'

A next step from the Guaraní system to the Enxet one can be seen in the deictic frames in Yucatec Maya (cf. Bohnemeyer 2011, 2012, Hanks 1990). Yucatec demonstratives exist as two parts of a mutually obligatory frame — the prefix or "initial demonstrative" indicates the grammatical category of the demonstrative, while the "terminal demonstrative" contains the deictic/anaphoric pointing semantics without any indication of the grammatical category. The deictic markers contrast, among other categories a proximal *=a* and a distal *=o*, with three possible initial demonstratives: presentational (identificational) *he'l*, adverbial *te'l*, and determiner *le*. The frames can be around a lexical head or be empty, such that the determiner frame produces both adnominal and pronominal demonstratives, the presentational can mean 'Here's X' or 'Here it is', and the adverbial can have an internal adverbial phrase, as in (7.8)[3]. The Yucatec Maya system presents an example where the deictic formative can be non-adjacent to the morpheme which determines its grammatical category.

(7.8) *Yucatec Maya demonstrative frames, adapted from Bohnemeyer (2012)*

he'l hun-p'íit tsàak=a' // lel=a' // le=ráadyo=a' // te'l=a //
PRSV one-bit medicine=PROX // DET=PROX // DET=radio=PROX // NM:OB=PROX //
te'l t-u=móoy=a'
NM:OB PREP-3=apse=PROX

'here's some medicine' // 'this' // 'this radio' // 'here' // 'here in the apse'

While transparent, compositional demonstrative systems like the ones in Guaraní or Yucatec Maya are cross-linguistically quite common, the Enxet topical demonstrative is like the deictic component of such compositional systems but without the complementary grammatical specifier formative which creates pronouns, adverbs, etc. In systems like Guaraní, which lack an identificational demonstrative, the deictic formative must either attach to a phrasal head or take morphology which will make it a phrasal head. In Yucatec, the deictic elements co-occur with determiners or locatives which establish a phrasal head, or the presentational, which establishes a clausal head. In Enxet Sur, these 'loose' deictic formatives, unspecified for grammatical category on their own, always take the predicate of the clause as their 'head', since they themselves cannot constitute a phrase on their own or act as part of a constituent phrase within the clause. Rather than independent phrases with a specified grammatical position (like argument NP or adverb), topical demonstratives apply a deictic "pointing" semantics to the clause as a whole, and this deictic semantic value indicates where the interlocutor should turn their attention for any resolution of the semantic or pragmatic value of the clause as a whole, rather than the semantic resolution of a particular argument or modifier thereof.

For many of the idiosyncrasies of a language like Enxet Sur, one can render a construction from the source language directly into English for the sake of improving understanding of the source language, even if the English phrase is ungrammatical, awkward,

[3]In this gloss, 3 is third person, DET is determiner, PREP is 'preposition, and PRSV is 'presentative'.

or hard to parse. However, coming up with an English equivalent to the Enxet Sur topical demonstratives is essentially impossible, since in English there are no deictic formatives not already specified for grammatical category. However, if we take a basic proposition like 'let's eat', as in (7.5) above, and think about situating the entire proposition within the proximal deictic sphere of *se'e*, we can see the discourse function of deictically situating the *event* in space as opposed to a particular component thereof. If the thing to be eaten is already established in discourse, such an utterance indicates where to eat. If the place to eat is established, such an utterance indicates what to eat. When confronted with new kinds of ambiguity or vagueness in unfamiliar languages, especially in what are core components of grammar, the initial reaction of linguists and regular folk alike is often to assume that such vagueness or ambiguity leads to breakdowns in communication — forgetting or failing to realize that ambiguity often has functional benefit, and that meaning is always contextual and cooperatively produced.

In the subsections below, I first describe the semantic distinctions between demonstratives regardless of their morphosyntactic behaviors in §7.2. The following sections describe the functions and patterning of topical demonstratives in three positions, first in their most transparent utterance final position §7.3, then as independent demonstratives §7.4, and finally, §7.5 describes demonstratives which occur adjacent to (but not as dependents of) nouns, arguing that demonstratives are never actually modifiers within the noun phrase, even if they often appear as such at first glance.

7.2 Semantic properties of demonstratives

Setting aside the question of the syntactic position of demonstratives, this section simply describes the deictic and anaphoric semantic values they can bear. While the morphosyntactic properties of Enxet Sur demonstratives are complex and may be somewhat of a typological rarity, the deictic and anaphoric values and distinctions established by the system are mostly quite generic. The demonstrative set is fairly limited in Enxet Sur, even relative to other languages of the family or the region. While other languages include demonstratives which indicate grammatical gender or reality status, Enxet Sur is limited to six demonstratives: three of which are primarily markers of spatial deixis and three which primarily point within the discourse.

This distinction between pointing in physical space and pointing within the metaphorical "space" of the discourse is typically referred to as a distinction between exophoric and endophoric reference. Exophoric reference involves pointing within physical space, like the use of *so* in (7.9a). Endophoric reference involves the use of a demonstrative to indicate co-reference with a participant or proposition in the discourse, as in (7.9b). Although this section describes prototypical properties of demonstratives and attempts to group them by functional similarity, it should be kept in mind that there is a good deal of functional overlap, though generally in cross-linguistically common ways, and several of the topical demonstratives can be either exophoric or endophoric depending on context.

(7.9) a. ekwakteyk ko'o **so**
ek-wak-t-eyk ko'o =so
1SG-arrive-CISL-DECL 1SG =PROX

'I arrived here'

EDP enx034 31:08

b. *Context: In an interview, speaker is asked if they were aware of shamanic practice during their youth at Makxawaya*
ekeso mótak ko'o **so** yohóxma
ekeso m-o-ot-ak ko'o =so yohoxma
this NEG-1SG.IRR-see-SCND 1SG =PROX shaman
'I didn't see any of this shamanism [that you're talking about]'

EDP enx047 35:11

7.2.1 Exophoric reference

Among the more explicitly exophoric of the demonstratives, there is a clear three-part deictic system. The speaker proximal *so* is used for referents which are in the immediate vicinity of the speaker as in (7.10a). The medial *he* or *é* can function like an interlocutor proximal used for referents which are near the addressee rather than speaker, as in (7.10b). The distal *á* or *aha* is used for referents which are not within the immediate vicinity of either speaker or interlocutor, as in (7.10c). The medial and distal demonstratives *he* and *á* are exclusively deictic, and only ever have the function of locating entities or events in physical space.

(7.10) *Three way deictic distinction in demonstratives*

a. apagkoya **so**?
apagko =ya =so
M.POSS =TC:Q =PROX
'Is this here yours?'

2015 Notes

b. apagkoya **he**?
apagko =ya =he
M.POSS =TC:Q =MED
'Is that (next to you) yours?'

2015 Notes

c. apagkoya'**á**?
apagko =ya =a
M.POSS =TC:Q =DIST
'Is that over there yours?'

2015 Notes

While this may have the appearance of a neat tripartite system like that of, for example, Japanese, there are likely other pragmatic and semantic factors at play. For example, in the spoken language corpus, when the proximal *so* is used for spatial deixis, it invariably is used to refer to something that is within sight and is often accompanied by pointing gestures, as in (7.11). While more analysis would be needed to confirm this, a visibility parameter is not uncommon in the deictic systems of Lowland South America (Campbell, 2012, Skilton, 2019).

(7.11) *Context: looking at and pointing towards a caraguata plant*
wa' **keso** katyepok sa' ekyexna

wa' keso ka-tyep-ok =sa' ek-yexn-a
look this F.IRR-emit-NM:PO =TC:FUT F.PART-fruit-NM:PV

'Look, this here, it will fruit soon'

EDP enx001 04:28

The medial *he* or *é* is also not strictly an addressee proximal, even if it is sometimes contrasted with the speaker proximal *so*. For example, in (7.12a) it is used to indicate something like 'somewhere around here', indicating that the referent is nearby but not in the immediate vicinity or in the conversational space. In (7.12b), the referent is a woman who is visible to both parties but is at a distance.

(7.12) *Non-addressee-proximal uses of the medial demonstrative*

a. **chá'e** apha **é'**
cha'e ap-h-a =e'
MED M.PART-sit-NM:IP =MED
'He's here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekyese **he** enles nak
ek-yes-e =he enles =nak
F.PART-haircut-NM:PV =MED English =TC:VIS
'This Englishwoman got her hair cut'

Notes 8.20.2018

Ultimately, the biggest distinction between *so* and *he* is likely the ability for the speaker to interact with the referent. For example, in (7.13), the speaker is referring to beeswax which is physically very close to him and which he can see, but which is inside a tree trunk and not yet accessible. He therefore uses the medial *e* rather than *so* as an indication of his inability to interact directly with the referent.

(7.13) *Context: while cutting into a tree trunk to get to a bee colony, the speaker first sights the wax deep inside the tree trunk*
heh, pápa' **e'**

pápa' =e'
beeswax =MED

'Ah, that's the beeswax'

EDP enx027 43:29

When referring to a deictic center, whether spatial (7.14a-7.14b) or temporal (7.14c-7.14d), speakers typically use *so* and not *he*. Furthermore, a number of words relating to the deictic center seem to have been formed from compounds with *so* and a following noun. *Sónegwanxa* 'nowadays' is **so negwanxa* 'this where we've come to', *saxma* 'here' is **so exma* 'this place', and *sakhem* 'today' is **so ekhem* 'this day'.

(7.14) *Use of proximal =so to indicate the deictic center*

a. **keso lugar** nentaxneyk kaxwo' aldea comunidad indigena ekwesey San Carlos
keso lugar nen-taxn-eyk kaxwo' aldea comunidad indigena
this place 1PL-enter-DECL now village community indigenous
ek-wesey San Carlos
F.PART-name San Carlos
'This place, we are now entering the village of San Carlos'

EDP enx009 00:31

b. átehek xapop **keso yókxexma**
a-ateh-ek xapop keso yokxexma
F.STAT-hot-DECL ground this country
'The earth is hot in this country'

EDP enx028 04:01

c. **Keso kaxwo'** negwet'ak negko'o ekméyamáxche yókxexma
keso kaxwo' neg-wet'-ak negko'o ek-mey-am-axche yokxexma
this now 1PL-see-DECL 1PL F.PART-lack-TI-MID.NM:PV country
'Nowadays, we experience a lack of territory'

López Ramírez (1996)

d. **keso sónegwanxa** nak makham
keso sonegwanxa =nak makham
this these.days =TC:VIS again
'still these days...'

EDP enx047 00:43

When the medial *he* or *e* is used to refer to the deictic center, it again is in reference to something which is not within the immediate interactional sphere of the speaker. For example, in (7.15a), 'light' is diffuse and the item *=xma* 'ambient environment' further indicates a lack of specificity. In (7.15b), the water in question is generally available in the locality rather than right in front of the speaker.

(7.15) *Non-interactable deictic centers with the medial =e*

a. kelsakawóxma **e**
kel-sak-awo =xma =e
F.DIST-light-INTS.DECL =ambient =MED
'There's light here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. che'e yegmen **e**
che'e yegmen =e
MED water =MED
'There's water here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The distal *á* also has some fluidity in its semantic function. Referents with *á* are unquestionably outside of the interactional sphere of both speaker and interlocutor, and while they can be used for very distant locations, like in (7.16a), often times the distal refers to a location that is visible to the speaker, like in (7.16b-7.16c). Othertimes, the referent may be quite close, but outside of the field of view of the speaker, as in (7.16d).

(7.16) *Uses of the distal =a*

a. sa' aleyxwók **á** makhawo'
sa' a-l-eyx-w-ok =a makhawo'
TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-DIST-wait-ARR-TERM.NM:PO =DIST far
'I'll wait for you when I get there far away'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ólmahagkok **á** ekpeysamókxa nak
ol-mah-agkok =a ek-peys-am-o-kxa =nak
1PL.IRR-head.to-COMPL.NM:PO =DIST F.PART-black-TI.TERM-INTS-NM:OB =TC:VIS
'Let's go over there to where the black thing is'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. háweya aptaxno **á** apyetna nak

hawe =ya ap-taxn-o =a ap-yetn-a =nak
NEG =TC:Q M.PART-enter-NM:PV =DIST M.PART-lie-NM:IP =TC:VIS
'That's not your shirt lying over there?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Kenegwa'ak egken **á** yókxexma yetlo apkelyáxeg
k-eneg-wa'-ak egken =a yokxexma yetlo
F-stand-ARR-DECL POSS.mother =DIST outside with
apk-el-yaxeg
M.POSS-DIST-younger.sibling
'Your mother and siblings are standing outside'

TA Matthew 12.47

If there is a distinction between the two proximal demonstratives *so* and *se'e*, it is not clear what that distinction is. The proximal *se'e* can, in most contexts, be interchanged with *so*, such that the two examples in (7.17) are equivalent.

(7.17) a. negha'awo' axta **so**
neg-ha'-awo' =axta =so
1PL-stay-INTS.DECL =TC:PST =PROX
'we stayed here'

b. negha'awo' axta s'e
neg-ha'-awo' =axta =s'e
1PL-stay-INTS.DECL =TC:PST =PROX
'we stayed here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Independent demonstratives in identity constructions often are followed by a repeated enclitic demonstrative of the same kind (§7.4), but often *keso* is echoed by *se'e* or *kes'e* is echoed by *so*, as in (7.18).

(7.18) **keso** mók makham **se'e**

keso mók makham =se'e
this other still =PROX

'This here is yet another one'

EDP enx037 15:31

That said, in certain constructions which have cataphoric or anaphoric reference, like the cataphoric quotative in (7.19), only *se'e* occurs, suggesting that of the two it is the preferred one for endophoric reference. That does not, however, necessarily mean that *so* is more exophoric than *se'e*. Demonstrative inventories are very different across EE languages, but even in Enlhet Norte, there does not appear to be a distinction parallel to the *so*/*se'e* distinction in Enxet Sur (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997). My personal opinion, without further evidence to the contrary, is that the two are simply variants of the same marker that emerged in different pre-historic-period EE varieties that eventually amalgamated into Enxet Sur, and the two are just in free variation. There is a phonological pathway attested in Enxet Sur whereby [eʔe] strings become [e:] (§2.4.6), which then becomes [o:] through regular processes of vowel quality change (§2.4.5), along with a tendency for long vowels to be shortened when at the morphophonological periphery of the word, meaning that [seʔe] to [so] would not be a particularly unusual phonological shift in the language.

(7.19) Táhak axta eyáneya napnaksehe' apketkók **se'e**: Háxko apmahágkaxa apyáp?

ø-táh-ak =axta ey-áney-a napnaksehe' apk-etk-ók =se'e //
F-say-DECL =TC:PST F.PART-command-NM:IP armadillo M-young-INTS =PROX //
háxko ap-mah-ágk-axa ap-yáp
where M.PART-head.to-COMPL-NM:OB M.PART-father

'She said [this] to the baby armadillos: 'Where has your father gone?"

Schoolbook Grade 1

7.2.2 Endophoric reference

Endophoric or discourse reference in demonstratives is either anaphoric — pointing to something that has already been said — or cataphoric — pointing to something that is about to be said. Demonstratives are considered to be in anaphoric reference when they refer to an entity which has already been explicitly named in discourse. In (7.20-7.21) below, demonstratives are in **bold** along with the NPs or propositions they anaphorically reference.

(7.20) *Nominal anaphoric reference with ma'a and xa*

a. **Naqte Yenta'a**... amyep apak axta **m'a**
Naqte Yenta'a // amyep ap-ak =axta =m'a
Naqte Yenta'a // plantation M-old =TC:PST =DMSTR
'Naqte Yenta'a... that was an old plantation'

EDP enx038 04:18

(7.21) *Other propositional or contextual anaphoric reference*

a. **ekháxamáxchek axta**, axta egkeñamék maxñama **m'a**

ek-háx-am-áxch-ek =axta // axta egk-eñam-ék
1SG-slump-TI-MID-DECL =TC:PST // TC:PST F-come.from-TI-SCND
m-a-xñ-am-a =m'a
NEG-1SG.IRR-go-TI-NM:IP =DMSTR

'I was sick, that's why I didn't go (lit. 'my not going comes from that')

b. *Context: After explaining **the history of the good relationship** between the Enxet and the English*
hakte átsek **se'e** historia nak
hakte a-ats-ek =se'e historia =nak
because F.STAT-sweet-DECL =PROX story =TC:VIS

'Because this is a really nice history'

EDP enx037 14:19

Cataphora, or pointing ahead to something to come in the discourse is, as in most languages, something which happens more less in the immediate discursive space — a the referent of a cataphoric demonstrative is almost always identified in the following utterance. For example, in English, we might say '***Here**'s what I need: two bottles of Coke, a burner phone, and a copy of Vanity Fair produced between '84 and May '87*. This immediate cataphora is in fact a ubiquitous feature of most kinds of speech in Enxet Sur, and is what underlies the syntactic structure of adnominal (but not phrasally integrated) demonstratives, which are discussed in detail in §7.5.

There is also a sense in which anaphora and cataphora occur simultaneously — when the adnominal demonstratives identified as immediate cataphora have as their referent something already mentioned in the discourse, like in (7.22). Trying to disentangle anaphora from cataphora in such an instance is likely less meaningful than simply recognizing that speakers will tend to create redundant structures to help establish coreference.

(7.22) xama ekhem axta appaqmeteyncha'a Simon Recalde, lider egagkok axta negko'o **xa énxet nak**

xama ekhem =axta ap-paqmet-eyncha'a Simon Recalde // lider
one day =TC:PST M.PART-chat-COMPL.EXTS.NM:IP Simon Recalde // leader
egagkok =axta negko'o =xa e:nxet =nak
1PL.POSS =TC:PST 1PL =DMSTR man =TC:VIS

'One day, Simon Recalde spoke, this man was our leader'

EDP enx028 02:21

Differentiating *xa* and *ma'a* is quite difficult, and another avenue for further research. Both are glossed in this dissertation simply as DMSTR for 'demonstrative'. As can be seen above, both have anaphoric and cataphoric uses, referring both to newly introduced material, backgrounded referents, and for introducing new discourse elements. One consultant, in attempting to explain the difference, claims that both *cháxa* and *cham'a* could be

translated as Spanish '*eso*' 'that one!', but would be used under different circumstances. If a speaker is picking out clothes to wear and their companion pulls out a shirt they like, the speaker would say *cháxa*, whereas if a speaker's companion is verbally listing off activities to do for entertainment ('go to Mario's house', 'play volleyball', 'go fishing'), when the speaker heard the one she likes, she would say *cham'a*. Therefore, the insinuation of the consultant seems to be that *ma'a* is generally restricted to conceptual space and use as an anaphoric/cataphoric demonstrative, while *xa* in effect links discourse and physical space.

For example, *eyke xa* 'That's it (for sure)' is often used in the corpus when a speaker is realizing a goal in physical space, like finding a place they were looking for (7.23a), or getting close to accomplishing the goal of some kind of work (7.23b). *Xa* in these cases has a referent in physical space that is linked to an entity, proposition, or goal in the conceptual or discourse space.

(7.23) *Uses of "eyke xa"*

a. *Context: Speaker is looking for a particular spot in the woods*
eyke xa
eyke =xa
TC:ASR =DMSTR
'It's there [the place I'm looking for]'

EDP enx025 12:36

b. *Context: Speaker is diligently trying to remove honey combs from a tree*
eyke xa
eyke =xa
TC:ASR =DMSTR
'That's it [what I'm trying to do]'

EDP enx026 40:04

7.3 Utterance final demonstratives

This section describes the properties of demonstratives which are outrightly utterance final. The contention in this dissertation is that topical demonstratives are always *clause* final, but that they may be followed immediately by another paratactic clause with a tight semantic relationship, so in this section I focus primarily on demonstratives which are not followed by anything at all.

Unlike the TAME clitics described in Ch. 6, the topical demonstratives are more restricted in their distribution and position relative to the verb, and they do not move relative to their hosts or relative to the head of the clause. Take for example the simple sentence in (7.24a). It shows the unmarked order for its three components: verb =TAME =DEMONSTRATIVE.

(7.24) a. anxek sa' **se'e**
an-x-ek =sa' =se'e
1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO =TC:FUT =PROX
'We will sit here'

Notes 9-17-18

b. sa' anxek **se'e**
sa' an-x-ek =se'e
TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO =PROX
'Let's sit here'

Notes 9-17-18

In (7.24b), with the same three elements, the future marker *sa'* can come before the potential form verb[4], but it is not possible to do the same with the demonstrative *se'e*. The grammaticality of the logically possible orders of these three clausal elements is summarized in table 7.2.

Grammatical? Y/N	Utterance	Grammatical? Y/N	Utterance
Y	sa' anxek se'e	Y	anxek sa' se'e
N	*anxek se'e sa'	N	*se'e sa' anxek
N	*sa' se'e anxek	N	*se'e anxek sa'a

Table 7.2: Logically possible vs. grammatically possible orders for verb, TAME clitic, and demonstrative clitic (from elicitation session: Notes 9-17-18)

Even without the TAME clitic, the demonstrative *se'e* can only be an enclitic — its position relative to its host verb cannot change. Compare the grammatically acceptable utterance in (7.25a) versus the ungrammatical one in (7.25b). The ungrammaticality of (7.25b) is not simply because of a leftward phonological dependence of the demonstrative — as described in §7.4, clause initial demonstratives actually require significant structural changes.

(7.25) a. anxek se'e
an-x-ek=se'e
1PL.IRR-sit-IRR=PROX
'Let's sit here'

Notes 9-17-18

[4]The grammatical structure of such clauses, where the future marker *sa'* comes before rather than after a potential form verb, is something to be looked at more closely in future studies. My understanding of it at present is that it is a null PREDICATE with the nominalized verb *anxek* as the nominal COMPLEMENT, and that the null PREDICATE allows for focus on the demonstrative element. Thus, literally, this is something like 'our sitting will be that over there'.

b. *se'e anxek
se'e=an-x-ek
PROX=1PL.IRR-sit-IRR
*'Let's sit here'

Notes 9-17-18

Along with this distributional restriction, topical demonstratives display a number of clitic-like behaviors. They cannot host stress or prominence and they cannot stand as independent words without the addition of a dummy syllable (see the next section). They can undergo apocope (§2.4.2) based on a phonological domain which includes their host (similar to some TAME clitics and personal pronouns). Importantly, these clitic topical demonstratives are not recognized as distinct words by speakers, and, in fact, speakers often have little metalinguistic awareness of them at all. Anecdotally, I can say that transcription of recordings was difficult early on in my fieldwork because native-speaking consultants would often not write down demonstratives that were clearly spoken in a recording.

As described in the overview, because demonstratives point generally to what a clause is "about", they can yield both adverbial and pronominal readings, and the same construction can be vague and yield either reading. I argue that for an Enxet Sur speaker this is not really a case of "ambiguity" — two distinct readings are possible from the same construction — but rather that there is not a meaningful grammatical or semantic distinction between the two readings at all. Rather, the distinctions between pronominal-like and adverb-like uses of demonstratives are an artifact of translation. There is not any actual formal distinction between the two grammatical positions within the language — something which mirrors the broader non-distinction between NPs referencing s-arguments of the verb and NPs whose semantic relationship to the predicate is adverbial or "oblique" (§5.1, §9.1).

The use of demonstratives in more prototypical presentational constructions with nominal PREDICATES (§5.2.1) is a good starting point for observing this non-distinction. The translations provided for the nominal PREDICATE examples in (7.26) are both locative — the demonstrative points to the location of the predicate noun — or identifying — the demonstrative refers to an entity which has the property indicated by the predicate. Dependent on context, only one of the two readings might make sense. However, from a language-internal perspective, this is not multifunctionality so much as the non-distinction of functions. In some cases where both identity and locative readings are possible, the distinction between the two readings is not functionally relevant. For example in (7.26d), the difference between 'That's a snake' and 'There's a snake there' is simply not a meaningful one when the point of an utterance is to alert the interlocutor to the presence of a snake.

(7.26) *Nominal predicate presentational constructions*

a. negaqhak axta negko'o napóxeg, makke ay'asegkok, **nanók xa**

neg-aqh-ak =axta negko'o napóxeg // m =akke
1PL-kill-DECL =TC:PST 1PL tapir // NEG =TC:ASR
a-y'as-egk-ok // nanók =xa
1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND // old.time =DMSTR
'We killed a tapir, but I don't know, That was a long time ago'

EDP enx025 05:01

b. **wánxa xa**
wánxa =xa
only =DMSTR
'That's all'

EDP enx033

c. **ko'o mém'ay axagkok xa**
ko'o mém'ay a-xagkok =xa
1SG my.aunt F.POSS-house =DMSTR
'That's my aunt's house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **yewa xa**
yewa =xa
snake=DMSTR
'There's a snake!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **teyn'áto' exchek xa**!
teyn'-áto' =exchek =xa
sleep-sufferer =TC:HOD =DMSTR
'There's the sleepyhead'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Any nominal PREDICATE construction can potentially demonstrate this non-distinction between locative and identificational functions, even without demonstratives, but the functional non-distinction between pronominal and adverbial usage in these constructions carries over to the interpretation of demonstratives with finite verbal PREDICATES as well.

Enxet Sur lacks any third person pronouns, although it does have first and second person pronouns which are distinct from verbs but which have somewhat clitic like behaviors of their own (4.5.1). Pronouns and demonstratives, however, have quite different

distributions and generally do not pattern together[5]. Therefore, while demonstratives sometimes appear to indicate the s-argument of a verb, the holophrastic Enxet verb does not require any independent NPs — pronominal or lexical nouns — to constitute a complete clause. Therefore, while demonstratives may help clarify the referent of an implied argument, it is not a grammatical necessity in any way.

In this pronoun-like usage, utterance final demonstratives appear to mostly point to "absolutive" s-arguments[6] — subjects of monadic verbs and the patient arguments of dyadic verbs. However, as seen in (7.27), it appears that monadic subject reference is only likely with nonverbal PREDICATES or with the copular verb *-teh-*. More work needs to be done to confirm this.

(7.27) *Demonstratives referencing subjects of monadic predicates*

a. Makxawe, **awanhek xa**

Makxawe // a-wanh-ek =xa
Makxawaya // F.STAT-big-DECL =DMSTR

'Makxawaya, it's really big'

EDP enx037 07:38

b. **kaxnok se'e**, kayehe'

ka-xn-ok =se'e // ka-yeh-e'
F.IRR-sit-INTS.SCND =PROX // F.IRR-strong-DECL

'This one is not the same, it's strong'

EDP enx001 10:27

However, most pronoun-like uses of topical demonstratives point to the patients of dyadic verbs, as in the examples in (7.28).

(7.28) *Demonstratives with patient reference*

a. yaqsak ekteksása **so**?

yaqsak ek-teksás-a =so
what F.PART-chew-NM:IP =PROX

'Who chewed this?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. na ema **xa**

na e-ma =xa
PRHB M.IRR-have =DMSTR

[5]Personal pronouns, unlike demonstratives, do have some distributional independence, and can serve in PREDICATE or focus positions, unlike demonstratives

[6]I use the term absolutive to refer to monadic subjects and dyadic patients together, but, as described in §5.2.3, there is not really any kind of ergative/absolutive alignment in the language of any grammatical importance.

'Don't touch that!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. mósek antók **ma'a**
ø-m-o-os-ek an-t-ók =ma'a
F-TI-VBLZ-itch-DECL 1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO =DMSTR
'It's bad luck to eat that'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. hegwohok antók **xa**
heg-w-ohok an-t-ók =xa
1PL.PAT.IRR-arrive-INTS.NM:PO 1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO =DMSTR
'It makes us feel bad to eat that'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. yeynmakha **s'e**, peyg kawónek sakcha'a
y-eyn-makha =s'e // peyg ka-wón-ek sakcha'a
M.IRR-arm.carry-AMB =PROX // INCH F.IRR-cry-NM:PO child
'Pick him up, the kid is about to cry'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. elqehes **xa**, nágyoho emalánek
e-l-qehes =xa // nág-y-oho e-malán-ek
M.IRR-DIST-block =DMSTR // PROH-allow-INTS M.IRR-mid.through-NM:PO
'block him, don't let him pass'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. ko'o chá'a sekyeta yegmen **xa**
ko'o chá'a sek-yet-a yegmen =xa
1SG always 1SG.PART-fill.liquid-NM:PV water =DMSTR
'I usually put water in this'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

h. eyheg sa' xép **xa**!
e-yheg =sa' xép =xa
M.IRR-push =TC:FUT 2SG.M =DMSTR
'Push it!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This observed tendency for "absolutive" reference of demonstratives requires confirmation and further analysis, but it is likely a product of general tendencies referent tracking in discourse more so than any kind of hard and fast grammatical rule. Demonstrative reference of transitive agents, which are indicated on pronominal prefixes, may just be much more rare. When demonstratives are adnominal, there appear to be plenty of instances demonstratives pointing to agents of dyadic verbs (§7.5).

The paucity of clearly non-adnominal agent-referring demonstratives may be in part due to the fact that potential examples are almost always ambiguous. For example, in (7.29), there are two third person human arguments. The clause initial TAME markers are indicative of a null predicate construction (§5.2.1), meaning that the focus is on the third person agent — the sentence identifies who it was that got the other man drunk. At first glance, it seems likely that the demonstrative is a means of specifying the third person referent in focus, but there is no general rule or tendency that demonstratives be co-referent with a non-verbal focus element, and it could just as easily refer to the patient of the verb — demonstratives (and the language in general) are devoid of any kind of case marking. Enxet-speaking consultants tend to give ambiguous or conflicting answers when asked to delineate the reference of the demonstrative in such constructions. As the investigating linguist, I might not have been asking the question in the right way, or consultants may simply not be used to this particular kind of metalinguistic analysis, but it seems possible that the ambiguity is the product of the very nature of Enxet Sur demonstratives — despite pronoun-like translations, they are not really pronouns, and their pronominal reference is just one function that is not strictly delineated from their general function as a topic pointer.

(7.29) hek xeyk apchaqhassásak anmen **ma'a**

hek =xeyk apch-aqh-ass-ás-ak anmen =ma'a
TC:REP =TC:HOD M-kill-VAL-VAL-SCND alcohol =DMSTR

'Supposedly, it was that guy who got him drunk'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The local adverbial function of demonstratives, pointing to locations associated with an event, is most prevalent with locative or motion verbs, or verbs with associated motion morphology (Ch. 12), as in the examples in (7.30). The local s-arguments of verbs are generally selected by the semantics of the verb, such that *-mehe'-* 'head to' only ever comes with an indication of its goal, and *-eñam-* 'come from' only ever comes with an indication of its source (see §9.1).

(7.30) *Examples of adverb-like demonstratives with motion or locative verbs*

a. sa' aghéwegwók **ma'a**

sa' ag-héweg-w-ó-k =ma'a
TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-hunt-ARR-INTS-NM:PO =DMSTR

'We are going to go there to hunt'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ná eneygwata' aqsa **e**, askepme', meyk'a apténak **xa**
ná e-neyg-wa-ta' =aqsa =e // askepme' // meyk'a ap-tén-ak
PROH M.IRR-play-ARR-CISL =JUST =MED // noisy // visitor M-sleep-SCND
=xa
=DMSTR
'Don't come over here and play around, you will make a racket and the visitor is sleeping there.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. payhok ko'o exagkok **ma'a** ø-payh-ok ko'o e-xagkok =ma'a
F-spread.out-INTS.DECL 1SG 1SG.POSS-house =DMSTR
'My house is right there'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. sekmeyamxa ahagko' **se'e**
sek-mey-am-xa =ahagko' =se'e
1SG.PART-head.to-TERM-NM:OB =DEG.1SG =PROX
'I've come to this place right here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

That said, it is still perfectly acceptable, if less common, to have an adverbial use demonstrative with a verb that does not conventionally take a local argument, like *apténak xa* 'he sleeps there' in (7.30b), or the example in (7.31).

(7.31)

(7.32) xámok yámet **ma'a**
xámok yámet =ma'a
many tree =DMSTR
'The trees are many there'

Whereas pronominal-use demonstratives have no non-demonstrative counterparts serving the same function, there are lexical nouns and adverbs which are parallel to some adverbial uses of demonstratives, specifically the proximal. While the demonstrative *se'e* is translated with 'here', there are at least two lexical items which mean more or less the same thing. *Saxma* 'this place' is a lexical noun that can refer to the general area one is in ('this village', 'here at someone's house , 'this particular area in the woods', etc.) but not a 'here' with smaller scope ('this place on my body', 'here on the table', etc.), while *halep* is essentially an adverb meaning 'hither' only used to accompany motion verbs, or as an independent exclamation meaning 'it's here!'.

Demonstratives in adverbial use can be followed by a nominal, adverbial, or adpositional element which specifies the location indicated by the demonstrative, as in (7.33). In such instances, the lexical local phrase always follows the demonstrative, since a demonstrative after a local phrase is in most cases ungrammatical or at the very least would have an entirely different interpretation. In form and in function, including the use of *nak* as a resumptive marker establishing co-reference, local phrases which are co-referent with a preceding adverbial use demonstrative are no different from pronominal use demonstratives followed by a co-referent noun phrase.

(7.33) *Adnominal adverbial use demonstratives*

a. paktem aphápak apyetnak **aha egmonye nak**
paktem ap-hápak ap-yetn-ak =aha eg-monye =nak
k.o.tree M.POSS-corpse M-lie-SCND =DIST 1PL.STAT-before =TC:VIS
'There's a tree trunk there in front of us'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. exna sa' **se'e sekhakxa nak ko'o**
e-xna =sa' =se'e sek-hak-xa =nak ko'o
M.IRR-stay =TC:FUT =PROX 1SG.PART-sit-NM:OB =TC:VIS 1SG
'Stay here at my house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. watsapwók sa' nahan **ma'a étsapwánxa enxoho exche'**
w-atsap-w-ók =sa' =nahan =ma'a
1SG.IRR-die-ARR-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT =AND =DMSTR
ey-etsap-wá-n-xa =enxoho exche'
F.PART-die-ARR-TERM-NM:OB =TC:CONJ 2SG.F
'I will go and die there where you die'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. sa' atnegkessók **ma'a máseyak**
sa' a-tnegk-ess-ók =ma'a máseyak
TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-fall-VAL-INTS.NM:PO =DMSTR corner
'I will put it there in the corner'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. exnata **s'e nehekha nak**
e-xna-ta =s'e nehekha =nak
M.IRR-sit-CISL =PROX 1SG.beside =TC:VIS
sit here at my side

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. elenxanakmeyk axta ko'o David sẽlmaxneykha peya emyekxak **ma'a Asunción**
el-enxanak-m-eyk =axta ko'o David
M.IRR.DIST-insist-TERM-DECL =TC:PST 1SG David
sẽl-maxn-eykha peya e-my-ekx-ak =ma'a
1PL.PAT.PART.DIST-ask-AMB.NM:PV INCH.NM:IP M.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO =DMSTR
Asunción
Asunción
'David insisted that he be allowed to go there to Asunción'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. sa' alhésa **m'a pók tegma nak**
sa' a-l-h-és-a' =m'a pók tegma =nak
TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-DIST-sit-VAL-NM:PO =DMSTR other.M building =TC:VIS
'I'll put it over there in the other house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

h. ahóxek axta apha Pedro **m'a tegma apwányam**
a-hóxek =axta ap-h-a Pedro =m'a tegma
F.STAT-long =TC:PST M.PART-sit-NM:PV Pedro =DMSTR building
ap-wány-am
M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV
'Pedro stayed for a while in that city'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Yet, cross linguistically, the descriptive tendency is to recognize adnominal adverbial use demonstratives as non-constituent with co-referent nouns — for example, in 'I live here in this tree' we generally do not posit 'here in this tree' as a constituent phrase (cf. Dixon 2003). On the other hand, pronominal use demonstratives which are coreferentially adnominal are almost always presumed to be "adjectival", constituent modifiers of a head noun. I argue in §7.5 that, like the adnominal adverbial use demonstratives in (7.33), adnominal pronominal use demonstratives do not form syntactic constituencies with the nouns that follow them.

In such instances, it is very common that there is an intonational break or pause between the demonstrative and local phrase which follows it, as in (7.34). These are always just paratactic clauses, such that (7.34) contains one clause *may'ásegkok ko'o m'a* 'I don't know it', with the demonstrative *m'a* pointing to what is being talked about (the topic), and a second nominal PREDICATE clause *negaqhakxa axta* 'It was where we killed it' defining or clarifying the topic of the first clause.

(7.34) may'ásegkok ko'o **m'a** [0.6 sec] **negaqhakxa** axta

m-a-y'ás-egk-ok ko'o =m'a // neg-aqhak-xa =axta
NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-NM:PO 1SG =DMSTR // 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB =TC:PST

'I don't it, the place where we killed it'

EDP enx025 11:01

Clitic demonstratives are not just phonologically dependent to their leftward hosts, but act as syntactic dependents of a PREDICATE, and so it is only PREDICATES which license (or allow for) the existence of a topical demonstrative clitic. Demonstratives are also, as has been shown, clausal enclitics which must come at the right edge of the clause, and because there may be other items to the right of the PREDICATE, including adverbs, personal pronouns, and COMPLEMENT NPs, a topical demonstrative may not be adjacent to the PREDICATE which licenses it. When I say that a PREDICATE *licenses* a demonstrative, I mean that the demonstrative is a syntactic dependent of that PREDICATE, and semantically points to the topic of the clause headed by that PREDICATE.

In the simplest constructions with just a verb and a demonstrative, as in many of the examples above in (7.28), the identification of the licensing PREDICATE is obvious, as there is only a single lexical item to which the demonstrative can attach. However, in more complex constructions, determining the PREDICATE to which the demonstrative is a dependent is more complicated, and has important consequences for an understanding of clausal structure more generally. For example, in (12.15), *ma'a* has a local adverb-like function and is pointing to a place that is then defined by the clause *aptenakxa exchek* 'It was where he had been sleeping'. However, it is unclear (and mostly semantically irrelevant) whether the demonstrative is licensed by *apwet'ak* or by *méko* — the difference would be something like that between 'there he saw the lack of his friend' and 'he saw it, that his friend was not there'. In either event, it is clear that *pók* 'his friend' is not the licensing PREDICATE.

(7.35) apwet'ak méko pók **ma'a** aptenakxa exchek

ap-wet'-ak méko pók =ma'a ap-tenak-xa =exchek
M-see-DECL NEG.EXIST M.other =DMSTR M.PART-sleep-NM:OB =TC:HOD

'He saw that his friend was not there where he had been sleeping'

EDP enx006 02:51

An analysis of the possible distance between a demonstrative and the PREDICATE that licenses suggests limits on the number nominal expressions which can be shown to be dependent on a PREDICATE. As discussed in §5.1.3, both crosslinguistically and in Enxet Sur specifically, it is rare for a polyadic verb to be accompanied by more than a single overt lexical noun phrase that refers to one of its s-arguments, and in Enxet Sur, polyadic verbs typically are followed by either one or zero s-argument NPs, regardless of whether they are dependent COMPLEMENTS or independent PREDICATES. There can, of course, be multiple s-argument NPs, but when this happens, at least some of the NPs are analyzable

as paratactic PREDICATES. However, what does not appear to be grammatically possible is for two overt, non-pronominal noun phrases to occur "inside" of the demonstrative — that is, between a PREDICATE and the demonstrative it licenses.

The basic ungrammaticality of having two lexical NPs inside of the demonstrative is described in §5.1.3, where it is considered within the basic function of the nominal COMPLEMENT position. There are, however, several qualifications and considerations to be made.

The first is that there are a handful of examples in the corpus where constructions appear at first to place two NPs inside of the demonstrative, as in (7.36). However, any such instance that has been identified plausibly has an interpretation where in the latter NP and subsequent demonstrative are a separate, paratactic clause, and consultants, when questioned, view the examples in (7.36) as constituting two discrete clauses, even if their preference is to translate them into Spanish as a single clause. Enxet Sur translators, like all good translators, hold naturalness in the target language above literal translation of the source language.

(7.36) *Two NP arguments between verbs and demonstrative*

a. appalchessek axta yempehek **yamyawhena m'a**
ap-palch-ess-ek =axta yempehek yamyawhena =m'a
M-fall-VAL-DECL =TC:PST skin.bag honey =DMSTR
'He poured the honey into the bag', or 'He poured it into the bag, it was honey'

EDP enx006 06:47

b. appekkenwakteyk centro **ingles se'e**, appekkenchek centro
ap-pekken-wak-t-eyk centro ingles =se'e // ap-pekken-chek centro
M-place-ARR-CISL-DECL center English =PROX // M-place-DECL center
'The English came here and established the town center, they put a center', or 'They came here and established a town center, this being the English, they put a center'

EDP enx037

Similarly, in the text example in (7.37), we see three NPs between the verb and demonstrative, *awáxok* 'her innermost', *María*, and *ekyókxoho* 'all of it' — but the demonstrative *xa* is licensed by *ekyókxoho*, for which it helps define the 'it', rather than *pekkenmeyk* 'she placed'.

(7.37) pekkenmeyk axta nahan awáxok María ekyókxoho **xa** amya'a nak
ø-pekken-m-eyk =axta =nahan a-wáxok María ek-yókxoho =xa
F-place-TI-DECL =TC:PST =AND F.POSS-innermost Maria F.PART-all =DMSTR
amya'a =nak
story =TC:VIS
'Maria guarded all of these stories in her heart'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There are also several instances in the spoken corpus where both a personal pronoun and an NP occur between the PREDICATE and a demonstrative, as in (7.38). Such instances are still fairly rare in the corpus, and most require some qualification: 1) most still have intonational or prosodic breaks before the s-argument NP, and the NP=Demonstrative unit in several cases could then be argued to be a nominal PREDICATE construction which defines a previous referent, and 2) the clearest examples come from EDP enx039, a sermon full of religious language which is known to make use of structures which are not generally found elsewhere in the language. Even still, if the second s-argument expression inside of the demonstrative is a pronoun, this does not necessarily negate the claim that multiple NP arguments are not allowed within the clause.

Enxet Sur pronouns display clitic-like behaviors both phonologically and syntactically (§4.5.1, §5.2.2), and cross-linguistically, so-called "independent" pronouns often do not have the same syntactic behaviors as fully formed noun phrases, and they often do not "count" as full noun phrases.

(7.38) *Examples with both a lexical NP and a personal pronoun between a predicate and a demonstrative*

a. hakte ekpekkenchek **ko'o** [0.5 sec] **meteymog ma'a** [0.4 sec] yaqwayam sa' megkaqtaksek kéxegke ekwa'a sa'

hakte ek-pekken-chek ko'o // meteymog =ma'a / yaqwayam =sa'
because 1SG-place-DECL 1SG // stone =DMSTR // for =TC:FUT
me-gka-qtak-s-ek kéxegke ek-wa'-a =sa'
NEG-F.IRR-force-VAL-SCND 2PL F.PART-arrive-NM:IP =TC:FUT

'I placed a stone there so that you all would not be swayed when they come'

EDP enx039 38:36

b. nenlanak **negko'o chá'a máxek se'e**

nen-l-an-ak negko'o chá'a máxek =se'e
1PL-DIST-do-DECL 1PL always hole =PROX

'We make a hole here'

EDP enx025 19:12

c. kélyo'ókmek **kéxegke aqsok ma'a** teyp

kél-yo'ók-m-ek kéxegke aqsok =ma'a teyp
2PL-arrive.purpose-TERM-DECL 2PL thing =DMSTR other.side.M

'you go to these other things on the other side'

EDP enx039 38:21

d. yetneyk agkok **xé' ekpaqmetekha awáxok ma'a** axagkok, yaqsa aqsok

yetneyk =agkok xé' ek-paqmet-ekha a-wáxok =ma'a
EXIST =COND 2SG.F F.PART-chat-AMB.NM:IP F.POSS-innermost =DMSTR
a-xagkok // yaqsa aqsok
F.POSS-house // what thing
'If you have worries at your house, whatever thing'

EDP enx039 57:58

Several examples of the same phenomenon can be seen in written texts in the corpus, as in (7.39).

(7.39) *Text examples of a pronoun and full NP between the verb and demonstrative*

a. exchek ekhésaktak **ko'o wokma'ák se'e**
exchek ek-h-ésak-t-ak ko'o wokma'ák =se'e
TC:HOD 1SG-sit-VAL-CISL-SCND 1SG boy =PROX
'I just gathered the guys here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. yaqsa sẽltámeka **negko'o sakhem se'e** néltámesamaxche nak?
yaqsa sẽl-támek-a negko'o sakhem =se'e
what 1PL.PAT.PART.DIST-learn-NM:IP 1PL today =PROX
nél-tám-es-am-axche =nak
1PL.PART.DIST-learn-VAL-TI-MID.NM:PV =TC:VIS
'What are we going to learn today in our lesson?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. keso negmeñexwékxa cha'a **negko'o yántápak se'e** yókxexma nak
keso neg-meñex-wé-k-xa cha'a negko'o yántápak =se'e yókxexma
this 1PL.PART-rob-ARR-TI-NM:OB always 1PL firewood =PROX territory
=nak
=TC:VIS
'This is the place where we usually steal firewood'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It is therefore a descriptive fact that only a single non-pronominal NP can occur between a predicate verb and its dependent demonstrative, even if getting to that fact requires nuance and close attention to detail in the interpretation of utterances like (7.36) to show that the demonstrative is not licensed by the nearest leftward verb but in fact the NP to the immediate left. The idea that lexical items occurring after the demonstrative are appositive and not part of the clause that includes the demonstrative is further described in §5.1, but combined with the limits on the number of NPs permitted to the inside of the demonstrative, a tendency for agents and patients of an action to be presented

in distinct clauses (§5.1.1), and the non-ordering of NPs for grammatical roles, there is substantial evidence to suggest that the cross-linguistic *tendency* for verbs to only take a single non-pronominal NP argument is exhibited in Enxet Sur as an actual structural limitation, much of which rests on the interpretation of the "head" of demonstratives.

7.4 Independent demonstratives

The enclitic demonstratives are identified as such because they require a phonological host to their left. From a strictly morphophonological point of view, the clitic demonstratives cannot constitute a well-formed phonological word, and if they do not take a phonological host to their left, they attach to what may or may not be (see below) a semantically empty dummy syllable of the shape *cha-/che-/ke-/kɣa-*[7]. These forms are referred to in this dissertation as **independent demonstratives**, independent primarily in respect to their phonological independence, but also, as I argue, because they are self-contained clauses (or clause-like "paraclauses") which cannot be embedded within a normal clause. Semantically, they differ minimally from their cliticized counterparts, each being used to refer sometimes to location and sometimes to items/people. Some initial examples are given in (7.40).

(7.40) *Independent demonstratives in discourse and texts*

a. **keso** negmaha negko'o

keso neg-m-aha negko'o
this 1PL-have-AMB.DECL 1PL

'we use this' (alternatively 'This here, we use it)

EDP enx001 02:30

b. **cháxa** apwesey yawhan

cháxa ap-wesey yawhan
that M.PART-called k.o.bee

'That one is called 'yawhan' (kind of bee)' or 'That one, 'yawhan' is its name'

EDP enx025 28:57

However, these independent, typically utterance-initial demonstratives are not clausal dependents or self-contained phrases within the clause. Rather, they are their own null PREDICATE structure — consistent with the description from the previous section that topical demonstratives occupy the right edge of the clause. This can primarily be shown syntactically through their inability to occupy PREDICATE or focus positions (see below), but I begin with some semantic evidence. Typically, they are translated by consultants as 'It is that' or 'it is this'. When they are fully independent and isolated, this is their function, as can be seen in the question and answer pairs in (7.41-7.42).

[7] See §2.2.1 in the phonology chapter about the allophony of *ch-/k-/kɣ-*.

(7.41) a. Q: háweya aptaxno apyetna nak so?
háwe =ya ap-taxn-o ap-yetn-a =nak =so
NEG =TC:Q M.PART
'Is this not your shirt, the one lying here?'
b. A: **cháxa!**
'That's it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(7.42) a. Q: keya camión apagkok sekweta axta hem axta?
keya camión apagkok sek-wet-a =axta hem =axta
TC:Q car M.POSS 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP =TC:PST day =TC:PST
'Was it his car that I saw yesterday?'
b. A: **ehay, cham'a**
'Yes, it was that one'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Asserting that demonstratives in isolation have copular, predicative semantics is possibly about as meaningful as ascribing copular, predicative semantics to demonstratives in isolation in English — if we say "which one is it", and the answer is "this", we can say that the word "this" is somehow part of a copular construction which is elided. An elision analysis, however, requires there to be a fuller expression from which to elide, but for independent, isolated demonstratives, there is none — the use of the copular verb *-teh-* in an expression like *tahak xa* is more likely to be translated as or used to mean 'she said that', as the copular verb is not really semantically empty and can mean 'say' as much as it means 'be' (§5.2.1). The only way to create a copular clause meaning 'it is that, it's that one' is the single word *cháxa*. Furthermore, an utterance like *cháxa* is only used to assert identity, and cannot be used with an interrogative or presumptive function, as one can point and say "*this?*" in English or "*eso*?" in Spanish.

In contexts like that of (7.43), where an isolated demonstrative is followed (after a pause and intonational break) by a separate sentence, and the referent of the demonstrative is co-referent with an s-argument of the verb *apwet'ak* 'you've seen it', it is not so obvious that *cháxa* functions like a copular predicate so much as it simply establishes a particular referent, a discourse topic, for the sake of commenting on it. That said, as described throughout this dissertation (§5.1) a great number of complete, grammatical clauses in Enxet discourse exist as nominal PREDICATES whose sole function is to identify or reinforce the identity of a referent in the discourse.

(7.43) cháxa, apwet'ak kaxwok Juan

cháxa // ap-wet'-ak kaxwok Juan
that // M-see-DECL now Juan

'That [honey], you've seen it now, Juan'

EDP enx025 35:05

There is some other evidence that the *cha-/che-/ke-/kya-* element, at least historically, does have some semantic content as a copula. Some historical or conservative forms, like the *ékeso* alternate for *keso* appear to have as their pre-demonstrative element [e:ke] a morpheme which is etymologically and semantically related to modern *eyke/akke*, which in the modern language is described here as an assertive TAME marker (§6.2.6), but which Sušnik (1977) explicitly calls a copular verb. It may also be related to the declarative suffix *-eyek* (§3.4.1), which in some historical sources (Powys, 1929) also functions like a copular verb. A similar *cha-/che-/ke-/kya-* formative was also once used productively in combination with locational items to refer to 'those who are at X', such as the group name *Chánawatsam* [chá-na-watsam] [be-LOC-Paraguay.river] 'Those who are by the river', or with the place name Concepción in (7.44).

(7.44) *Context: Speaking about a bishop that flew in on a plane*
chak Concepción kexa

chak Concepción =kexa
be Concepción =TC:DUB

'I think they were from Concepción'

EDP enx047 06:40

Structurally, there are a handful of key properties that show that independent demonstratives are not clausal constituents and instead function like their own isolated clauses. For one, demonstratives cannot host TAME, unlike any other kind of predicate — verbal or nonverbal. TAME clitics *never* occur to the right of demonstratives, even isolated initial ones. Thus, while every other type of clausal argument or complement can be fronted for focus with a finite verb or act as a non-verbal predicate with TAME clitics, such constructions are not available to demonstratives, as in the ungrammatical examples in (7.45a) and (7.45b), respectively.

(7.45) a. **keso axta appalchesak xép
keso =axta ap-palch-es-ak xép
this =TC:PST M-fall-VAL-SCND 2SG.M
**'This is what you dropped'

Whatsapp notes

b. **cháxa axta
chaxa =axta
DMSTR =TC:PST
'It was that one.'

Whatsapp notes

In the latter case, to put TAME modification on something like a demonstrative predicate ('It is that'), Enxet Sur uses the null predicate construction (described more fully in §5.2.1). In this construction, a null PREDICATE with third person copular semantics 'is it' takes TAME modification, and a demonstrative enclitic, like in (7.46), and there is no alternate structure which shows any kind of focus on the demonstrative. Because demonstratives cannot be PREDICATES, they instead declare the topic of a null PREDICATE from their fixed clause final position. What this suggests is that the independent demonstratives, like enclitic demonstratives, signal the boundary of a clause — they cannot occur to the left of a TAME clitic because they represent the right boundary of the clause and not a phrase within it.

(7.46) *Null predicate constructions with demonstratives*

a. ya so?
   ya =so
   TC:Q =PROX
   'Is it this one?'

EDP enx029

b. enxoho axta so?
   enxoho =axta =so
   CONJ =TC:PST =PROX
   'Was it this one?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

While the declarative form focus construction is not available to the demonstrative, as in ungrammatical (7.45a), the functional equivalent is a type of identity construction where the independent demonstrative is juxtaposed with a nominal PREDICATE clause, as in (7.47a). Such constructions are not really semantically different from the equally common use of the clitic demonstrative with the nominal PREDICATE, like the alternate in (7.47b), except that the former perhaps has more of a focus on the referent of the demonstrative. Bear in mind that §7.5 below argues against constituency of demonstratives and subsequent NPs, so that the difference between (7.47a) and (7.47a) is not akin to the difference between 'that story is mine' and 'that's my story'.

(7.47) Independent demonstratives in identity constructions, and an alternate construction

a. chaxa historia ahagkok ko'o
   chaxa historia ahagkok ko'o
   that story 1SG.POSS 1SG
   'That's my story'

EDP enx006 14:38

b. historia ahagkok ko'o xa
historia ahagkok ko'o =xa
story 1SG.POSS 1SG =DMSTR
'That's my story'

Skype

However, the alternation between (7.47a) and (7.47b) is not reflective of a "movement" of the demonstrative from the right edge of the clause to the left. Quite often the noun phrase after the independent demonstrative is followed by the enclitic version of the same demonstrative, as in the examples in (7.48). In such constructions, it is clear that the initial independent demonstrative foregrounds its referent, and then a separate non-verbal PREDICATE construction comments on or describes this referent. In essence, *kes'e nanok se'e* is 'this thing, this is old'. Such a construction fits a general trend in Enxet Sur syntax and discourse of stringing together paratactic clauses with shared referents.

(7.48) *Independent demonstratives with repeated enclitic demonstratives in co-referent nominal predicates*

a. **cháxa** néxa **xa**
chá-xa ne:xa =xa
BE-DMSTR end =DMSTR
'That's all of it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kes'e** nanok **se'e**
kes'e nanok =se'e
this old.time =PROX
'This is really old'

EDP enx037 13:45

c. **Keso** ko'o **s'e**!
keso ko'o =s'e
this 1SG =PROX
'I'm here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **cha'á** pók **á**, **kes'e** pók **se'e**
cha'á po:k =á // kes'e po:k =se'e
DISTL other.M =DISTL // PROX other.M =PROX
'There's one there, and here's one here'

EDP enx026 08:42

Even though this is more readily apparent in examples with repeated demonstratives like (7.48), this is the structure of all constructions which begin with independent demonstratives — they are all just strings of nominal PREDICATE clauses. For example, the sentence in (15.85) begins with the demonstrative *cháxa* 'that', followed by a complex NP PREDICATE, and a final demonstrative enclitic which establishes co-reference with the referent of the initial demonstrative. A more literal translation of (15.85) would be something like 'That there, That's a word that's bad to say to your other.'

(7.49) **cháxa** nempeywa ekmaso antéhek agának egmók **xa**

cháxa nem-peywa ek-m-a-s-o an-téh-ek
that 1PL.PART-words F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV 1PL.IRR-be/say-NM:PO
ag-án-ak eg-mók =xa
1PL.IRR-command-NM:PO 1PL.POSS-other =DMSTR

'That's offensive to say to someone'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In this way, initial independent demonstratives and the nouns or nominalizations that follow them are not much different than the typical apposition of noun phrases (§5.1.2), especially those which follow topical demonstrative enclitics (§7.5) — the simple clause is followed by nominal PREDICATE constructions which specify referents of the clause. Importantly, this is essentially the *only* construction accessible to independent demonstratives, and in this way the demonstratives are shown to be unable to form, either in part or in whole, a phrase independent of the predicating structure of a clause.

One of the basic language-internal tests for phrasal constituency is the ability for a noun phrase (either an s-argument or in adverbial use) to be fronted ahead of a declarative verb in the second position form, like the simple noun in (7.50a). The second position form only ever occurs with a fronted NP or adverb, and the presence of the second position form therefore is one of the few morphological tests in the whole language to indicate clausal cohesion between a verb and an NP. This test shows that many kinds of complex NPs can be moved as a unit to the pre-verbal focus position, as seen in the examples in (7.50). See the noun phrase chapter (Ch. 13) for more information.

(7.50) a. **yagyáteyem** axta aptegyeyásekxak apyetno neysekso alwáta

yagyateyem =axta ap-tegyey-as-ekx-ak ap-yetn-o neysekso
giant.caiman =TC:PST M-search-VAL-DUP-SCND M.PART-lie-NM:IP among
alwata
stream

'It was a caiman they found lying in the stream'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **Apyókxoho énxet'ák** axta apkeltaqhákxak aptásweykxo aptéyak

ap-yokxoho enxet-'ak =axta apk-el-taqh-a'-akx-ak
M.PART-all.NM:PV man-PL =TC:PST M-DIST-go.back-TI-DUP-SCND
ap-tas-wey-kx-o ap-t-eyak
M.PART-eat-ARR.TI-DUP-NM:IP M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
'All of the people went home to eat their food'

Nehemiah 8 12

c. **wanmeyha apagkok** xeyk kesók
wanmeyha apagkok =xeyk k-e-s-ok
heart M.POSS =TC:HOD F-VBLZ-bad-DECL
'His heart went bad'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **yápa apketkók** sa' etwok
yapa apk-etk-ok =sa' e-tw-ok
fly M-young-INTS =TC:FUT M.IRR-eat-NM:PO
'Maggots [young flies] will eat them'

Job 24 20

e. **ánet kélekhesso** sa' kóltéhek
a-anet kel-ekh-es-so =TC:FUT kol-teh-ek
F.STAT-two IMP.PART-pile-VAL-NM:PV =TC:FUT IMP.IRR-be-NM:PO
'Make it two piles'

2 Kings 10:8

f. **ánet weyke kelennay'a étkók** sa' chá'a hélmések
a-anet weyke kel-ennay'-a e-etk-ok =sa' cha'a
F-two cow DIST-male-PL F-young-INTS =TC:FUT always
hel-mes-ek
1SG.IRR.DIST-give-NM:PO
'You will give me two young bulls'

Numbers 28 11

Demonstratives, however, do not share this property, and independent demonstratives, with few exceptions (see below), never occur before finite verbs, and never before second position verbs. Rather, to provide focus to the demonstrative, as though it were a phrasal argument of a verb, the clause is nominalized and put into the same kind of string of nominal predicates as in (7.48). For example, in (7.51c), a more literal translation might be something like 'It's that, It's what I wanted to say'.

(7.51) *Demonstrative focus as a string of nominal predicates*

a. **cháxa** sekpeykessamo nak chá'a
chaxa sek-peyk-es-samo =nak cha'a
DMSTR 1SG.PAR-start-VAL-INTS.NM:PV =TC:VIS always
'That is [the kind of person] who I always say hi to'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **cháxa** aptáha nak han semalahanchesso nétsapma
cháxa ap-táh-a =nak =han se-malahanch-ess-o
that M.PART-be-NM:IP =TC:VIS =AND 1SG.PART.PART-mid-VAL-NM:PV
né-tsap-ma
1PL.PART-die-NM:PV
'He is the one who saved me from death'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **cháxa** sekmoko nak axének
cháxa sek-mok-o =nak a-xén-ek
that 1SG.PART-want-NM:IP =TC:VIS 1SG.IRR-show-NM:PO
'That's what I wanted to say'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **cháxa** apkelyetsetchesakxa wesse'
cháxa apk-el-yetsetch-esak-xa wesse'
that M.PART-DIST-read-VAL-NM:OB leader
'That's where the boss read them'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **cháxa** ekyetnakhássawo nak ewáxok
cháxa ek-yetnakh-áss-awo =nak e-wáxok
that F.PART-lean-VAL-INTS.NM:IP =TC:VIS 1SG.POSS-innermost
'That is what saddened me' (literally 'That is what put down my spirits')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. **keso** sekwetakxo nak se'e
keso sek-wet-akx-o =nak =se'e
PROX 1SG.PART-see-DUP-NM:IP =TC:VIS =PROX
'This is what I found'

Skype 2.5.2020

g. **keso** ekwesey nátekhet

keso ek-wesey nátekhet
this F.PART-called chili
'This is called *natekhet* [chili pepper]

EDP enx001 10:12

This kind of construction — a fronted argument phrase followed by a nominalized verb (see §15.1.3) or relative clause-like structure — is of course a very cross-linguistically common means of constituent focus, including demonstrative constituents. This is the structure of an English sentence like 'This is what I found', but in the corresponding Enxet Sur expression in (7.51f), the latter clause *sekwetakxo nak se'e* is literally 'This is what I found' in a nominal PREDICATE clause with an identificational demonstrative, and the initial independent demonstrative *keso* is an entirely paratactic, non-constituent, separate expression. Keep in mind that any of the examples in (7.51) without demonstratives in the latter clause (after the independent demonstrative) are still just as much nominal PREDICATES, as it is not demonstratives or TAME clitics which create nominal predicates but the property denoting nominal expressions themselves, and neither clitic is required for a non-verbal PREDICATE clause (§5.2.1).

Occasionally in the corpus, we see independent demonstratives immediately before finite verbs with no particular intonational indication of a break between the demonstrative and the verb, as in (7.52a-7.52b). In such instances, however, there is always some morphological indication of parataxis. In (7.52a), the repetition of the demonstrative within the clause headed by the verb is an indication of distinct clauses. In (7.52b), the finite verb is in the initial rather than SCND form, indicating a lack of fronting.

(7.52) *Examples of demonstratives before finite verbs*

a. [Context: speaker is asked if they witnessed shamanic activity as a child]
ekeso mótak ko'o so yohóxma
keso m-a-wet-ak ko'o =so yohóxma
this NEG-1SG.IRR-see-SCND 1SG =PROX shaman
'I never saw this shamanism'

EDP enx047 35:11

b. **keso** negmeyokek negko'o naxma'
keso neg-meyo-kek negko'o naxma'
this 1PL-prohibit-DECL 1PL forest
'this is what we guard in the forest'

EDP enx001 26:15

The only major exception to this trend are the rote phrases *ekeso keñamak* and *cháxa keñamak*, which might be translated as 'therefore' or 'for this reason', and literally mean 'from this/that it proceeds'. This is a fairly fixed phrase however, and its use is mostly found in Bible translations, although some speakers use it frequently[8]. It should also be

[8]The entry EDP enx028 has a number of examples.

noted, however, that *keñamak* 'it comes from' does not distinguish between an initial and SCND declarative form (§3.4.1), and there is therefore no way to definitely say one way or the other whether this is actually an exception to the generalization or not.

(7.53) a. **ekeso keñamak** negko'o méko námyep
keso k-eñam-ak negko'o méko námyep
this F-come.from-DECL 1PL NEG.EXIST plantation
'For that reason we don't have gardens', literally 'this, our not having gardens comes from it'
EDP enx028 04:04

b. **Cháxa keñamak** aptamhéyak nak axayók agko' se'e kaxwo' nak, apmonye'e sa' kóltemessásekxa'
cháxa k-eñam-ak ap-tamh-éyak =nak axay-ók =agko'
that F-come.from-DECL M.PART-do-COMPL.NM:PV =TC:VIS after-INTS =DEG
=se'e kaxwo' =nak // ap-monye'e =sa'
=PROX now =TC:VIS // M.POSS-front =TC:FUT
kól-tem-ess-ás-ekx-a'
IMPR.IRR-be.TI-VAL-VAL-DUP-NM:PV
'Therefore those who are last shall be first'
Matthew 20:16

Occasionally, and much less frequently, independent demonstratives are found *after* finite verbs in what appear to be object positions, as in (7.54), and in such positions they may not necessarily be particularly intonationally distinct from the verb. This almost exclusively occurs with the proximal *keso*, and in a few instances with *cháxa*, and often is also followed by NPs (described in §7.5). The fact that they are in the independent form however, is taken as evidence that they are paratactic and not syntactically part of the phrase which precedes them. This use of independent demonstratives is not necessarily widespread — it is common in the speech of a couple of speakers in the corpus, but absent from the speech of others.

(7.54) yetneyk han apqánet wokma'ak, élyepheyk **keso**, apwakxeyk han pánaqte ax-agkok
yetneyk =han apq-ánet wokma'ak // él-yephey-k keso //
EXIST =AND M.STAT-two boy // M.IRR.DIST-swell-NM:PO this //
ap-w-akx-eyk =han pánaqte a-xagkok
M-arrive-DUP-DECL =AND medicine F.POSS-house
'There were also two boys, they were swollen up [with measles], and they went to the doctor'
EDP enx047 35:48

In summary, the distribution and function of the independent, non-cliticizing demonstrative forms reinforce claims about topical demonstratives in general: 1) they are not

independent phrases, but instead are part of the morphological architecture of the clause as a whole, and 2) they constitute the right edge of clauses, after which all material is appositive or constitutes its own paratactic clause, typically of the nominal PREDICATE type, and 3) they serve neither the discrete nominal function of REFERENCE or the adverbial function of MODIFICATION, but have the broader discourse function of directing the attention of the interlocutor to topics which are being commented on.

7.5 Demonstratives followed by nouns

A likely majority of languages, at least conventionally, are described as having both pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. In English, the proximal and anaphoric *this* can function either pronominally as an NP head (typically called a demonstrative pronoun) in a phrase like *I don't need this* or adnominally as a nominal modifier in *I don't need this money* — there are no morphological distinctions between pronominal and adnominal demonstratives in English, unlike many other languages, but they have clear distributional distinctions. The relationship between demonstratives and noun phrases is therefore one of the most ubiquitous elements of the description of demonstratives in a given language, and demonstratives are often described primarily in the context of the noun phrase.

That said, many languages have been described as lacking either pronominal or adnominal demonstratives. Where languages lack pronominal demonstratives, adnominal demonstratives typically act as modifiers of third person pronouns to fill the same function as pronominal demonstratives (Dixon, 2003).

Though less common and perhaps more controversial, a good number of languages have been described as lacking adnominal demonstratives, and instead having only pronominal demonstratives. In several American indigenous languages (as well as in Australia), demonstratives may co-occur with a co-referential noun, but the relationship is very loose, and the interpretation is typically that a demonstrative pronoun is simply juxtaposed with an appositional noun (Diessel, 1999, Hale, 1983, Heath, 1986). Such analyses appeal to both language internal tests and more theoretical notions of constituency to make the claim that demonstratives do not form syntactic units with NPs.

For example, in the description of the Cariban language Panaré in Payne and Payne (2012), a designated clause initial focus position permits demonstrative pronouns or NPs, but never an NP with a specifying adnominal demonstrative, despite the fact that demonstratives may appear adjacent to co-referent NPs at the right edge of the clause. This data, along with a generally very loose and often discontinuous association between supposed NP elements in the language, is taken as evidence that Panaré only has pronominal and not adnominal demonstratives.

Mithun (1987) gives a number of arguments for a similar analysis of demonstratives in the Iroquoian language Tuscarora. While Tuscarora pronominal demonstratives are often adjacent to co-referent NPs, the relative order of the two is free and semantically inconsequential, and there can be (but does not have to be) a major pause or intonation break between the demonstrative and NP. Tuscarora nouns do not require a determiner/specifier, and demonstratives therefore do not fill an obligatory position as they

do in some languages, and Tuscarora demonstratives can co-occur with other nominal specifiers like possessors — something generally not possible in languages with true adnominal demonstratives. She argues that there is no formal distinction in demonstratives whether there is an adjacent NP or not (although this is equally true of English and some other languages). Furthermore, these features are argued to be associated with the general holophrastic nature of Tuscarora verbs, the argument status of verbal pronominal affixes, and the appositional, paratactic nature of NPs which are co-referent with verbal arguments.

Many of the same structural and semantic arguments that have been made in such descriptions can apply equally to Enxet Sur, and serve to show that Enxet Sur does not have true constituent adnominal demonstratives:

- Demonstrative and co-referent NPs cannot occur as a single unit in clause initial phrase positions like constituent focus or nominal predicates — both are positions that other kinds of complex NPs can occupy
- NPs which follow co-referent demonstratives often do so after a substantial intonation break or pause
- NPs which follow co-referent demonstratives often are marked with their own TAME clitics and occasionally their own demonstratives, both of which indicate a predicate nominal construction
- There are no nominal determiners in Enxet Sur, so demonstratives do not fill such a position
- Demonstratives can be followed by co-referent NPs that have other specifiers, like possessors, or can be inherently definite NPs like proper names
- Demonstratives can be followed by NPs which are not co-referent

The difference between languages like Tuscarora or Panaré and Enxet Sur is that those languages are argued to lack adnominal demonstratives in favor of the exclusive use of phrasally independent pronominal demonstratives, while Enxet Sur demonstratives, as I have argued so far, do not really behave like independent pronominal demonstratives either. Therefore, arguments in favor of demonstrative-NP non-constituency are similar here, but there is not a series of corresponding arguments in favor of the phrasal independence of the demonstrative. This section then, proceeds with an overview of demonstrative-NP adjacency and its general interpretation, while the following subsections provide specific syntactic, semantic, and phonological arguments for the non-constituency of co-occurring demonstratives and NPs.

Both the enclitic demonstratives and the independent demonstratives can occur *adjacent*[9] to an NP with which they are co-referent when in apparently dependent positions.

[9]Although the term *adnominal* does literally mean "next to a noun", I follow the convention in the literature that *adnominal* implies constituency with the noun, and therefore use the term *adjacency* to refer to the simple juxtaposition of the elements in question.

Both strategies can be seen in the natural speech example in (7.55)[10] — the independent demonstrative in *keso xatnapwa'* and the enclitic in *=xa xápen apwa'*.

(7.55) apyanmagkassek nahan waley **keso xatnapwa'**, natámen awanhek han selyaqye, ennókek axta **xa xápen apwa'**

ap-yanmagkas-sek =nahan waley [**keso xatnapwa'**] // natámen
M-pay-DECL =AND Paraguayan [PROX rhea.feather] // therefore
a-wanh-ek =han selyaqye // enno:-kek =axta =[**xa** **xápen**
F.STAT-big-DECL =AND money // expensive-DECL =TC:PST [=DMSTR rhea
ap-wa']
M.POSS-feather]

'The Paraguayans paid for these rhea feathers, and it was a lot of money, those rhea feathers were expensive'

EDP enx047 25:57

We are only concerned with demonstrative-noun adjacencies where the demonstrative precedes the NP (henceforth "Dem-NP strings"). This is distinct from instances where a demonstrative enclitic attaches to the right of an NP, as these instances are definitively identificational constructions with a nominal PREDICATE. Some examples are given in (7.56a) and (7.56b) for reference, but such constructions are discussed above in §7.3, and nominal PREDICATE constructions are discussed further in §5.2.1. Note that identificational constructions like *námok xa* 'that's a palo borracho tree' in (7.56a) are fully independent clauses. While they may function, as in this example, similar to a preposed topicalizing oblique phrase (compare English *as for that palo borracho tree*), they are not structurally dependent upon what follows, and instead are entirely paratactic.

(7.56) a. **námok xa**, yetneyk exnamok

námok **=xa** // yetneyk exnamok
palo.borracho =DMSTR // EXIST flower

'that's a palo borracho tree, it has flowers'

EDP enx001 52:01

b. háwe exnek **peheye xa**, na pehe' kelteme énxet nano' qatheg

hawe =exnek **peheye** **=xa** // na pehe' kel-tem-e enxet nano'
NEG =TC:REP potato =DMSTR // so potato IMP.PART-be.TI-NM:PV man old
qatheg
lotus

'It wasn't really a potato, this potato was what the old Enxet called *qatheg* [lotus root]'

[10] In this example, *xatnapwa'* 'rhea feather' is a compounded and reduced form of *xápen apwa'* — the compounding/reduction may have some kind of relationship to the different choice in demonstrative type, but it is unclear how.

EDP enx038

Similarly, an NP might be followed by a demonstrative enclitic with which it is not at all co-referential (similar to what is described in §7.3 above), and the demonstrative in these cases is licensed by something above the adjacent noun. In both (7.57a) and (7.57b), the demonstrative *=xa* refers to the subject of the predicate and not the noun which precedes it, which is in an argument/object position in both cases — in (7.57a), the noun is the object of a topological PREDICATE *ketok* 'it is near', and in (7.57b), the noun is the NP COMPLEMENT of the PREDICATE.

(7.57) a. ketok **ámay xa**
ketok **amay** **=xa**
near road =DMSTR
'*It*'s near the road'

EDP enx025 34:42

b. megkawakxók eyke **apyókxoho énxet xa**
m-egka-w-akx-ok =eyke ap-yokxoho enxet =xa
NEG-F.IRR-arrive-DUP-INTS.SCND =TC:ASR M.PART-all man =DMSTR
'But *that* won't be enough for all the people'

John 6 9

Dem-NP strings, then, are the only ones which might be viewed as containing adnominal demonstratives, and are the core focus here. Note that this "fixed" order means that one argument often made for a lack of true adnominal demonstratives — that demonstratives and co-referent NPs have no set relative word order — does not apply to Enxet Sur. However, as I argue here, this appearance of a "fixed" Dem-NP order is accounted for by the fixed position of the demonstrative as a clause-final boundary marker which is then followed by co-referent NPs. In other words, the order of these two elements is not free because the position of the demonstrative enclitic is fixed, but this is not the product of a fixed specifier position for the demonstrative within a noun phrase.

The simplest Dem-NP strings consist of a demonstrative enclitic followed by a noun *without* any elements following the noun (such as TAME clitics or further demonstratives). Such strings in an embedded, non-focus position are relatively rare in the corpus. The examples in (7.58) show Dem-NP strings with NPs in a range of different semantic roles relative to the PREDICATES which precede them.

(7.58) *Demonstratives followed by simple NPs, no TAME clitics*
a. apkenyeyk axta **xa xáma wókma'ák**
ap-keny-eyk =axta =xa xama wokma'ak
M-run-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR one boy
'The lone boy ran away'

EDP enx006 03:56

b. kyaxa nenlana **xa video**
cháxa nen-lan-a =xa video
DMSTR 1PL.PART-make-NM:IP =DMSTR video
'For that [reason], we made that video'

enx041

c. Yentexek hek ñata ektémakxa apheykha énxet **se'e Chaco**
yentexek =hek =ñata ek-te:m-akxa ap-h-eykha e:nxet
heavy =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB M.PART-sit-EXTS.NM:PV man
=se'e Chaco
=PROX Chaco
'It was hard the way the Enxet lived here in the Chaco'

LC Nata Sento

d. etánegken axta ko'o **xa kelán'a**
e-tanegken =axta ko'o =xa kelan'a
1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law =TC:PST 1SG =DMSTR woman
'That woman is my daughter in law'

Skype 2.5.2020

Much more common, however, is a string consisting of *demonstrative–NP–TAME clitic*, with the evidential *nak* being far and away the most common TAME clitic to occur in this position. Several examples are given in (7.59). The evidential marker *nak*, as described in §6.2.3, has the property of marking its host PREDICATE as being something that both speaker and interlocutor have epistemic access to. This yields in one sense something like a presently visible evidential marker, while elsewhere behaving more like anaphoric definiteness or something that indicates 'as we've talked about'.

(7.59) *Examples of demonstrative-NP-TAME strings with the evidential nak*

a. yaqsa énxet apmeta **xa máxek nak**
yaqsa e:nxet ap-met-a =xa máxek =nak
what man M.PART-dig-NM:PV =DMSTR hole =TC:VIS
'Who dug this hole?'

EDP enx046

b. ahóxek **se'e naxma nak**
a-ho:x-ek =se'e naxma =nak
F.STAT-long-DECL =PROX woods =TC:VIS
'These woods are far away'

EDP enx009

c. aptókagkek xeyk **he aqsa'ak nak**
ap-to:k-ag-kek=xeyk=he aqsa'-ak=nak
M-eat-COMPL-DECL=TC:HOD=MED thing-PL=TC:VIS
'Those guys over there already ate'

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d. sekwe ko'o **se'e yókxexma nak**, háwe seyókxa
sek-w-e ko'o =se'e yo:kxexma =nak // háwe sey-o:kxa
1SG.PART-arrive-INF 1.SG =PROX country =TC:VIS // NEG 1SG.PART-country
'I'm a newcomer in this territory, this is not my land'

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e. sekha makham **se'e El Estribo nak**
sek-h-a makham =se'e El Estribo=nak
1SG.PART-sit-NM:IP still =PROX El Estribo =TC:VIS
'I still live here in El Estribo'

EDP enx028 01:49

Nak in the examples in (7.59) arguably has semantics that deal with first hand, present evidentiality, but this same construction can also yield something that more discretely looks like anaphoric definiteness — indicating that the referent of a PREDICATE nominal expression has already been mentioned in discourse, as in (7.60). To be clear, *nak* is *not* a marker of nominal definiteness within the NP, and is instead a TAME clitic with scope over a PREDICATE, but because of the discourse function of nominal PREDICATES described in §5.1, *nak* has a function similar to anaphoric definiteness when used with nominal PREDICATES. Kalisch (2009) briefly describes a similar use for the cognate of *nak* in Enlhet Norte.

(7.60) xama ekhem axta appaqmeteyncha'a Simon Recalde, lider egagkok axta negko'o **xa énxet nak**

xama ekhem =axta ap-paqmet-eyncha'a Simon Recalde // lider
one day =TC:PST M.PART-chat-COMPL.EXTS.NM:IP Simon Recalde // leader
egagkok =axta negko'o =xa e:nxet =nak
1PL.POSS =TC:PST 1PL =DMSTR man =TC:VIS

'One day, Simon Recalde spoke, this man was our leader'

EDP enx028 02:21

Nominal PREDICATE constructions with noun phrases followed by *nak* often serve the function of identifying entities that have only just been established in the discourse, with

or without a demonstrative. For example, in (7.61), the line given is the first mention that the speaker gives of a ship during the telling of a story, saying first *eyke ekxegakmo* 'It came', followed by a clarifying *barco nak* '(It was) a ship'. The verb *ekxegakmo* introduces an argument, which is then identified by the completely paratactic nominal predicate construction *barco nak*. It is tedious and confusing in the English translation to constantly translate these appositive nominal predicate constructions as such, but in another context, say when a speaker is looking directly at a boat and points to it saying "*barco nak*", the only reasonable translation is 'It is a ship". This kind of presentational nominal PREDICATE which defines arguments of previous verbs is a ubiquitous element of Enxet Sur speech, discussed further in §5.1.

(7.61) eyke ekxegakmo, **barco nak**, étkok

eyke ek-xegak-m-o // barco =nak // e-etkok
TC:ASR F.PART-go-TERM-NM:IP // ship =TC:VIS // F.STAT-small

'But it came, a ship, a little one'

NNE190 09:10

This kind of structure, where a word or clause introduces a third person pronominal argument in essentially cataphoric fashion, and then defines the argument through nominal predicates (typically with *nak*), is not limited to verbs. In (7.62), *nápakha* 'on its side, next to it' is a positional noun (§9.2.1) with a possessor which is inherently indicated by the internal pronominal prefix it contains, but in this example, the speaker says *nápakha* before establishing the identity of the possessor. The speaker then identifies the argument in the nominal predicate identity clause, *Rio Verde nak* '(It was on the side of) *Rio Verde*', and then uses a similar clause *Élwata nak ma'a* 'That's *Élwata*' to again provide an identity clause which gives an alternate place name for *Rio Verde*.

(7.62) tén akkelana makham **nápakha**, **Rio Verde nak**, Élwata nak ma'a

tén apk-el-an-a makham nápakha // Rio Verde =nak // Élwata
then M.PART-DIST-make-NM:IP still side.M // Rio Verde =TC:VIS // Élwata
=nak =ma'a
=TC:VIS =DMSTR

'Then they started construction again on the side of it... of Rio Verde... That's *Élwata* (in Enxet Sur)'

NNE190 08:51

So then, later, when the same speaker in the same story brings up for the first time a paved road that the Enxet were forced to walk along, the road is first referred to only through the pronominal prefix and demonstrative in *ahóxek ma'a* 'It was long', and is then identified in the following clause *amay nak* '(It's a road)'. However, even though the demonstrative is apparently co-referent with the NP that follows it, the demonstrative

and the NP plus *nak* belong to two distinct clauses, not to a single NP. Again, in all of these examples, the NP =*nak* constructions are intonationally distinct from what precedes them, if not marked by a significant pause.

(7.63) ahóxek ma'a, **amay nak**, ámay néten

a-hóxek =ma'a // amay =nak // ámay néten
F.STAT-long =DMSTR // road =TC:VIS // road above

'It's really long, the road, the raised road'

NNE190 06:27

To drive home the point that the NPs which follow demonstratives are in fact separate, paratactic, nominal predicates, they can have their own demonstrative enclitics. The example in (7.64) shows a string of distinct PREDICATES, each with its own clausal enclitic that points forward to the next PREDICATE. Any attempt to claim that strings like *ma'a panaqte* 'that medicine' are actually cohesive NP units with adnominal modifiers simply cannot hold when the noun has both of the core elements which are used to identify a clausal structure: TAME clitics and demonstratives.

(7.64) wánxa yetneyk ma'a sekxéna nak **ma'a pánaqte** nak ma'a

wanxa yetneyk =ma'a sek-xen-a =nak ma'a panaqte =nak
only EXIST =DMSTR 1SG.PART-show-NM:IP =TC:VIS DMSTR medicine =TC:VIS
ma'a
=DMSTR

'There was only that medicine that I'm talking about', literally 'There's just that, [that is] the thing I'm describing, [that is] the medicine'

NNE170 07:52

Although *nak* is the most commonly encountered TAME clitic which follows demonstrative-adjacent NPs, others are occasionally encountered in the corpus, as in (7.65a-7.65b). It may be coincidence that in my corpus, *nak* is more common in this position than other TAME clitics, as descriptions of this phenomenon in other EE languages indicate that other TAME clitics are equally as likely to be used as *nak* for appositive NPs, including after demonstratives (Kalisch, 2009, van Gysel, 2017), but the difference may also be indicative of an innovative expansion of the use of *nak* that is unique to Enxet Sur.

(7.65) a. natá negmaha negko'o **xa planta exchek** sekxekmosa

natá neg-m-aha negko'o =xa planta =exchek
then 1PL.PART-have-EXTS.NM:IP 1.PL =DMSTR plant =HTC:PST
sek-xekmos-a
1SG.PART-show-NM:IP

'So we use that plant I just showed you'

EDP enx001 07:03

b. kenhan ektáxések ko'o malwagkayam ekpeywa ko'o **keso méme axta**
ken =han ek-táxe:s-sek ko'o m-a-l-wagk-ayam ek-peyw-a ko'o keso
then =AND 1SG-write-DECL 1.SG PROX my.mother =TC:PST
me:me =axta

'and I write this so that I don't forget the words of my mother'

López Ramírez (1996)

In summary, wherever we encounter a Dem-NP string in Enxet Sur, it is always *possible* to analyze the NP as an appositive nominal predicate, and in most cases, because of the presence of TAME clitics or demonstratives following the NP, it is *necessary* to do so. The following subsections provide further evidence and argumentation for the lack of adnominal demonstratives on the basis of syntactic and semantic problems with a Dem-NP constituency analysis, and the phonological evidence for clausal boundaries.

7.5.1 Syntactic and semantic problems with constituency

A number of syntactic and semantic tests provide evidence that demonstratives and the NPs which follow them do not form robust constituencies.

Syntactic restrictions

First, the same tests described in §7.4 which show that independent demonstratives do not behave as phrases constituent to the clause generally apply to Dem-NP strings as well. They cannot appear in the preverbal focus position of a declarative verb, and cannot serve as nominal predicates (§7.4), the two primary language internal tests for NP constituency.

The sentence in (7.66) shows an ungrammatical example of a Dem-NP string being fronted ahead of a second position declarative verb. As described in §7.4, any utterance initial demonstrative must be in the independent form, so a parallel construction to that in (7.66) but with the clitic *xa* in place of independent *chaxa* would immediately be ungrammatical on morphophonological grounds.

(7.66) ****cháxa cargador nak** axta ekmesak ko'o xep
chaxa cargador =nak =axta ek-mes-ak ko'o xep
DMSTR charger =TC:VIS =TC:PST 1SG-give-SCND 1SG 2SG.M

'I gave you *that* charger'

Skype 2.6.2020

Like the independent demonstratives, the closest functional equivalent to the preverbal focus construction for Dem-NP strings is to have them juxtaposed with a nominalized verb (7.67).

(7.67) **cháxa cargador nak** sekmesso axta ko'o xép

chaxa cargador =nak sek-mes-so =axta ko'o xep
DMSTR charger =TC:VIS 1SG.PART-give-NM:PV =TC:PST 1SG 2SG.M

'That is the charger that I gave you'

Skype 2.6.2020

Examples of this type of construction — a demonstrative NP juxtaposed with a nominalized verb — are not nearly as high frequency in the corpus as the independent demonstratives by themselves in the same position, but show up often enough to suggest that this is a perfectly productive type of construction.

(7.68) a. **Ekeso yohóxma appeywa apyetlama** apketkawok kenhan kelán'a elyetlama kemáta

ekeso yohoxma ap-peywa ap-yetl-am-a apk-etk-awok kenhan
PROX shaman M.PART-words M.PART-follow-TI-NM:PV M-young-PL AND
kelan'a el-yetl-am-a kemata
woman F.PART.DIST-follow-TI-NM:PV always

'These words of the shamans were always followed by the young men and women'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **keso historia nak na apxeyenma** axta ko'o abuelo nahan abuela tén han táta axta

keso historia =nak na ap-xeyen-ma =axta ko'o abuelo =nahan
this story =TC:VIS SO M.PART-show-NM:PV =TC:PST 1SG grandfather =AND
abuela tén =han táta =axta
grandmother then =AND my.father =TC:PST

This story was told by my grandfather and grandmother and my father'

EDP enx006 09:30

c. **keso planta ekwesey** agwet

keso planta ek-wesey agwet
this plant F.PART-called k.o.plant

'this plant is called *agwet*'

EDP enx001 03:17

d. **keso ápetek sekmamenyeho** nak cha'a ko'o wahanek

keso a-apetek sek-m-a-menyeh-o =nak cha'a ko'o
this F.POSS-meat 1SG.PART-TI-VBLZ-want-NM:IP =TC:VIS always 1SG
wa-han-ek
1SG.IRR-cook-NM:PO

'This is the meat I like to cook' or 'I like to cook this meat'

Skype Notes

e. **keso aksok ekwesey** yaqtépa yámet
keso aksok ek-wesey yaqtépa yámet
this thing F.PART-called squash tree
'This thing is called *yaqtepa yamet*'

EDP enx001 14:01

Examples of Dem-NP strings followed by finite verbs at all are rare in the corpus, and such "exceptions" only serve to reinforce the generalization that Dem-NP strings do not function as cohesive NPs or as phrasal dependents of verbs. (7.69-7.72) are the only examples recorded thus far of Dem-NP strings followed by finite verbs. In (7.69-7.70), the TAME clitic *axta* 'past tense' occurs after the finite verb rather than after the NP, in contrast to the NP-TAME-Verb order found in non-verbal focus constructions. Furthermore, the verb *apxegkek* 'he went' in (7.70) is not in the SCND form (*aptahak* in (7.69) is one of the verb bases which is the same in both initial and second position (§3.4.1)). The examples in (7.71-7.72) lack TAME clitics, but their finite verbs are also in the initial declarative form and not the SCND form. It is more parsimonious to assume that these rare instances of DPs followed by finite verbs are simply paratactic. I am not suggesting that these demonstrative NPs are clefted, but rather that their only relationship to the rest of the utterance is one of adjacency.

(7.69) Natámen **keso énxet aptahak** axta apkeláneya apnámokkok

Natámen keso énxet ap-tah-ak =axta apk-el-áney-a
after this man M-be/say-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-command-NM:IP
ap-námokkok
M.POSS-other.PL

'Then this man, he said to his kin...'

LC Amya'a Kempakhakma

(7.70) Natámen **keso énxet apxegkek** axta ekneweyxchexa

Natámen keso énxet ap-xeg-kek =axta ek-newey-xch-exa
after this man M-go-DECL =TC:PST F.PART-dance-MID-NM:OB

'Then this man went to where they were dancing'

LC Amya'a neptana

(7.71) hakte... **keso lugar** nentaxneyk kaxwo' ... aldea comunidad indigena ekwesey San Carlos

hakte // keso lugar nen-taxn-eyk kaxwo' // aldea comunidad indigena
because // this place 1PL-enter-DECL now // village community indigenous
ek-wesey San Carlos
F.PART-called San Carlos

'because, this place, we are entering right now the village of San Carlos'

EDP enx009

(7.72) hakte **keso lugar** yetneyk kelasma'

hakte keso lugar yetneyk kelasma'
because this place DECL fish

'because this place has fish'

EDP enx008 33:53

Therefore, the closest thing to a focus construction for demonstrative-NP strings is like that in (7.67), with independent demonstrative followed by noun and then nominalized verb. In (§7.4), the strings consisting of independent demonstratives followed by clauses headed by nominalized verbs are described not as identity copula clauses, but as completely paratactic. There are, however, more than just those two logical possibilities when there is a co-referent NP involved, and the constructions like that in (7.67) could be interpreted a number of ways, all of which analyze the construction as consisting of one or more nominal PREDICATE clauses.

Initially, it seems possible that the whole construction could be a single well formed clause. This would be true if the Dem-NP string is acting as the predicate of a zero-copula, with the nominalized clause in the "subject" position. (7.67) would therefore literally be 'What I gave you is that charger'. However, demonstrative-NP strings do not form nominal PREDICATES elsewhere. While an NP can serve as a nominal PREDICATE with TAME modification as in (7.73a), a demonstrative-NP string cannot be in the same position, as in the ungrammatical example in (7.73b). To be clear, (7.73b) is not a strictly ungrammatical utterance, it could mean something like 'this was a dog' or literally 'this here, it was a dog' in the right context, but cannot be interpreted with 'this dog' as an NP predicate[11]. The closest grammatical construction to something like (7.73b) is that in (7.73c), which is composed of two distinct clauses — *axta so* a null predicate (§5.2.1) meaning 'it was this' and the nominal predicate construction *semheg nak* which is literally 'it is a dog'.

(7.73) a. semheg axta
semheg =axta
dog =TC:PST

[11]The grammaticality of (7.73a) and ungrammaticality of (7.73b) as nominal PREDICATES is likely based in the nature of Enxet Sur nouns — as suggested in (§5.1.3) they are fundamentally property attributing and predicative, not referential items whose natural place is to head a dependent, referential NP.

'It was a/the dog'

Skype 7.28.2020

b. **keso semheg axta
keso semheg =axta
this dog =TC:PST
**'It was this dog'

Skype 7.28.2020

c. axta so semheg nak
axta =so semheg =nak
TC:PST =PROX dog =TC:VIS
'It was this dog'

Skype 7.28.2020

Constructions like (7.73c) are not the most common in the corpus, but do occur, as in the examples in (7.74).

(7.74) *Null copula with demonstrative followed by appositive/predicative noun*

a. hexta apcháphássesso m'a Esteban
he =xta apch-áphäss-ess-o =m'a Esteban
TC:REP =TC:PST M.PART-send-VAL-NM:PV =DMSTR Esteban
'They say Esteban sent it to him', literally 'The one who sent it to him was (they say) him, Esteban'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. keya apxegà axta Filadelfia xa? **enxoho axta eyke l'a m'a pók...**
keya ap-xeg-à =axta Filadelfia =xa // enxoho =axta =eyke
TC:Q M.PART-go-NM:PV =TC:PST Filadelfia =DMSTR // CONJ =TC:PST =TC:ASR
=l'a =m'a pók
=TC:DUB =DMSTR other.P
'Was it him that went to Filadelfia, or was it his friend?'

EDP enx035

Such constructions allow a Dem-NP string to function semantically like a nominal predicate, despite the fact that such strings are not actually constituent NPs. A construction like (7.73c) is literally something like 'this was it, the dog/it's a dog'. What these data suggest, however, is that the strings consisting of demonstrative-NP-nominalized verb, as in (7.67), are essentially paratactic strings rather than nominal predicates, and, at least in terms of their structure, could be literally rendered into English as something like 'this, it's a charger, it's what I gave you', as opposed to a cohesive single clause 'what I gave you is a charger'.

Semantic evidence

There are also a series of semantic arguments against the constituency or dependency of adjacent demonstratives and NPs — that demonstratives often do not actually serve to specify the referent of the nouns which follow them. This could occur because the NP is inherently indefinite (7.75a) or because it already has a clearly defined definite referent (7.75b). It might also be because the NP is an event denoting nominalization (Ch. 15), either using the perfective form to refer to a general, indefinite event (7.75c), or using the imperfective form to refer to a particular event (7.75d) or a hypothetical one (7.75e). In all such instances, the demonstrative cannot be said to have the function of limiting the possible referents of the nominal expression to the right; rather, the demonstrative points to the topic of the clause to its left, and this topic is then identified or reiterated through the following nominal PREDICATE.

(7.75) *Semantic non-restriction of demonstratives followed by NPs*

a. hémok axta exche' **m'a xama kéltáwa' étkok agko' la'a ektaqmópéyák**
ø-h-ém-ok =axta exche' =m'a xama kél-táwa' étkok
F-sit-TI-INTS.DECL =TC:PST 2SG.F =DMSTR one IMPR.POSS-spouse F.young
=agko' =la'a ek-taqmóp-éyák
=DEG.F =TC:DUB F.PART-abandon-COMPL.NM:PV
'You are like *a young abandoned wife*.'

b. etegyohok axta cha'a kelasma **m'a xemnega táta axta**
e-tegy-ohok =axta cha'a kelasma =m'a xemnega táta
M.IRR-search-INTS.NM:PO =TC:PST always fish =DMSTR deceased my.father
=axta
=TC:PST
'My late father used to go fishing all the time'

c. máxa axta anhan **ma'a élmahágweykmohol'a etyamok takha'**
máxa =axta =anhan =ma'a él-mahág-wey-k-m-oho
like =TC:PST =AND =DMSTR F.PART.DIST-head.to-ARR-TI-TERM-INTS.NM:PV
=l'a e-ty-am-ok takha'
=TC:DUB M.IRR-fall-TERM-NM:PO lightning
'It was like the rumbling of thunder'

d. Q: yaqsak axta ektéma mexñama? A: se, axta egkeñamak **ma'a ekmámeka axta**
yaqsak =axta ek-tém-a m-e-xñ-am-a // se, axta
what =TC:PST F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP NEG-M.IRR-go-TI-NM:IP // well TC:PST
egk-eñam-ak =ma'a ek-mámek-a =axta
F-come.from-SCND =DMSTR F.PART-rain-NM:IP =TC:PST
Q: 'Why did you not go?' A: 'Because it was raining'

e. hetxoho' cha'a **m'a selnáxamaxko enxoho**

he-tx-oho' cha'a =m'a sel-náx-am-axk-o
1SG.PAT.IRR-enter-INTS.NM:PO always =DMSTR 1SG.PART.DIST-dress-TI-MID-NM:IP
=enxoho
=CONJ

'I look great when I dress up'

Not all nouns which follow demonstrative enclitics can even really be construed as co-referential. For example, in (7.76a), a co-referential or DP analysis would mean something like 'This rhea was the same [as something else]', and not 'This was the same for the rhea'. The proximal enclitic *se'e* 'this' refers to the situation discussed immediately prior, and not to *xápen* 'rhea'. Similarly in (7.76b), there is no way to construe the meaning of the utterance as something like 'it is made of these woods', and the proximal *se'e* and *naxma'* 'woods' are not co-referential.

(7.76) a. Kenhan eñak hekñat ekpeywa ekxámokxoho aksok. Hawók hekñat **se'e xápen**
kenhan e-ñ-ak =hek =nat ek-peywa ek-xamok-xoho
and M.IRR-hear-NM:PO =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.PART-words F.PART-all-INTS.NM:IP
aqsok // hawok =hek =nat =se'e xapen
thing // same =TC:REP =TC:RPST =PROX rhea

'And they [shamans] heard the voice of all things. It was the same as this for the rhea...'

Ektemakxa aptekkeso yohoxoma apteyak

b. kelánexko' **se'e naxma'**
k-el-án-exk-o' =se'e naxma'
F-DIST-make-MID-INTS.DECL =PROX woods

'All of this is woods'

EDP enx009

The vagueness between pronominal use and adverbial use described above in (§7.3) does not go away when demonstratives are followed by an NP, as in (7.77) — the demonstrative *so* could be interpreted as indicating 'this firewood' or as an adverbial element 'here'. In the context in which such an utterance would be used, the distinction between the two interpretations is not viewed as being particularly meaningful or even real in the minds of Enxet Sur speakers — the two clauses are 'Here I brought it, the firewood', and so the firewood under discussion is the firewood that is 'here'.

(7.77) ekwakteyk ko'o **so yántápak**

ek-wak-t-eyk ko'o =so yantapak
1SG-arrive-CISL-DECL 1SG =PROX firewood

'I brought this firewood' or 'I brought firewood here'

Notes 8-20-2018

If an object NP comes inside of the demonstrative, as in (7.78), this ambiguity is lost, and the demonstrative is only really interpreted adverbially.

(7.78) antok nento **s'e**

an-t-ok nen-t-o s'e
1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV =PROX

'Let's eat our food here'

Skype 9.17.2019

However, if the object is to the right, the ambiguity returns. In (7.79), the proximal *se'e* can refer to a local adverbial 'here', or it can refer to *nento* 'our food'. The demonstrative-NP string is actually *more* ambiguous. The predicating construction *nento nak* 'it's our food' need not specify some referent of the demonstrative at all.

(7.79) antok **se'e nento nak**

an-t-ok =se'e nen-t-o =nak
1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO =PROX 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV =TC:VIS

'Let's eat our food here' or 'let's eat this food'

Skype 9.17.2019

The different semantic outcomes of (7.78) and (7.79) are the result of the difference in their structure and the nature of enclitic demonstratives. When *nento* 'food' is inside the clause (between the predicate and demonstrative), it acts as the nominal COMPLEMENT and the clause is interpreted as a whole. *Nento*, as the COMPLEMENT, is part of the *comment* of the clause whose *topic* is something in the proximal field, and since the topical demonstrative points to something outside of the clause, it is not pointing to *nento*. However, (7.79) is composed of two discrete clauses, and ANTOK SE'E, without a nominal complement, can either mean 'let's eat this' or 'let's eat here'. The following *nento nak* '[it is] our food' could be interpreted either as resolving or clarifying what is being pointed to by *se'e* or as identifying an s-argument of the verb, but it is able to be interpreted in either fashion because it is not syntactically cohesive with or semantically specified by the demonstrative that precedes it.

Related to the pronominal/adverbial vagueness issue, NPs can have an adverbial rather than s-argument use without any overt indication of such a distinction (§5.1.3, §9.1), which causes further complications for the analysis of Dem-NP strings. For example, in (7.80), the NP *Chaco* is a local s-argument of the nominalized verb *apheykha* 'living'. Whether or not local arguments of this verb act like "core" arguments is up for debate, but there is no way to interpret this string as meaning 'this Chaco' — there is only one Chaco. The semantic interpretation of *se'e* is therefore rightly an adverbial one.

(7.80) Yentexek hek ñata ektémakxa apheykha énxet se'e Chaco

yentex-ek =hek =nata ek-temak-xa ap-h-eykha enxet
heavy-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB M.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV Enxet
=se'e Chaco
=PROX Chaco

'It was difficult the way the Enxet lived here in the Chaco'

López Ramírez (1996)

In a language like English, linguists tend to analyze strings like *this firewood* as constituent phrases, but *here in the Chaco* as being in an appositional relationship. In English, such a distinction is justified because *this firewood* is just as much a noun phrase as *firewood*, but *here inside* has a different distributional character than just the adverb *inside*. However, in Enxet Sur, no such distinction exists between the distributions of Dem-NP strings based on whether or not the NP has adverbial semantics relative to the preceding clause. These adverbial-use NPs can just as easily take their own TAME clitics and enclitic demonstratives.

In the multi-line textual example in (7.81a-7.81c), the topicalized demonstrative *=m'a* is referring and adjacent to the NP *ságe étkok* 'little lake'. But just a few lines later in (7.81c), the referent of *=ma'a* is the prepositional phrase *kañe ságe* 'inside the lake'. We would not analyze the demonstrative in (7.81c) as constituent with the following prepositional phrase, and yet the construction is parallel to the demonstrative followed by NP in (7.81a). An analysis of (7.81a) which treats *m'a* not as an adnominal demonstrative but as simply being juxtaposed with a noun would allow (7.81a) and (7.81c) to be treated as parallel constructions, which they quite clearly are.

(7.81) apmeyákxeyk axta m'a ságe étkok, apwet'ak axta apmenek, ekmeyákxo m'a kañe ságe

a. ap-meyá-kx-eyk =axta **=m'a ságe étkok**
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR lake F.small
'he went to the little lake'

b. ap-wet'-ak =axta ap-menek
M-see-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-foot
'he saw his footprints'

c. ek-meyá-kx-o **=m'a kañe ságe**
F.PART-head.to-DMSTR-NM:IP =DEM inside lake
'heading into the lake'

EDP enx006 03:28

Limits on Dem-NP strings

A final syntactic fact is that dyadic and triadic verbs are still limited to a single Dem-NP argument string, much as they are limited to a single enclitic demonstrative. Other languages have been described with demonstratives that cliticize away from their co-referent

nouns, as in the K^{w}ak^{w}'ala example in (7.82), where demonstrative clitics are phonologically cliticized to the left, but specify the nominal expression to their right. However, in such languages, if we put aside the phonological word structure and still consider Dem-NP strings as cohesive phrases with a nominal specifier, clauses with bivalent verbs can still have two demonstrative-marked arguments. Such languages also have demonstrative clearly marked with case-like features.

(7.82) K^{w}ak^{w}'ala [Wakashan, British Columbia (Anderson, 2005, p. 16)]

x^{w}esʔid =ida beg^{w}anema =x-a genanema =s
struck =DMSTR man =OBJ-DMSTR child =INSTR

'The man struck the child with it'

That simply is not the case in Enxet Sur, and a construction like that in (7.83a)[12] is ungrammatical, in the same way that a verb cannot take two pronominal use demonstratives, like the ungrammatical example in (7.83b).

(7.83) *Ungrammatical clauses with multiple argument demonstratives*

a. **ayetmok sa' **xa yegmen so wegke**
**a-yetm-ok =sa' =xa yegmen =so wegke
1SG.IRR-fill.liquid-NM:PO =TC:FUT =DMSTR water =PROX pot
'I'm going to pour that water into this pot'

Skype 6.26.2020

b. **ayetmok sa' **xa so**
**a-yetm-ok =sa' =xa =so
1SG.IRR-fill.liquid-NM:PO =TC:FUT =DMSTR =PROX
'I'm going to pour that into this'

Skype 6.26.2020

Rather, in bivalent or trivalent clauses, topical demonstratives can only "point" to one of the s-arguments of the verb, as in (7.84).

(7.84) a. ayetmok sa ko'o yegmen **se'e wegke nak**
a-yetm-ok =sa ko'o yegmen =se'e wegke =nak
1SG-fill.liquid-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG water =PROX pot =TC:VIS
'I will fill this pot up with water'

Skype 6.26.2020

[12] A single utterance that is vaguely like that in (7.83a) can be found in the spoken language corpus: *apyenyókek so Makxawe xa xapop* [EDP enx037 06:38], but the consultant who assisted with transcription and translation actually noted that they could not understand what the speaker was saying in this utterance, as well as for a few lines before and after.

b. ayetmok sa ko'o wegke **se'e yegmen nak**
a-yetm-ok =sa ko'o wegke =se'e yegmen =nak
1SG-fill.liquid-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG pot =PROX water =TC:VIS
'I will fill the pot up with this water'

Skype 6.26.2020

Alternations like that in (7.84) exist because of differences in information structure, filtered through a syntax in which the topical demonstrative has broad clausal scope rather than a nominal specifying function. As has been stated previously in this chapter, topical demonstratives in Enxet Sur act like identificational demonstratives, not having discrete referential function to an entity like prototypical pronominal demonstratives, or having a discrete modifying function like prototypical adverbial demonstratives, but instead generally directing the attention of the interlocutor to what the clause is "about". In both examples in (7.84), an exophoric *se'e* points to something which is the central topic of the utterance, and then further defines that which is foregrounded through a separate comment like *yegmen nak* 'the water (that we both can see)'. Because demonstratives establish joint attention for the sake of aiding in the pragmatic and semantic resolution of the clause, rather than simply acting as referring or modifying expressions, there can only be one for a given clause.

7.5.2 Phonological and intonational evidence

Phonological and intonational qualities of Dem-NP strings also play a role in understanding this relationship. While §5.1 provides an overview of intonational evidence for NP apposition, there are some additional pieces of information relevant to demonstratives followed by appositive NPs.

First, segmental phonological facts show phonological domains associate demonstratives with their leftward hosts rather than with noun phrase to their right. That demonstratives are part of the phonological domain of the word or phrase to their left and never their right can be seen in apocope behaviors. Apocope, or the deletion of vowels in the context VC–CV, is a phonological process that occurs across clitic/host boundaries, and is evidenced in TAME clitics, conjunction clitics, and pronouns, as well as with the demonstratives *ma'a* and *se'e* to produce *m'a* and *s'e*, respectively. The domain for this process is dependent on the host word to the left. This process can be seen in the different forms of *ma'a* in (7.85a) and (7.85b). Compare this to an example like (7.85c), where the phonological environment for apocope of the second [a] in *ma'a sekpeywa* is available, but the process does not occur because the right edge of the demonstrative represents a phonological domain boundary which does not permit this process.

(7.85) a. eyke agkok **ma'a**
eyke agkok =ma'a
TC:ASR F.POSS =DMSTR
'But it's hers'

EDP enx046

b. agkok eyke **m'a**
agkok =eyke =m'a
F.POSS =TC:ASR =DMSTR
'But it's hers'

EDP enx046

c. ekeso yaqwayam kóleyxhok **ma'a sekpeywa**
ekeso yaqwayam kol-eyx-hok =ma'a sek-peywa
this for IMP.IRR-hear-INTS.NM:PO =DMSTR 1SG.PART-words.NM:PV
'This is so that my words will be heard'

EDP enx028 07:58

Beyond transformational phonological processes, intonational units also tend to have boundaries between demonstratives and the co-referent NPs which follow them. In the most extreme cases, this is represented by an extended pause. However, even in cases where there is not such a clear pause, there is a tendency for intonational unit breaks between demonstratives and subsequent NPs.

(7.86) pawakxeyk axta anhan chá'a **xa** [1.3 second pause] **iglesia nak**

ø-paw-akx-eyk =axta =anhan chá'a =xa // iglesia =nak
F-speak-DUP-DECL =TC:PST =AND always =DMSTR // church =TC:VIS

They always spoke at the church

EDP enx047 00:36:40

In (7.87), which comes from natural speech, we can see a long pause between the demonstrative enclitic and the NP to which it refers. This example could be literally translated as 'that's it, its door, the *seye*'s nest'.

(7.87) cháxa átog **xa** [1.1 second pause] **seye' axagkok**

chaxa a-atog =xa // seye' a-xagkok
that F.POSS-door =DMSTR // bird F.POSS-house

'That's the door to the bird's nest'

EDP enx008 26:50

Ultimately though, I would not argue that the presence or lack of intonational breaks is inherently diagnostic in every single instance of the grammatical constituency or dependency of two units — clearly, any such claim would be almost impossible to maintain. Importantly, elements which are clearly syntactically paratactic can come under the

same intonational phrase without a break. For example, in (7.88), *keso lugar* 'this place' is clearly paratactic in relation to the verb *nentaxneyk* 'we enter', as evidenced by the use of the initial position form rather than a second position form verb *nentaxnak*. However, in the recording, there is no evidence of an intonational break between the two units, and they are spoken as one fluid intonational phrase.

(7.88) **keso lugar** nentaxneyk kaxwo' aldea comunidad indigena ekwesey San Carlos

keso lugar nen-taxn-eyk kaxwo' aldea comunidad indigena ek-wesey
this place 1PL-enter-DECL now village community indigenous F.PART-name
San Carlos
San Carlos

'This place, we are now entering the village of San Carlos'

EDP enx009

This is equally true of the NP copulas which so often follow demonstratives — sometimes there is no signficant intonational break. However, the *tendency* for an intonational break to occur in such a position, along with the syntactic and semantic evidence presented above, is taken as evidence for parataxis even in instances where such an intonational break does not occur. Again, a topical demonstrative followed by a paratactic NP copula is such a common pattern in the language that we might expect the two pieces to occur in quick, fluid succession, and as described in the final section of this chapter, there is room to think that such frequent collocations could be leading to emergent adnominal demonstratives.

Finally, for what it is worth, the orthographic intuitions of Enxet Sur writers confirm the intonational evidence to some degree. Orthographic conventions vary widely, and the only text that I know of that really has orthographic regularity in terms of the ways periods and commas are used to mark boundaries is the Enxet Sur Bible Translation. This translation, produced by native speakers but under the supervision of a fluent but non-native speaking missionary (Timothy Curtis), generally conforms to western orthographic assumptions about what constitutes an orthographic sentence.

Other publications, however, like the school books written by native speakers and produced by non-Enxet-speaking Paraguayan government officials, show a much greater range of orthographic conventions. While there are certainly instances of comma or period placement that appear to be erroneous, and punctuation is sometimes omitted between what are clearly fully independent, unrelated clauses, there are instances of writers putting periods between demonstratives and the noun phrases that follow them. Such instances may provide some additional insight into metalinguistic awareness speakers (writers) have about the structure of their language, at least when orthographic conventions from other languages are not imposed.

(7.89) *Examples of orthographic boundaries between demonstratives and NPs*

a. yokxexma ekmopeyak xop kemhak xa. **Pánaqte nak**.

yokxexma ek-mop-eyak xop k-emh-ak =xa // panaqte
territory F.PART-white-COMPL.NM:PV earth F-stand-DECL =DMSTR // herb
=nak
=TC:VIS

'This herb grows in areas of cleared off land.'

Book grade 4

b. Kategyagkohok kelán'a xa. **Axwaseksek nak** áxétkók tenhan ma'a yáma elyenokxo nak, katawaxkoho'.
ka-tegy-agk-ohok kelán'a =xa // axwaseksek =nak
F.IRR-search-COMPL-INTS.NM:PO woman =DMSTR // palm.heart =TC:VIS
áxétkók tenhan =ma'a yáma el-yen-okx-o =nak //
little.palm and =DMSTR almost F.PART-drink-DUP-NM:IP =TC:VIS //
ka-taw-axk-oho'
F.IRR-eat-MID-INTS.NM:PO

'Women look for the palm hearts of small palm trees and those that are dried up, they eat it together.'

Schoolbook Grade 1

7.6 Directions for further research

In this chapter, I have attempted to give an account of demonstratives that accurately and holistically describes their behavior, as opposed to a piecemeal account which arbitrarily assigns different grammatical labels on the basis of translations. I have not yet come across a description of demonstratives in another language family that appears particularly similar to the function and distribution of Enxet Sur topical demonstratives, although throughout this chapter I have attempted to show how components of their description mirror components of other attested demonstrative systems across the world.

I think there is a possibility that the kind of inflection-like, extended identificational demonstrative found in Enxet Sur topical demonstratives are present in other languages and language families of Lowland South America or other regions, but because of their divergence from conventional descriptive devices for demonstratives, and because the study of demonstratives in the Americas tends to focus on morphosemantics far more than morphosyntax, descriptivists have simply overlooked some important distinctions (or non-distinctions).

For now, however, it appears that Enxet Sur topical demonstratives as described here are a typological rarity, and they are certainly distinct from the systems found in the historical and current languages of power in the Enxet speaking territory — Spanish, English, and Guaraní. English and Spanish have entirely unrelated pronominal/adnominal and adverbial demonstrative forms. Guaraní does have a single set of exophoric demonstrative formatives which can attach adnominally by themselves, or can take a nominalizing or locative suffix to function as pronominal demonstratives or adverbial demonstratives, respectively (Estigarribia, 2017, Zarratea, 2002), but in this way they are still elements of a discrete noun or adverbial phrase.

Furthermore, they are very distinct from the demonstrative systems of Matacoan speaking Nivaclé and Maká peoples who, within the historical and near-pre-historic periods were the non-EE indigenous groups that EE speakers had the most contact with. Nivaclé demonstratives, for example, unarguably act in pronominal and adnominal functions, and have a large number of semantic distinction including animacy, gender, number, and epistemic modal categories which lead argument nouns to functionally carry much of the propositional TAME of clauses.

In these language contact situations, we might expect that the typological differences between Enxet Sur demonstratives and the demonstrative systems of the various prestige languages in the region — Spanish, Guaraní, and English — might lead to changes in Enxet demonstratives to conform more to the systems and patterns seen in the prestige languages. In other words, the pronominal and especially adnominal use of demonstratives in local prestige languages is something that, a priori, we might expect to see traces of in Enxet Sur. It seems very likely that the *adjacency* of topical demonstratives and co-referential nouns could be reanalyzed under contact pressure as *constituency*. Understanding the relationship between demonstratives and nouns in Enxet Sur and EE languages from a comparative and diachronic perspective could lead to a greater understanding of how formatives with deictic semantics can move from broad functional items like identificational demonstratives to having limited, specifying scope within a noun phrase.

Part IV

Smaller word classes

Chapter 8

Semiverbs and Adjectives

8.1 Overview of semiverbs and adjectives

Enxet Sur has a relatively small set of property-denoting words which take pronominal prefixes from a particular paradigm of *stative pronominal prefixes* — this chapter describes word classes which take these stative pronominal prefixes. Among such words, there are two prototypical word classes which can be identified by prototypical morphological and syntactic behaviors, with a morphological gradient of items between these two prototypical word classes. These two lexical word classes are referred to here as **semiverbs**[1] and **adjectives**. All items identified as being in one of these two classes, along with items which have some adjective-like and some semiverb-like morphological properties, are listed in table 8.1.

[1]The term "semiverb" or *semiverbo* is adapted from Unruh and Kalisch (1997), a dictionary of Enlhet Norte, although the class of items is not thoroughly defined in this work, and the items identified as semiverbs in Enlhet Norte are not entirely identical to those identified as such in Enxet Sur.

Core Semiverbs

Declarative form	*Gloss*	*Perfective form*
awanchek	'able to'	ekmowana
amenyeyk	'want, enjoy'	ekmámenyeho
asexteyk	'be few'	ekmasexta
alensek	'have good aim'	ekmalensa
asamchek	'bad'	ekmaso
ayósek	'pitiable'	ekmayósa
ane'	'cooked'	ekmána
átsek	'sweet'	ekmáts
aseye'	'romantically luck'	ekmasewho
yementekkek	'tamed, domesticated'	ekmeymente
áskehe	'painful'	ekmáske

Irregular semiverbs

Declarative form	*Gloss*	*Perfective form*
tásek	'good'	ektaqmela
kayhe	'strong'	ekyennaqte
awanhek	'large, wide'	ekyawe
kettakheyk	'shallow'	ekmatakhe
tawanyek	'deep'	ekmattawóneg
naqsók	'true'	ekmamnaqsoho
ennókek	'expensive'	ekmomnáwa
hápe'	'soft, malleable'	ekmomhapma
yahamok	'fast, quick'	ekmanyeheme
yetsek	'bitter, disgusting'	ekmagyása
ahamtek	'sharp'	élmahamtak
átehe'	'hot (environment)'	eyátexa (NM:OB)
samáge'	'cold (environment)'	apmopsamágexa (NM:OB)

Adjectives

Singular	*Gloss*	*Plural*
axakko	'alone'	—
ahóxek	'long'	ahóxekche'ek
étkok	'small (young)'	étkók
ketsék	'small (stature)'	ketcheyetsék
lóso'	pregnant	lósawo'
anaksek	'mother is pregnant'	anaksa'ák
asexyo'	'youngest child'	asexya'awo'
kelwána	'female'	kelwán'ák
kenna'	'male'	kennay'a
axnagkok	'new'	axnancha'ák
wetek	'raw'	—
xama	'one'	—
ánet	'two'	ántawok (few)
ántanxo	'three'	—

Table 8.1: Semiverbs, adjectives, and irregular intermediary items

In many ways, semiverbs act like a marked subclass of verbs, while adjectives act as a marked subclass of nouns. Semiverbs, like regular verbs, are inherently PREDICATES in their base declarative forms and must go through a derivational nominalization process to serve as a dependent, either as a dependent COMPLEMENT or as a dependent modifier within an NP. Adjectives, like nouns (and nominalizations), can be PREDICATES, heads of dependent COMPLEMENT NPs, or NP modifiers, all without derivation. In fact, there is no morphological derivation available to adjectives.

For example, the semiverb *-sam-* 'bad' appears as a declarative PREDICATE in (8.1a) but has to be derived with the verbalizer [VBLZ] prefix and made into a perfective form nominalization to be used as a modifier of a noun in (8.1b). However, the adjective *-loso* 'pregnant' appears in the same form in either syntactic context, as in (8.1c-8.1d).

(8.1) a. **asamchek** aptamheykha énxet
a-sam-chek ap-tamh-eykha enxet
F.STAT-bad-DECL M.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV Enxet
'The work for the Enxet was bad.'

EDP enx047 28:20

b. panaqte **ekmaso**
panaqte ek-m-a-s-o
medicine F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV
'Poison [bad medicine]'

Elliott notes 7.3.2015

c. **elóso** ko'o
e-loso ko'o
1SG.STAT-pregnant 1SG
'I'm pregnant'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. keñe aptekpogwokmoho enxoho xama kelán'a **lóso'**
keñe ap-tekpog-wok-m-oho =enxoho xama kelán'a ø-lóso'
after M.PART-hit-arrive-TERM-INTS.NM:IP =CONJ one woman F-pregnant
'If he then hits a pregnant woman...'

TA Exodus 21:22

This morphosyntactic difference, that semiverbs must be derived to be used as a dependent in NP or modification use, distinguishes them from adjectives and gives them a syntactic distribution almost identical to that of regular verbs. The primary distinction between semiverbs and verbs, as described in many sections in this chapter, is a morphological one. However, in §5.2.3, I provide an argument for not treating the verb/semiverb

distinction as being a kind of active/stative verb distinction common to languages in the region.

The only substantial distributional difference between verbs and semiverbs is that declarative form, non-derived semiverbs can serve as the s-arguments of the negative existential *méko*, in uses that appear to have nominalization-like semantics with participant denotation, as in (8.2). I cannot account for this kind of construction at present, and there may be other ways in which declarative form semiverbs can be used to denote s-arguments.

(8.2) a. Méko axta **awanchek** katxek
meko =axta a-wan-chek ka-tx-ek
NEG.EXIST =TC:PST F.STAT-able-DECL F.IRR-enter-NM:PO
'No one could enter'

TA Joshua 6.1

b. méko axta **awanchek** kamagkok
meko =axta a-wanch-ek ka-m-agk-ok
NEG =TC:PST F.STAT-able-DECL F.IRR-have-COMPL-NM:PO
'No one could catch him'

Mark 5 4

It is questionable whether or not adjectives, on the other hand, are particularly distinct in their syntactic behaviors from nouns. Adjectives, like nouns, can be PREDICATES, as in (8.3a), act alone as the heads of NPs, as in (8.3e-8.3f), or can modify other nouns, as in (8.3b-8.3d). On the latter point, both lexical nouns and deverbal nominalizations are used as modifiers of nominal heads in Enxet Sur, which is described both in Ch. 15 on nominalization and in Ch. 13 on the complex noun phrase.

(8.3) *The adjective -etkok 'young, small' in its three major syntactic functions*

a. **étkok** axta ko'o, sekwányamók eyke kaxwók ektáhak
e-etkok =axta ko'o // sek-wany-am-ok =eyke
1SG.STAT-young =TC:PST 1SG // 1SG.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV-INTS =TC:ASR
kaxwok ek-tah-ak
now 1SG-be-DECL
'I was young, but now am old.'

Psalm 37 25

b. háwe axta yohóxma', **yohóxma apketkok**
hawe =axta yohoxma' // yohoxma apk-etkok
NEG =TC:PST shaman // shaman M-young
'They weren't shamans, they were young/little shamans'

EDP enx006 01:48

c. **wokma'ak apketkók** apkelyenyeyasak moto ahagkok
wokma'ak apk-etk-o:k apk-el-yenyey-as-ak moto ahagkok
boy M-young-INTS M-DIST-wash-VAL-SCND motorcycle 1SG.POSS
'The young boys wash my motorcycle'

Notes 8-20-18

d. kaxwé apteyam **yát'ay apketkok** ménayawha m'a egken
kaxwe ap-tey-am yat'ay apk-etkok me-enyaw-ha
recent M.PART-fall-TERM.NM:PV goat M-young NEG.M.IRR-go.away-AMB
=m'a egken
=DMSTR 2/3.POSS.mother
'Little, recently born goats don't stray from their mothers.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. kelánexkók axta apkelpakmeyesma wánxa Enxet nenpeywa **apketkok nahan etkók**
kel-an-exk-ok =axta apk-el-paqmeyes-m-a wanxa Enxet
F.DIST-do-MID-INTS.DECL =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-chat-TI-NM:PV only enxet
nem-peywa apk-etkok =nahan e-etkok
1PL.PART-word M.STAT-young =AND F.STAT-young
'All of the young men and women's speech was in the Enxet language'

López Ramírez (1996)

f. apxegkesek makham énxet, apxegkesek **apketkok**
ap-xeg-kes-sek makham enxet // ap-xeg-kes-sek apk-etkok
M-go-CAUS-DECL again enxet // M-go-CAUS-DECL M.STAT-young
'The Enxet continue (their culture), the young ones continue it.'

EDP enx009

g. axta aptahak xa **apketkok** nak
axta ap-tah-ak =xa apk-etkok =nak
TC:PST M-be-DECL =DMSTR M.STAT-young =TC:VIS
'...So said the young man'

EDP enx006 03:06

Bhat (1994, p. 93) describes three general criteria for distinguishing nouns from adjectives: 1) a difference of semantic prototype between adjectival "property-words" and nominal "thing-words", 2) adjectives denote a property while nouns denote an individual or object, and 3) nouns can function as independent elements while adjectives are

inherently dependent. On the latter criterion, Enxet Sur adjectives do not differ in their dependency behaviors from nouns.

On the two semantic criteria, the question is significantly complicated by the inherently predicative nature of both nouns and this class of adjectives within Enxet Sur. If nouns have inherently predicative semantics (i.e. *semheg* 'dog' is really 'be a dog'), what exactly distinguishes a "property-word" from a "thing-word"? After all, when they are in a PREDICATE position, *semheg* asserts the property of being a dog the same way that *étkok* asserts the property of being small or young, yet both can be used referentially rather than propositionally to refer to an entity.

Thus, although the unique semantic values of adjectives may lead them to be used in ways that most nouns are not, adjectives and nouns are fundamentally syntactically nondistinct, since both can be used in all three basic syntactic positions within the clause without derivation or auxiliaries. Because there is little distributional difference between nouns and adjectives, it would not be misleading to label Enxet Sur adjectives "adjectival nouns" or "nominal adjectives", a term used in the descriptive tradition of some languages to refer to items with "adjectival" semantics but nominal syntactic behaviors. I only avoid the term here because Enxet Sur nouns are not well described by a conventional nominal distribution in the first place.

To further understand the relationship between adjectives and nouns, it may be useful to think about the purpose of pronominal prefixes on adjectives. It is tempting to see them as a simple kind of agreement, either agreeing with the person/number/gender of a head noun that they modify or with their subject when they are used as PREDICATES. When acting as and independent referring expression, it is not so clear what the pronominal prefix would be "agreeing" with, although we could postulate null heads in such cases. Furthermore, adjectives have first person and second person plural forms, which is cross-linguistically unusual for adjective agreement and also serves no restrictive function in modifying an NP, which is the canonical base function of adjectives.

There are, however, other ways we might view the function of the pronominal prefix in adjectives. Krasnoukhova (2012, p. 150–53) provides examples of other South American Indigenous languages which structure adjectives as a kind of possessed noun with the "modified" noun indicated as the possessor of the adjective, as is the case in the western Amazonian Wari' language (Chapacuran) (Everett and Kern, 1997). Enxet Sur adjectives, in their use of stative pronominal prefixes and *-e'*/*-o'* endings, are morphologically quite similar to related nouns (§4.4 and a possessive analysis similar to that for Wari' is not implausible in Enxet Sur.

The only issue with a possessive analysis is that it gives the impression that the denotational value of the adjective is the property itself ('his smallness') rather than the individual bearing the property. However, the analysis of Wari' adjectives in (Everett and Kern, 1997) indicates that such expressions do in fact denote the individual with the property and not the property itself. This is not unlike vocative expressions for royalty in English like *your highness* or *your majesty*. Such expressions may be analyzed as having an internal predicate structure meaning something like 'majesty is unto you' Corver (2008, p. 47), and something like this seems the most plausible analysis for Enxet Sur adjectives.

An adjective like the masculine *apketkok* 'small, young' has at least two morphological components: a pronominal prefix and a lexical root. Thus, we could see the word as

indicating an internal predicate-argument structure (here I'm using the term predicate generally, not in reference to the Enxet Sur clausal position), with an attributive predicate *-etkok* 'young small' and a masculine pronominal prefix *ap-* which serves as the argument of the lexical predicate. Thus the internal semantic value of the word is literally something like 'he is small', but, like any other noun or nominalization (see §15.1), this can be employed in different structural positions such that it may be an actual propositional PREDICATE, or it may be a non-propositional modifying expression of a referential nominal head. Note that in the full omnipredicative, all-words-are-clauses analysis of the sister language Enlhet Norte in (Kalisch, 2009), the notion that adjectives have an internally realized argument structure does not present any potential clashes with their syntactic position, since the only possible syntactic position in his analysis is that of an independent, propositional PREDICATE.

The remainder of this chapter primarily discusses morphological issues with these two word classes, primarily the more morphologically complex semiverbs. Beyond the basic morphosyntactic distinctions made above, the two classes can be further defined against other word classes and against each other on the following morphosyntactic and semantic criteria:

- Both semiverbs and adjectives take the (mostly) unique *stative* pronominal prefix paradigm, but some adjectives take the unmarked, non-stative FEMININE verbal prefix (section 8.2)
- Semiverbs take a distinct, partially fused **negative stative pronominal prefix** paradigm (negative marker and pronominal prefix are fused)(section 14.2.3); Adjectives cannot be negated morphologically, only with the identity negative *hawe* (§14.3; also used for nouns)
- Semiverbs require a **derivational prefix** [VBLZ] in order to take non-inflectional morphology otherwise restricted to verbs, including nominalized forms and directionals (section 8.6); Adjectives cannot be derived
- Semiverbs take the plural marker *-'a'ak* (similar to most nominal plurals) while adjectives are marked for plurality with a range of different suffixes including the *intensive* suffix. In both cases, morphological indication of plurality is not fully obligatory
- While both classes are semantically stative/atelic, semiverbs generally relate capabilities or behavioral properties of individuals, while adjectives indicate inherent qualities not based on the performance of an action (size, quantity, birth-order)

The following sections of the chapter begin with a description of the stative pronominal prefixes (§8.2), followed by a description of the declarative suffix on semiverbs (§8.3), plurality of semiverbs (§8.4), and the uses of the intensive suffix in both classes (§8.5). Finally, the morphological derivation of semiverbs stems which allows them to function as full verb stems is described in §8.6.

8.1.1 The semantic content of semiverbs and adjectives

Given that semiverbs and adjectives are a limited, essentially closed class, and that much of the semantic content which in other languages might be included in categories such as this is found in the verb category in Enxet Sur, we might ask if there is any discernable semantic motivation behind inclusion in the categories of semiverb or adjective. Although semiverbs are lexically determined, and there is no productive alternation between unmarked verbal prefixes and stative prefixes for the same lexical root (without derivation), we can make some semantic generalizations about the items which are placed in the semiverb category, and to a lesser extent the adjective category.

Enxet Sur lacks a true active-stative type system[2], but in languages which do have true, productive active-stative distinctions, the parameter upon which the split is based is typically on either the *Aktionsart* of the verb or the degree of agency or control the subject has over the action. In Enxet Sur, the class of semiverbs and adjectives appears to be defined by a combination of these characteristics — stative/atelic aktionsart and non-control. However, semiverbs appear to have a third parameter in that the qualities expressed are *performative*, that is, they are only observable in the course of an action, rather than inherent and perceptable regardless of the actions of the argument of the semiverb. The most morphologically prototypical semiverbs — like *-wane'* 'being able to do something', *-menye'* 'wanting or enjoying something', *-atse'* 'to be sweet or enjoyable', *-aske'* 'to be bitter or painful', *-sam* 'to be bad or evil', *-(m)eyhe'* 'to be strong, health', *-yóse'* 'to be pitiable, pathetic', *-lensa'* 'to have good aim', *-yementa'* 'to be wild, untamed', and *-seye'* 'to have good luck romantically' — also happen to be the best fit to these semantic parameters: atelic, out of the control of the actor, and representing capacities that are realized through action rather than static qualities like size or color.

This means that verbs which are atelic but which refer to actions that are generally volitional or within the control of their actors are marked with the active paradigm, not the stative paradigm. Also, some verbs which are typically non-control verbs, like bodily functions such as sneezing, coughing, or snoring, are not marked with the stative paradigm in Enxet because they are telic. Rather, semiverbs indicate the capacity for certain behaviors or properties. This is why some semiverbs are dyadic — unusual for stative verbs cross-linguistically — like *-wane'-* 'able to do something' or *-menye'-* 'to like or enjoy something'. They indicate properties of an individual, like 'being able to ride a motorcycle' or 'liking to go fishing' which indicate a capacity for future actions.

The semantic content of adjectives, especially what distinguishes them semantically from verbs with adjective-like meanings, is a little more nebulous. Most property modification of NPs occurs as with nominalized verb forms, which can be recognized as such by their participial prefixes, as in (8.4-8.7), and such nominalized forms can be heads of NPs as well, as in (8.8).

(8.4) Peyem **apyexwase**

[2]Despite their homophony, there are arguments against the analysis of first person patient prefixes and stative prefixes being one-in-the-same, and there is therefore no real semblance of an active-stative type alignment system, a la Mithun (1991).

peyem ap-yexwas-e
iguaná M.PART-red-NM:PV

'the red iguaná (*Tupinamis rufescens*)

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(8.5) Nósa ekteme xama yámet **ekyawe**

nósa ek-tem-e xama yámet ek-yaw-e
mistol F.PART-be/say.TI-NM:PV one tree F.PART-large-NM:PV

'Mistol is a large tree'

Schoolbook Grade 1

(8.6) Yetlókok axta han eyaqhe weyke étkok **ekmele** m'a kelán'a

yetlók-ok =axta =han ey-aqh-e weyke e-etkok
follow-INTS.DECL =TC:PST =AND F.PART-kill-NM:PV COW F.STAT-young
ek-mel-e =m'a kelán'a
F.PART-fat-NM:PV =DMSTR woman

'Then the woman butchered the fat calf', literally 'Her killing the fat young cow followed, the woman'

TA 1 Samuel 28:24

(8.7) Elánesák sa' nahan apkelatchesso apyay'ák **apkelpense** m'a apáwa **apkeláxñe** nak

e-l-an-es-ak =sa' =nahan apk-el-atch-es-so
M.IRR-DIST-do-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT =AND M.PART-DIST-place-VAL-NM:PV
ap-yay-'ak apk-el-pens-e =m'a a-pawa
M.POSS-leg-PL M.PART-DIST-short-NM:PV =DMSTR F.POSS-cloth
apk-el-axñ-e =nak
M.PART-DIST-clear-NM:PV =TC:VIS

'And make undergarments [short things to put your legs in] out of linen [clean fabric]'

TA Exodus 28:42

(8.8) mopwanchek ewak xama **apmope**

m-op-wanch-ek e-w-ak xama ap-mop-e
NEG-M.STAT-able-DECL M.IRR-arrive-NM:PO one M.PART-white-NM:PV

'A white man couldn't do it'

EDP enx004 19:51

Even with the limited number of adjectives, many have a lot of semantic overlap with verbs. For example, *-etsek* 'small, few, short stature' is an adjective with nearly identical semantics to the verbs (given in perfective form) *ekpense* 'short' and *ekwatesso* 'short'. Many verbs which, when in the perfective form, semantically and functionally overlap with adjectives likely have one significant distinction: perfective verbs with adjective-like semantics indicate a state or quality which is the result of an action, as opposed to more inherent qualities indicated by adjectives.

The idea that Enxet Sur adjectives are generally limited to properties which are not the result of a change of state may help explain why there are adjectives that mean 'small', 'young', 'new' and 'unripe', but items meaning 'large', 'old', and 'ripe' are all lexical verbs. For example, 'old' is expressed as the terminative form of *-waneg-* 'to grow', which in the perfective form can mean 'an old person' or be used as a nominal modifier (see more on nominalization in §15.1). Adjectives relating to biological sex and birth order may similarly be conceived of as 'inherent' properties of individuals upon their coming into being. This would be at odds with adjectives like *ahóxek* 'long' or *lóso'* 'pregnant', however, and does not really account for the adjectival morphology of numerals or the adjective *axakko'* 'alone'.

8.2 Stative pronominal prefixes

Semiverbs and adjectives, along with a handful of other items, take a unique pronominal prefix paradigm in their most basic, underived forms. The paradigm in its most common, simple form is listed in table 8.2. This table also presents the negated prefixes for stative verbs, although these do not apply to adjectives, as they cannot be morphologically negated — negation is discussed in more detail in the first subsection. Some examples of semiverbs and adjectives which take this paradigm are given in table 8.3. This stative pronominal prefix paradigm is mostly identical to possessor pronominal paradigm on related nouns[3].

PERSON	Stative prefix	Negated stative prefix
1SG	e-	mo-
1PL	eg-	mag-
F	a-	ya-
M	ap-	mop-
2PL/IMPR	kél-	kól-

Table 8.2: Affirmative and negative stative pronominal prefixes

There are a few important formal qualities of the stative paradigm. The masculine and 2PL are non-distinct from the verbal pronominal prefixes — further indication of the unusual nature of the masculine prefix, in that its form is identical across numerous paradigms. Also, unlike the declarative pronominal prefixes of regular verbs, there are

[3]The only difference between the two appears to be that there are some allomorphs of the 1SG which appear in the possessive pronominal prefixes but not in the stative pronominal prefixes.

PERSON	*-wane'* 'able'	*-menye'* 'like'	*-hox* 'long'	*-yose'* 'pitiable'
1SG	ewanchek	emenyeyk	ehóxek	eyósek
1PL	egwanchek	egmenyeyk	eghóxek	egyósek
F	awanchek	amenyeyk	ahóxek	ayósek
M	apwanchek	apmenyeyk	aphóxek	apyósek
2PL/IMPR	kélwanchek	kélmenyeyk	kélhóxek	kélyósek

Table 8.3: Paradigms for four semiverbs and adjectives which take stative pronominal prefixes

no morphosyntactic alternations based on position in the phrase or clause. For example, in (8.9a), the form of the feminine stative is still *a-*, even after a vowel final word. Such a condition triggers allomorphy from the phrase initial ø- to *en-* for the declarative feminine, as in (8.9b)

(8.9) a. *Context: referring to a medicinal plant*
negyekxama **awanchek** se'e
neg-yekx-am-a a-wanch-ek =se'e
1PL.PART-vomit-TI-NM:PV F.STAT-able-DECL =PROX
'This can make us vomit'

EDP enx001 06:32

b. titulo agkok **entáhak** se'e
titulo agkok en-tah-ak =se'e
title F.POSS F-be-DECL =PROX
'This is its title'

EDP enx039

In contrast with verbal prefixes, there are no patient markers for the first person, and in fact the stative prefixes are homophonous with the verbal first person patient markers, as can be seen in (8.10). Although the lack of patient prefixes is obvious for the mostly monadic set of semiverbs, there are no patient markers even for the two dyadic semiverbs, and there is no way to indicate a first person patient of the 'want' semiverb *-menye-*, as in the ungrammatical example in (8.11).

(8.10) a. **eyóse'** ko'o
e-yóse' ko'o
1SG.STAT-pitiable 1SG
'Poor me'

b. **enlensa'ak** negko'o
en-lensa'-ak negko'o
1PL.STAT-good.aim-PL 1PL
'We have good aim'

c. **ét'ak** axta
e-et'-ak =axta
1SG.PAT-see-DECL =TC:PST
'He saw me'

d. **enleklámegke'** nenchaqneykha
en-lekl-am-egk-e' nench-aqn-eykha
1PL.PAT-release-TERM-COMPL-DECL 1PL.PART-stand-AMB.NM:PV
'We are tired of standing' (literally 'Our standing has put us out')

(8.11) ****emenyeyk** xa kelán'a
e-menyey-k =xa kelán'a
1SG.STAT-want-DECL =DMSTR woman
**'That woman wants me' or 'I am wanted by that woman'

Whether or not they are in fact one-in-the-same is a complicated matter. As is discussed in §5.2.3, an analysis of the patient and stative markers as one-in-the-same would mean that Enxet Sur has a form of active-stative or semantic alignment. Regardless of syntactic issues which also make such an analysis less than tenable, there are morphological reasons for considering the stative and patient markers homophonous but distinct:

- Stative markers have distinct negated forms from negated patient markers, which make use of an irrealis form which is unavailable to stative verbs.
- When stative verbs are derived and take declarative pronominal prefixes, they use first person agent and not patient prefixes.
- First person stative prefixes and patient prefixes are not homophonous in other EE languages (Unruh and Kalisch, 1999b), which may indicate that in Enxet Sur and other EE languages where they are homophonous, this is an assimilatory innovation rather than retention — this point is deserving of further investigation, but it adds to skepticism over the singularity of the two prefixes

As with most morphological indices of membership in the semiverb or adjective category, the stative pronominal prefixes are not without exceptions and irregularities. One common inconsistency comes in what appears to be a mixing of the stative and verbal pronominal prefix paradigms. For example, some adjectives or semiverbs appear to take the non-stative, unmarked verbal feminine form — ∅- in the initial position and *en-*/*eg-*/*em-* in a clause/phrase internal, post vocalic environment. The semiverb *-hape'* clearly takes stative pronominal prefixes in the first person, as in (8.12a), but its feminine form, in (8.12b) is the null prefix rather than the *a-* typical of the stative paradigm.

(8.12) a. **éhápe'** ko'o
e-hape' ko'o
1SG.STAT-soft 1SG

'I am soft'

b. **hápe'** apaqtek
ø-hape' ap-aqtek
F.STAT-soft M.POSS-eye
'He's a big crier (*lloron*)' (literally 'his eyes are soft')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The isomorphism with the declarative feminine prefix is clear in forms of the adjective *-lóso'* 'pregnant', where the initial/non-initial variation in the form can be seen in (8.13a) and (8.13b) respectively. The first position is ø- and second position is *en-*, just as the feminine verbal prefixes[4]

(8.13) a. **lósóya** entahak
ø-loso =ya en-tah-ak
F-pregnant =TC:Q F-be-DECL
'Are you pregnant?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kelán'ák** enlósawo'
kelan'-ak en-los-awo'
woman-PL F-pregnant-INTS
'pregnant women'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Another set of allomorphy concerns vowel-initial, typically [e]-initial roots, wherein the *a-* of the feminine stative combines with the following vowel to produce a long [e:]. In such forms, the 1SG and feminine forms are homophonous, as can be seen in the paradigm in table 8.4.

Pronominal prefix	*-etkok* 'young'
1SG	étkok
1PL	egketkok
F	étkok
M	apketkok
2PL/IMPR	kéletkok

Table 8.4: Paradigm for *-etkok* 'young, small' showing 1SG and F homophony

[4]Example (8.1d) shows a form of this adjective in a non-initial position without the *en-* form, but this is an orthographic effect. This feminine *en-/eg-/em-* is often not included orthographically, but is typically produced in speech.

Given the degree of irregularity of the pronominal prefixes in this class, and the fact that first person stative prefixes are homophonous with first person verbal patient prefixes, some verbs might be (or have been[5]) erroneously labeled as part of the semiverb category based on apparently first person stative forms, and because semantically they can easily be construed as states of a monadic subject rather than being semantically dyadic. Consider the example in (8.14). Given the semantics and morphology, the patient first person could easily be mistaken for a stative first person prefix.

(8.14) **eleklakme'** sekha

e-lekl-akm-e' sek-h-a
1SG.PAT-release-TERM-DECL 1SG.PART-sit-NM:PV

'I am tired of sitting'

In the first person, these verbs might appear to have stative monadic subjects, and indeed the semantics of the verb might be construed as stative and non-control. In reality their pronominal marking indicates first person patients, as can be demonstrated by equivalent examples with different actors. For example, in (8.15), we can see from the use of the non-stative feminine pronominal prefix that the masculine Juan is not the subject of the verb.

(8.15) **leklakme'** apha Juan

∅-lekl-akm-e' ap-h-a Juan
F-emit-TERM-DECL M.PART-sit-NM:IP Juan

'Juan is tired of sitting'

8.3 Declarative suffixes

Most adjectives and non-derived semiverbs have an *-e'*/*-ek* ending (sometimes occurring as *-o'* or *-a'*, depending on phonological environments (§2.4.5)) which resembles both the declarative suffix described for verbs (§3.4.1) and some adverbs (§9.3.1), as well as the typical *-e'*/*-o'* endings for most related nouns (§4.4). With adjectives, there is not any particular motivation to analyze this common ending as a separate morpheme, since it can never be removed and does not alternate with different endings — this is very similar to the same shapes seen at the right edge of related noun stems (§4.4). Adjectives, however, do not get derived to serve different grammatical functions, but (prototypical) semiverbs do, and the *-e'* endings of underived PREDICATE semiverbs alternate with other suffixes in derived forms such that there is cause to identify declarative suffixes in use with semiverbs.

Table 8.5 shows some alternations between the declarative and perfective forms of some semiverbs that shows they have an alternating *-ek* ending in the declarative form. Allomorphs of the *-ek* form show regular phonological alternations.

[5]Powys (1929) includes some verbs in his "second conjugation" class which are in fact regular active verbs that often occur in the inverse.

Base	Gloss	Declarative form	Perfective form
-wane'-	'able'	a-wanch-ek	ekmo-wan-a
-lense'-	'have good aim'	a-lensa'-ak	ekma-lens-a
-menye'-	'want, like'	a-menyey-k	ekmá-menyeh-o
-sam-	'bad'	a-samch-ek	ekma-s-o
-sexte'-	'be few'	a-sextey-k	ekmá-sext-a
-yos-	'pitiable'	a-yós-ek	ekmá-yos-a

Table 8.5: Declarative/Perfective alternations of semiverbs that show a *-ek* suffix in the declarative form

There is not any DECL/SCND distinction for declarative semiverbs as there is with true verbs (§3.4.1), and therefore their form is the same whether they are the first element in a clause or not, as can be seen in the non-alternations in (8.16) and (8.17), respectively.

(8.16) a. [*Context*: Describing how the smoldering tree stump is a sign that someone has "called dibs" on the firewood] yántápak **apmenyeyk** xeyk
yántápak **ap-menyey-k** =xeyk
firewood M.STAT-like-DECL =TC:HOD
'He wanted some firewood'

EDP enx025 20:42

b. semheg nahan **amenyeyk** kaxog
semheg =nahan a-meny-eyk **ka**-xog
dog =AND F.STAT-want-DECL F.IRR-GONM:PO
'dogs also like to go'

EDP enx008 28:20

(8.17) a. **awanchek** moto
a-wanch-ek moto
F.STAT-able-DECL motorcyle
'She knows how to ride a motorcyle'

b. cuarenta y cuatro mil litros axta **awanchek** kalának yegmen
cuarenta y cuatro mil litros =axta a-wan-chek
forty and four thousand liters =TC:PST F.STAT-able-DECL
ka-lán-ak yegmen
F.IRR-fill.liquid-NM:PO water
'It contained 44,000 liters' (literally 'the water could fill 44,000 liters)

TA 1 Kings 7.26

8.4 Plurality for semiverbs and adjectives

Semiverbs and adjectives can take plural marking. In semiverbs, this marks the plurality of the monadic subject of the semiverb or the more agent-like argument of dyadic semiverbs; with adjectives, plural marking indicates plurality of that which has the property denoted by the adjective. Like in verbs, the morphological indication of plurality for semiverbs and adjectives is complex, inconsistent, and not terribly straightforward — it seems that in a majority of cases, plural forms are lexically determined and do not follow highly productive morphological patterns. Some plural forms of semiverbs and adjectives are given in table 8.6.

Singular	Gloss	Plural
Adjectives		
axakko	'alone'	axakkók
asexyo'	'youngest'	asexyók
apkenna'	'male'	apkelennay'a
ahóxek	'long/tall'	ahóxekche'ek
ahamtek	'sharp'	ahamtakcha'ak
étkok	'small'	étkók
lóso'	'pregnant'	lósawo'
Semiverbs		
awanchek	'able'	awancha'ak
kayhe'	'strong	kalyeha'e'
aseye'	'lucky'	asey'ak
ayóse'	'pitiable'	ayósek'ak
alensa'	'to have good aim'	alensa'ak
émentak	'wild'	émentakche'e

Table 8.6: Some plural semiverbs and adjectives in Enxet Sur

Some adjectives mark plurality with the use of the intensive suffix, which is described in §8.5 below.

For many semiverbs and adjectives, there is a plural form that is quite similar in appearance to that found on some nouns, taking the shapes like *-'ák* or *-a'ak*. Unlike many verbal plurals, the *-ák* plural seen on some adjectives and semiverbs seems rather strictly to indicate plurality of the subject/referent, and as such constitutes a true plural. However, much like pluralization in other parts of Enxet grammar, its marking on semiverbs and adjectives is variable. For some items, it appears nearly obligatory — especially with 1PL or 2PL pronominal marking — like the semiverb *-seye'-* 'to be lucky (romantically).

(8.18) **mansey'ák**, **mopsey'ák**

man-sey'-ák // mop-sey'-ák
NEG.1PL.STAT-lucky-PL // NEG.M.STAT-lucky-PL

'We aren't lucky, you all aren't lucky'

For others, especially more high-frequency semiverbs like *-wane'* 'able', plural forms are unusual and non-obligatory. Although the plural sometimes appears, like in (8.19a-8.19b), plural s-arguments do not require plural marking, even in contexts where pluralization of the same arguments is being marked elsewhere. However, in (8.19c), plurality is marked on the adverbial clause *énnapál'a meyk* 'when they were hungry', and in (8.19d), the pronominal prefix marker is plural, and in neither case is there a plural suffix.

(8.19) a. **hakte apwancha'ak** axta etegyegkok apteyak
hakte ap-wanch-a'-ak =axta e-tegy-egk-ok
because M.STAT-able-PL-DECL =TC:PST M.IRR-search.for-COMPL-NM:PO
ap-t-eyak
M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
'...because they could search for their own food.'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **Egwancha'ak** negko'o nélpeywa yaqwayam hegwetaksek aqsok
eg-wanch-a'-ak negko'o nel-peywa yaqwayam
1PL.STAT-able-PL-DECL 1PL 1PL.DIST.PART-words for
heg-wetak-s-ek aqsok
1PL.PAT.IRR-see-CAUS-NM:PO thing
'We can use our words to realize things'

Psalm 12:4

c. **apwanchek** hekñat etekkesek ekmámeye énnapál'a meyk
ap-wanch-ek =hek =ñat e-tek-kes-ek ek-mamey-e
M.STAT-able-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.IRR-exit-CAUS-NM:PO F.PART-rain-INF
e-ennap-a =l'a meyk
F.PART-kill.many-NM:IP =TC:DUB hunger
'They could summon the rain when they were hungry'

López Ramírez (1996)

d. **egwanchek** anlának tegma'
eg-wanch-ek an-l-an-ak tegma'
1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-DIST-do-NM:PO house
'We can build a house.'

EDP enx008 01:36

With other semiverbs, like *-menye'* 'like, want', there is NEVER any additional plural morphology, even with plural pronominal prefixes, as in (8.20a-8.20b).

(8.20) a. **egmenyeyk** negko'o agyaqtenek keso

eg-menyey-k negko'o ag-yaqten-ek keso
1PL.STAT-want-DECL 1PL 1PL.IRR-cut.down-NM:PO this
'We like to cut this one down'

EDP enx009 21:35

b. **Kélmenyeyk** eykhe kéxegke kóllának aqsok ektaqmela, kélyelqáxkók eyke
kél-menyey-k =eykhe kéxegke kól-l-án-ak aqsok
2PL.STAT-want-DECL =TC: FRUST 2PL 2PL.IRR-DIST-do-NM:PO thing
ek-taqmel-a // kél-yelqa'-axk-ók =eyke
F.PART-good-NM:PV // 2PL-slacken-MID-INTS.DECL =TC:ASR
'The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak' (literally 'Y'all want to do good things, but y'all are slack')

TA Matthew 26:41

For some semiverbs, this pluralizing suffix can be maintained even when derived into participial forms where the distributive can be used to indicate plurality as well. For example, (8.21a) shows the pluralized semiverb *ahamtakcha'ak* 'they are sharp', but the *-cha'* element is maintained even when derived to form a imperfective verb marked with the distributive in (8.21b)[6].

(8.21) a. **Ahamtakcha'ak** xép yágke aktek apagkok, wesse'
a-hamt-ak-cha'ak xe:p yágke ø-aktek apagkok // wesse'
F.STAT-sharp-DECL-PL 2SG.MASC arrow F.POSS-seed M.POSS // leader
'your tips of your arrows are sharp, my lord'

Psalm 45:5

b. keleyweyekxeyk **élmahamtak cha'a** akkapok yáteyem
kel-eywey-ekx-eyk el-ma-hamtak-cha'a ak-kapok yateyem
F.DIST-line-DUP-DECL F.PART.DIST-VBLZ-sharp-PL M.POSS-shoulder caiman
'The caiman has several rows of sharp scales on its back'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Plural suffixes come inside of the intensive, as in (8.22).

(8.22) **Ahóxekcha'awók** agko' axta m'a yámet kélatchesso nak nekhaw'ék
a-hoxek-cha'a-wok =agko' =axta =m'a yamet
F.STAT-long-PL-INTS =TC:F.DEG =TC:PST =DMSTR tree
ke:l-atches-so =nak nekhaw'ek
IMPS.PART-stacked.vertically-NM:PV =TC:VIS edges

[6]There is an unusual and inconsistent orthographic tendency with semiverbs to write the *-cha'a(k)* or *-che'e(k)* pluralizing elements as independent orthographic words. There does not appear to correspond to any particular morphological non-dependency or cliticization of these items.

'The poles placed at the edge were very long'

1 Kings 8:8

8.5 The intensive

The intensive *-o* or *-awo* can attach to items of most word classes and has a wide range of functions and semantic values, and this is just as true in the case of semiverbs and adjectives. The next section (8.6) describes a derivational process by which semiverbs gain access to much of the morphology otherwise reserved for true verbs, but the *intensive* can attach directly to semiverbs *and* adjectives with no need for derivation. Compare the regular declarative form of the semiverb *-sam-* 'bad' with its intensive form in (8.23).

(8.23) a. **Asamchek** negha s'e, méko egkexe
a-sam-chek neg-h-a =s'e // méko egkexe
F.STAT-bad-DECL 1PL.PART-sit-NM:IP =PROX // NEG.EXIST hill
'It's bad for us to stay here, there's no high ground.'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **asagkók** axta negko'o nenxega xama ekhem
a-sag-kok =axta negko'o nen-xeg-a xama ekhem
F.STAT-bad-INTS =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART-go-NM:IP one day
'We had a bad trip one day...'

EDP enx047 33:00

In many cases, the intensive carries the same general semantic associations that it does in verbs, in that it marks amplification of the quality denoted by the semiverb/adjective. A simple example can be seen in (8.24a), where the intensive is applied to *-wanhek* 'big, wide' simply to mean 'very big'. Similarly, in (8.24b), the intensive added to *-hóxek* simply means 'very long'. Further examples of this basic semantic effect can be seen in (8.24c-8.24d).

(8.24) *Intensive form semiverbs*

a. keso naxma' awanhe', **awanhok** agko' se'e naxma nak
keso naxma' a-wanh-e' // a-wanh-ok =agko' =se'e naxma
this woods F.STAT-big-DECL // F.STAT-big-INTS =TC:F.DEG =PROX woods
=nak
=TC:VIS
'These woods are large, these woods are very large'

EDP enx009

b. **Ahóxók** agko' axta kélheykha kéxegke m'a yókxexma meykexa nak énxet
a-hox-ok =agko' =axta kel-h-eykha kexegke =m'a
F.STAT-long-INTS =TC:F.DEG =TC:PST 2PL.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV 2PL =DMSTR
yokxexma meykexa =nak enxet
country NEG.EXIST.NM:OB =TC:VIS man
'You lived in the wilderness [place without people] for a long time.'

TA Joshua 24 7

c. hakte **askohok** agko' axta
hakte a-ask-ohok =agko' =axta
because F.STAT-painful-INTS =TC:F.DEG =TC:PST
'Because it was very painful'

TA Exodus 15 23

d. **asextók** kaxwo' ekmámeye, kaxnók hem axta
a-sext-ok kaxwo' ek-mamey-e // ka-xn-ok hem =axta
F.STAT-few-INTS now F.PART-rain-NM:PV // F.IRR-sit-INTS day =TC:PST
'There is very little rain right now, unlike yesterday'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This simple 'intensity' semantics applies to at least one of the morphological adjectives, as in (8.25), where the intensive form of *-xakko'* 'alone' is used to translate 'lonely'.

(8.25) hakte **exakkók** ko'o, yentexek han sekha

hakte e-xakko-ok ko'o // yentex-ek =han sek-h-a
because 1SG.STAT-alone-INTS 1SG // heavy-DECL =AND 1SG.PART-sit-NM:IP

'Because I am lonely, and afflicted.'

Psalm 25 16

For some adjectives, the intensive is a marker of plurality. Contrasting examples can be seen in (8.26a-8.26b), and the intensive plural can be seen with some other adjectives in (8.27a-8.27b).

(8.26) a. kelán'a **enlóso**
kelan'a en-loso
woman F-pregnant
'a pregnant woman'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kelán'ák **enlósawo'**
kelan'-ak en-los-awo'
woman-PL F-pregnant-INTS
'pregnant women'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(8.27) *Plurality marked with the intensive in adjectives*

a. **asexya'awo'**
a-sexya'-awo'
F.STAT-youngest-INTS
'They are the youngest'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. yáma élsaye kelpáweyk axta **nátetkók** aphakxa
yama el-say-e kel-paw-eyk =axta nata
almost F.PART.DIST-dawn-NM:PV F.DIST-make.noise-DECL =TC:PST bird
e-etk-ok ap-h-akxa
F.STAT-small-INTS M.PART-sit-NM:OB
'When it was almost dawn, the little birds began to sing where he was'

EDP enx006 03:14

The stative marked items *-enna'* 'male' and *-elwana'* 'female' take an interesting use of the intensive, associated in this case with a kind of animacy distinction. The intensive is required for animals, even singular, as in (8.28b), but cannot be used for human referents, as in (8.28a). This particular usage, even with the wide range of semantic effects the intensive can have, is unusual within the language.

(8.28) a. sakcha'a **apkenna'**
sakcha'a apk-enna'
child M.STAT-male
'a male child'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

b. yatnáxeg **apkennawo'**
yatnaxeg apk-enna-wo'
horse M.STAT-male-INTS
'a male horse'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

Finally, it should be noted that many items in the semiverb or adjective category are not attested with the intensive in any context, and speakers do not recognize any intensive forms as grammatically acceptable words. For example, although the intensive form of *atehe'* 'hot (environment)' is high frequency, as in (8.29), there is no corresponding intensive form for *samage'* 'cold (environment)', and speakers reject any hypothetical intensive form like ***samagawo'* or ***samagók* as non-words.

(8.29) wokmek chá'a 40 grado keso yókxexma nak se'e, **átohok** agko'

ø-wok-m-ek	cha'a	cuarenta	grado	keso	yokxexma	=nak	=se'e //
F-arrive-TERM-DECL	always	forty	degrees	this	country	=TC:VIS	=PROX //
a-at-ohok	=agko'						
F.STAT-hot-INTS	=TC:F.DEG						

'It often gets up to forty degrees in this area, it's really hot'

EDP enx028 05:15

Other intensives may simply be so low frequency that they have not shown up in the corpus and speakers do not recognize them out of context. For example, a derived intensive version of *-wane'* 'able' is found in (8.30), where it means something like 'be diligent' or 'be in control', but this is the only example found and it occurs in a Bible translation.

(8.30) **Kólewagkoho** sa' kéltaqmelchásamáxkoho kélagko' kéxegke

kol-e-wagk-oho	=sa'	kel-taqmelch-as-am-axk-oho	=kelagko'	
2PL.IRR-VBLZ-able-INTS	=TC:FUT	2PL-good-VAL-TI-REFL-INTS.NM:IP	=TC:2PL.DEG	
kexegke				
2PL				

'Therefore watch yourselves carefully'

TA Joshua 23 11

8.6 Derivation of semiverbs

One of the more interesting features of semiverbs in Enxet Sur, and one of the primary distinguishing features between them and regular verbs, is that they require a kind of derivational morphology in order to have access to morphology and constructions otherwise reserved for verbs. Underived semiverbs only have access to the declarative and intensive endings described in the previous section, and in order to access any of the other morphology available to verbs, they must go through a morphological process of derivation wherein a verb stem is derived from a semiverb base.

Compare the use of the semiverb *-hape'* 'to be soft' in its stative form in (8.31a) to its use with the verbalizing prefix *m-* in (8.31b). The derivation of the semiverb *-hape'* into

a full verb gives it access to irrealis negative morphology, allowing it to be used in the clitic-fronting negation focus construction (§14.2.4) in the latter example.

(8.31) a. **hápe** apwáxok elanok pók
ø-**hápe'** ap-wáxok e-lan-ok pók
F.STAT-soft M.POSS-innermost M.IRR-look-NM:PO M.other
'He is compassionate' (literally 'his innermost is soft when he looks to his companions'[7])

b. exchek **kamhápawo** keleyke aktek sekhanma exchek, némhápeyáseykekxoho sa makham
exchek ka-m-háp-awo keleyke ø-aktek sek-han-ma
TC:HOD F.IRR-VBLZ-**soft**-INST.SCND beans F.POSS-seed 1SG.PART-cook-NM:PV
=exchek // ne:-m-hápey-ás-eyk-ekx-oho =sa' makham
=TC:HOD // 1PL-VBLZ-**soft**-CAUS-TI-DUP-INTS =TC:FUT still
'the beans that I cooked were not soft, they have to be softened again'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This section describes the form of verbalizing prefixes, and the morphological structures that derivation licenses, the most common of which is nominalization. However, it is possible to derive declarative verbs directly form declarative semiverbs, and in these instances we see that the derivation itself has semantic effect. Compare the stative and derived declarative forms of the base *-sam-* 'bad' in (8.32a-8.32b). There is a clear semantic alternation which occurs, wherein the non-derived semiverb refers more to an inherent quality and the derived semiverb refers to an achieved state.

(8.32) a. **asamchek** computadora ahagkok
a-sam-chek computadora ahagkok
F.STAT-bad-DECL computer 1SG.POSS
'My computer is bad (poor quality, ugly color)'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

b. **kesagkek** computadora ahagkok
k-e-sag-kek computadora ahagkok
F-VBLZ-bad-DECL computer 1SG.POSS
'My computer doesn't work anymore.'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

In such instances, we see that not only has the aspect-marking verbalizer been applied, but also that the form with the verbalizer takes declarative pronominal prefixes instead

[7]The word which is glossed as 'other', *mók* in the feminine and *pók* in the masculine, is used as an independent noun to mean something like 'brethren' or 'people we have responsibility to look out for'.

of stative ones — confirming that the verbalizer creates a stem which requires verbal morphology instead of semiverb morphology.

Another example involves the common semiverb *-wane'-* 'able'. In its base semiverb form, it means to have the ability to do something[8], as in (8.33a). In the derived declarative form, with no other additional morphology, it refers to *gaining* the ability to do something, in the sense of practicing a skill or developing one's ability. Therefore, again, it appears that the verbalizing morphology itself has aspectual semantic content. This would fit with a more general principle of Enxet verbs, which is that TAME marking within the verb is primarily aspectual, and markers of tense/mood/evidentiality fall outside of the morphological domain of the predicate/verb proper.

(8.33) a. **apwanchek** nélpeywa Juan
ap-wanch-ek nel-peywa Juan
M.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.DIST.PART-words Juan
'Juan can speak our language.'

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b. **apkepwagke'** kaxwo' nélpeywa Juan
apk-ep-wag-ke' kaxwo' nel-peywa Juan
M-VBLZ.M-able-DECL now 1PL.DIST.PART-words Juan
'Juan is practicing/learning our language now'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

Examples of this minimal derivation, where a declarative verb is derived directly from a declarative semiverb with no other additional stem-forming morphology, are rare in the available corpus. Many semiverbs do not appear to have such derived declarative forms. Rather, verbalizing morphology usually occurs to license some other morphology — mostly nominalizations and directional morphology. This section begins with a discussion of the form of the verbalizing prefix, then describes some of the uses of semiverb derivation.

8.6.1 Verbalizing prefixes

The notion that semiverbs are *derived* to perform verb-like functions — take participial or irrealis forms, and take directional and associated motion morphology — is based in part on the appearance of additional morphology between the verbal pronominal prefix and the semiverb root which can be identified as a kind of *verbalizer* (VBLZ) prefix. For example, while the root *-sam-* 'bad' and the stative pronominal prefix *ap-* are adjacent in the underived semiverb *apsamchek* in (8.34a), the derived forms in (8.34b-8.34c) have the string *-mop-* coming between these two elements. This type of morphology is required

[8]This semiverb more often than not takes nominal or nominalized compliments, and therefore it may be more accurate (though not necessarily as easy to understand) to say that it means 'to have control over something'.

for root semiverbs to take non-stative pronominal prefixes and any suffixes other than the declarative and intensive, and is therefore derivational. Specifically, it is referred to here as a *verbalizer* [VBLZ].

(8.34) *Derived and underived forms of -sam- 'bad'*

a. **apsamchek** énxet
ap-sam-chek énxet
M.STAT-bad-DECL man
'he's a bad man'

Elliott notes 2015

b. mómenyék ko'o apáwa **apmopso**
mo-menye-k ko'o a-pawa ap-m-op-s-o
NEG.1SG.STAT-want-DECL 1SG F.POSS-clothes M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-bad-INF
'I don't want bad clothes'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. méko exnek élányo **apmopsagkexa**
meko =exnek el-any-o ap-m-op-sag-kexa
NEG =TC:REP F.PART.DIST-look-NM:IP.INTS M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-bad-NM:OB
'There was no one to look after him when he was in bad condition'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

These verbalizing prefixes are in fact morphologically complex, consisting of an optional preterit marker and a verbalizer which is marked for person. These two elements of the derivational morphology are described below, along with other prefixes which derivation gives semiverbs access to.

The temporal indefinite

Derived semiverbs have access to temporal indefinite morphology, with essentially the same semantic values to that found in regular verbs (§3.5) — habitual aspect or remote past tense[9]. For example, (8.35a-8.35b) presents a temporal indefinite minimal pair with the derived semiverb *-sam-* 'bad'.

(8.35) a. wanmeyha apagkok xeyk **kesók**
wanmeyha apagkok =xeyk k-e-s-ok
heart M.POSS =TC:HOD F-VBLZ-BAD-INTS.DECL

[9]Again, as discussed in the §3.5, these usages probably equate to a non-definite event status — *habitual* in that it refers to no one event in particular, and REMOTE PAST in that it refers to an event which is far enough removed from narrative time as to not be easily distinguished or corroborated.

'his heart has gone bad'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. wanmeyha apagkok axta **masók**
wanmeyha apagkok =axta o-m-a-s-ok
heart M.POSS =TC:PST F-TI-VBLZ-BAD-INTS.DECL
'his heart went bad a long time ago'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Unlike in verbs, however, the temporal indefinite of derived semiverbs occurs to the left of the base as opposed to the right. Because of this, the derivation of semiverbs to verbs is arguably not true, full derivation, in that the verbalizer morpheme with the semiverb base does not act like a true verb stem in relation to all other verbal morphology — this different position of the temporal indefinite shows that verbs derived from semiverbs still have morphological properties distinct from lexical verbs.

Like in regular verbs, temporal indefinite morphology is optional and productive for imperfective forms, but is an obligatory component of perfective forms (see §3.4.3). For example, there is no temporal indefinite morphology in the adverbial clause verb *seyálensa* 'when I get good aim' in (8.36a), but it is required in the participant denoting perfective form in modification use *apmoplensa* 'one who has good aim' in (8.36b).

(8.36) a. hemok sa' kexaha waley **seyálensa** enxoho táma
he-m-ok =sa' =kexaha waley
1SG.STAT-have-IRR =TC:FUT =TC:DUB Paraguayan
sey-á-lens-a =enxoho táma
1SG.PART-VBLZ-good.aim-NM:IP =CONJ rope
'Maybe the Paraguayan will hire me if I learn how to use the lasso'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. emenyeyk xama wokma'ak **apmoplensa** nak táma
e-menyey-k xama wokma'ak ap-m-op-lens-a
1SG.STAT-want-DECL one guy M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-good.aim-NM:PV
=nak tama
=TC:VIS rope
'I want a guy who's good with a lasso'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Internal person marking

An unusual, possibly fossilized[10], and likely vanishing phenomenon in Enxet Sur is the preservation of stative pronominal marking inside of the verbalizer prefix and along with the verbal pronominal prefix that occurs to the left of the verb stem. Compare, for example, (8.37a) and (8.37b) and the perfective form of the semiverb *-menye'-*. The two forms alternate based on the gender of the third person agent of the verb, 'thing *she* wants' versus 'thing *he* wants'. This is indicated not only in the different participial pronominal prefixes at the left edge of the word, *ek-/ap-*, respectively, but also in the form of the verbalizer prefix to the immediate left of the base, *á-/op*.

(8.37) a. kennókek axta elmaxneyha aqsok **ekmámenyého** xa kelán'a nak
k-enno-kek =axta el-maxney-ha aqsok
F-loathe-DECL =TC:PST F.DIST.PART-ask-AMB.NM:IP thing
ek-m-á-menyeh-o =xa kelan'a =nak
F.PART-TI-VBLZ.F-want-NM:PV =DMSTR woman =TC:VIS
'but no one dared to ask him what the woman wanted'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. xámok aqsok **apmopmenyeho**
ø-xámok aqsok ap-m-op-menye-ho
F-many thing M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-want-NM:PV
'there are lots of things he wants'

Skype Notes 4.4.2020

Table 8.7 shows the pronominal inflections of the derived potential form of the semiverb *-wane'-* 'to be able'. While the verbalizer surfaces as [a-] in the 1SG, F, and 2PL forms, it is [ep-] in the M and [eg-] in the 1PL. The stative prefixes for M and +1PL are *ap-* and *eg-* respectively (recall that word-internally, vowel quality is generally dependent upon homosyllabic consonants, see §2.4.5). This suggests one of two analyses — either the verbalizer prefix has a full person-marked paradigm, or semiverbs retain their stative pronominal prefixes when derived, along with the declarative, irrealis, or participial pronominal prefixes they gain.

The distinction between the 1SG and F stative prefixes, *e-* and *a-* respectively, are generally lost in the same position, although this may be due to regular changes in vowel quality that occur word-internally (§2.4.5). We cannot say conclusively if these 1SG and F derived forms actually underlyingly have their stative pronominal prefixes buried in the morphology along with the irrealis pronominal prefixes. The 2PL/IMPR definitely does not show this internal person prefix, and the verbalizer prefix is just *á-*, although this fits with the idea that this inflectional category is a recent innovation and is not instantiated in morphology to the full or same extent that the other inflectional categories are (§3.3.1).

[10]By this, I simply mean that speakers who use internal person marking on derived semiverbs likely do so because the whole forms are stored in the lexicon, not because of internal person marking constitutes truly productive morphology

Person	Enxet Sur	Gloss
1SG	wawának sektáxesso	'that I can write'
1PL	agkegwána nentáxesso	'that we can write'
F	kawának ektáxesso	'that you/she can write'
M	yepwának aptáxesso	'that you/he can write'
2PL	kólawának kéltáxesso	'that y'all/one can write'

Table 8.7: Full paradigm of the semiverb *-wane'-* 'to be able' in the potential form, followed by perfective forms of *-táxes-* 'write'

Furthermore, it is not so clear that these interior pronominal prefixes are in any way productive, and they are in many cases only occasionally applied. For example, the velar nasal *g* which shows the remnants of the 1PL stative pronominal prefix, is not present in all derived semiverbs, as in the paradigm one consultant gave for derived potential forms of the stative verb *-menye'-* 'to want, like' in table 8.8. Here, in the 1PL form, the verbalizer prefix is just *á-*[11].

Person	Enxet	Gloss
1SG	wamenyehok sa'	'I will want it'
1PL	**agámenyehok** sa'	'We will want it'
F	kamenyehok sa'	'You/she will want it'
M	yepmenyehok sa'	'You/he will want it'
2PL	kólámenyehok sa'	'Y'all will want it'

Table 8.8: Full paradigm of the semiverb *-menye'-* in the potential form

The glossing convention used in this dissertation, therefore, is that there is a single verbalizing prefix which is occasionally marked for person in the masculine and first person plural contexts. This is indicated in the interlinear gloss in these cases, but the person marking on the verbalizer is not indicated otherwise.

Derived pronominal marking and negation

Derived semiverbs take one of the three pronominal prefix paradigms used for regular verbs (§3.3) — declarative, irrealis, or participial. Each of these pronominal prefix forms can be seen in (8.38a), (8.38b), and (8.38c), respectively.

(8.38) a. **kesextegwokmek** kaxwo' sekya anmen
k-e-sexteg-wok-m-ek kaxwo sek-y-a anmen
F-VBLZ-be.few-arrive-TERM-DECL now 1SG.PART-drink-NM:IP alcohol
'I drink less alcohol now'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

[11] The distinction between the long [a:] and short [a] in these forms is the product of a presumably regular process of vowel lengthening, described in §2.5.2.

b. **kasextohok** sa' ekmáske apqátek aptawa enxoho pánaqte
ka-a-sext-ohok =sa' ek-m-a-ask-e
F.IRR-VBLZ-be.few-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT F.PART-TI-VBLZ-painful-NM:PV
apq-atek ap-taw-a =enxoho panaqte
M.POSS-heat M.PART-eat-NM:IP =CONJ medicine
'The pain in your head will be less if you take some medicine'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **eyesextexa** xapop
ey-e-sext-exa xapop
F.PART-VBLZ-be.few-NM:OB ground
'where there isn't much land'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Underived semiverbs make use of a unique negation paradigm, described in §14.2.3. However, interestingly, negated derived semiverbs often have mismatched gender marking between the gender of the verbal pronominal prefix and the person marking of the verbalizer prefix. Even if another pronominal category is marked on the verbalizer, the negated pronominal prefix apparently is typically in the feminine form regardless of the gender of the semantic argument. In (8.39a-8.39c), derived semiverbs have masculine marked verbalizers, but negative pronominal prefixes in the feminine. Examples (8.39a-8.39b) use the negation construction for perfective verbs in which the irrealis pronominal prefix alone serves to indicate negation, without an overt negator prefix (§3.3.3).

(8.39) a. negwet'ak negko'o apkelwányam **kamopwána** eyakmog masopeywa
neg-wet'-ak negko'o apk-el-wany-am
1PL-see-DECL 1PL M.PART-DIST-grow-TERM.NM:PV
ka-m-op-wan-a e-yakmog masopeywa
F.IRR-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:PV
'We see elders who cannot translate Spanish'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **kalmopsexta'a**

ka-l-m-op-sexta'-a
F.IRR-DIST-TI-VBLZ.M-be.few-NM:PV
'He is a sex maniac (he has little restraint)'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **megkapyósek** nahan chá'a elano'
m-egka-p-yos-ek =nahan cha'a el-an-o'
NEG-F.IRR-VBLZ.M-pitiable-DECL =AND always M.IRR.DIST-look-INTS.NM:PO

'They have no mercy'

TA Romans 1:31

This is not a hard and fast rule — negation can occur with other inflectional persons, as in (8.40). The source of the lack of pronominal agreement is therefore a bit of a mystery. It is unclear at present if there is a rule based distinction which requires feminine negative marking in some environments but not others.

(8.40) **megyepsextegkohok** apkepmenyého selyaqye

m-egy-ep-sexteg-kohok apk-ep-menyeh-o selyaqye
NEG-M.IRR-VBLZ.M-be.few-INTS.NM:PO M.PART-VBLZ.M-want-NM:IP money

'He constantly wants money' (literally 'His desire for money never decreases')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It has not yet been determined if other such discrepancies between the verbalizer pronominal marking and the verbal pronominal prefix marking can occur. For example, we might expect to see this in the case of causatives, where the verbal pronominal prefix indicates the agent and the verbalizer indicates the patient of the causativized semiverb. No examples of this have yet been found, and it is worthy of further investigation.

Furthermore, derivation allows semiverbs access to both first person patient and distributive morphology. For example, in (8.41), the presence of the distributive indicates plurality of the absolutive argument, *yaweyke* 'spiders'. Distributive marking with derived semiverbs, like with regular verbs, indicates event plurality and not simply argument plurality.

(8.41) **apkelepwánegweykmek** pánaqte yaweyke

apkel-ep-wán-egwey-k-m-ek pánaqte yaweyke
M.DIST-VBLZ.MASC-able-arrive-TI-TERM-DECL medicine spider

'The spiders are accustomed to the venom'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(8.42) xama ekhem **óláseyho**

xama ekhem ól-á-seyh-o
one day 1PL.IRR.DIST-VBLZ-lucky-NM:PO

'One day we will be lucky with the women'

EDP enx034

Derivation also allows lexical semiverbs to take first person patient prefixes, as in (8.43). This is interesting, since dyadic semiverbs like *-menye'-* cannot take patient pronominal prefixes in their underived forms.

(8.43) Sẽlmámenyého

seg-el-m-a-menyeh-o
1PL.PAT.PART-DIST-TI-VBLZ-want-INF

'to be under pressure, to be greatly wanted, to have great demands made on one's time'.

8.6.2 Functions of derived semiverbs

Verbalization makes verb stems from semiverbs, which gives the lexical semiverb access to all of the morphosyntactic operations available to verbs. This section reviews these operations and some peculiarities of their use with derived semiverbs.

Semiverbs are most often derived in order to be used in the perfective form. Like perfective forms of other verbs, they require the temporal indefinite morpheme, which in the case of semiverbs occurs before the root. Perfective semiverbs typically occur as modifiers of head nouns, as in the examples in (8.44).

(8.44) a. Tekkek axta negmasé **ekmaso** ekwesey negmase nelyephe

ø-tek-kek =axta negmasse ek-m-a-s-o ek-wesey
F-come.out-DECL =TC:PST disease F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV F.PART-name
negmasse nel-yeph-e
disease 1PL.DIST.PART-swell-NM:PV

'There came a bad disease called small pox [disease that makes us swell up]'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Xamók ektemakxa aqsok nawhák **negmogwana** nak antók ápetek neghekegkaxa nak

ø-xamok ek-tem-akxa aqsok nawhak neg-m-og-wan-a
F-many F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB thing wild 1PL-TI-VBLZ.1PL-able-NM:PV
=nak an-t-ok a-apetek neg-h-eyk-egk-axa =nak
=TC:VIS 1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO F.POSS-meat 1PL.PART-stay-TI-COMPL-NM:OB =TC:VIS

'There are many kinds of wild animals in our area whose meat we can eat'

School book

c. melxeghek hek énxet **ekmasextoho** nak apmopwanchaa castellano

mel-xeg-hek =hek e:nxet ek-ma-sext-oho =nak
NEG.M.DIST-go-NM:PO =TC:REP person F.PART-have-few-INTS.PART =TC:VIS
ap-m-ap-wan-cha'a castellano
M.PART-have-M.STAT-can-PL.PART Spanish

'The people with little Spanish ability will not go'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Perfective form semiverbs, just like perfective form verbs, can also act as the head of an NP themselves, as in (8.45).

(8.45) apkelxénaha nahan chá'a **ekmaso** kéxegke' xa énxet'ák

apk-el-xen-aha =nahan cha'a ek-m-a-s-o kexegke' =xa
M-DIST-show-AMB =and always F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV 2PL =DMSTR
enxet-'ak

'These men always show you bad things'

EDP enx039

These can occur in all syntactic environments in which NPs can occur, for example, the perfective form of *-samage'* 'cold (environment)' is used as an indicator of location (without any adpositions) in (8.46a) and the complement of a preposition in (8.46b).

(8.46) a. meyke apkenchesso nak **apmopsamáge**

meyke apk-enches-so =nak ap-mop-samage
without M.PART-guard-NM:PV =TC:VIS M.PART-VBLZ.M-cold.NM:PV

'Without anything to cover them in the cold'

TA Job 24 7

b. neyseksa **apmopsamage** nahan sektéma dirigente, eyóse nak la'a

neyseksa ap-mop-samage =nahan sek-tem-a dirigente //
among.F M.PART-VBLZ.M-cold.NM:PV =AND 1SG.PART-be.TI-NM:IP leader //
e-yose =nak =la'a
1SG.STAT-pitiable =TC:VIS =TC:DUB

'During the cold times, I was the leader... poor me'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The imperfective form of most semiverbs is relatively rare, at least in comparison to the use of the perfective form, but it is attested in at least a few cases, as in the examples in (8.47). The rarity of these imperfective semiverb forms is likely due to the fact that the temporal semantics of the derived semiverb forms is rarely compatible with the temporal semantics of the imperfective morphology.

(8.47) a. yaqsa axta ektéma **apmopwagko** elának Jesús xa ektéma nak

yaqsa =axta ek-tem-a ap-m-op-wagk-o
what =TC:PST F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:IP
el-an-ak Jesus =xa ek-tem-a =nak
M.IRR.DIST-do-NM:PO Jesus =DMSTR F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP =TC:VIS
'how did Jesus have the power to do that?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. méko em'ák, la'a **eyesexto** nak sekyespagko kelpasmaga
meko e-m'ak // la'a ey-e-sext-o =nak
NEG.EXIST 1SG.POSS-teeth // TC:DUB F.PART-VBLZ-few-NM:IP =TC:VIS
sek-yespagk-o kelpasmaga
1SG.PART-like-NM:IP biscuits
'I don't have any teeth, therefore I don't like biscuits very much'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Like verbs, derived semiverbs in the imperfective form can optionally take the temporal indefinite. Compare the temporal indefinite and non-TI imperfective forms of *-sam* 'bad' in (8.48a-8.48b).

(8.48) a. Yaqsa ektéma **ekmasagko** nak ko'o setnéssessamakxa exchep
yaqsa ek-tem-a ek-m-a-sag-ko =nak ko'o
what F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:IP =TC:VIS 1SG
se-tn-ess-ess-am-akxa exchep
1SG.PAT.PART-be-VAL-VAL-TI-NM:OB 2SG.M
'Why have you brought this trouble [badness] upon me?

b. Xama axta apkelwet'a **eyesagko** ektáhakxa m'a israelitas
xama =axta apk-el-wet'-a ey-e-sag-ko ek-taha-kxa
one =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-see-NM:IP F.PART-VBLZ-bad-NM:IP F.PART-be-NM:OB
=m'a israelitas
DMSTR israelites
'When the Isrealites saw their situation was bad'

Derivation gives semiverbs access to the potential form as well. This allows semiverbs to be used in constructions which require the potential form, like complement clauses and future-tensed statements. For example, in (8.49), the semiverb *-wane'-* 'to be able to' is being used in a purpose clause as the complement of *yaqwayam*, which requires verbs in the potential form (§15.2.4).

(8.49) nenxegkek escuela yaqwayam **agkegwának** nentáxesso
nen-xeg-kek escuela yaqwayam agk-**eg**-wán-ak
1PL-go-DECL school for 1PL.IRR-VBLZ.1PL-able-NM:PO
nen-táxes-so
1PL.PART-write-NM:IP

'We go to school in order to learn to write'

EDP enx034

Potential form semiverbs can also act as participant denoting nominalizations, as in (8.50).

(8.50) Méko axta **kawának** kalpextétek

meko =axta ka-a-wan-ak ka-l-pextet-ek
NEG =TC:PST F.IRR-VBLZ-able-NM:PO F.IRR-DIST-wrap-NM:PO

'there was no one who could bind him'

TA Mark 5 3

Semiverbs and some non-prototypical adjectives can also take oblique nominalization forms, although for most of these lexical items the oblique nominalization is very low frequency — most of the examples here and in the corpus are directly elicited. Many of the uses fit with the most basic use of the oblique nominalization of verbs — a nominalization which refers to the time or place where an action occurs. Because of the stative, atelic semantics of semiverbs, these oblique nominalization uses tend to refer to a period of time during which the state indicated by the semiverb holds, as in (8.51a-8.51b), but can also refer to locations, as in (8.51c).

(8.51) *Oblique nominalizations of semiverbs*

a. agmeykxak sa' Estados Unidos **apmopsamagexal'a**
ag-mey-kx-ak =sa' Estados Unidos
1PL.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT states united
ap-m-op-samag-exa =l'a
M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-cold-NM:OB =TC:DUB
'We will go to the US when it is cold.'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

b. ekmaheykegkaxa Laguna Juanita **sekmámenyéxa** axta ategye' kelasma
ek-mah-eyk-egk-axa Laguna Juanita sek-m-a-meny-exa
F.PART-head.to-TI-COMPL-NM:OB Laguna Juanita 1SG.PART-TI-VBLZ-want-NM:OB
=axta a-tegy-e' kelasma
=TC:PST 1SG.IRR-look.for-NM:PO fish
'Laguna Juanita is where I would go back when I used to like to fish'

Skype notes 11.20.2019

c. **eyesextexa** xapop

ey-e-sext-exa xapop
F.PART-VBLZ-few-NM:OB land

'where there is little land'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The oblique nominalization can also be used with the 'where/how' content-question word *háxko*, as in (8.52) (see §5.3.2).

(8.52) Háxko eyke **kélámenyéxa** ko'o atnéssesek ma'a kéltéma nak kéxegke judíos Wesse' Apwányam apagkok

haxko =eyke kél-a-meny-exa ko'o a-tn-ess-es-ek =ma'a
how =TC:ASR 2PL.PART-VBLZ-want-NM:OB 1SG 1SG.IRR-be-VAL-VAL-NM:PO =DMSTR
kel-tem-a =nak kexegke judios wesse' ap-wan-yam apagkok
2PL-be.TI-NM:IP =TC:VIS 2PL Jews leader M.PART-GROW-TERM.NM:PV M.POSS

'What do you want me to do with the one you call the king of the Jews?'

TA Mark 15 12

Another major function of semiverb derivation is that it licenses the use of directional morphology and other stem-forming suffixes. Aside from the fact that stative pronominal prefixes never co-occur on a word with directional morphology, the fact that such morphology is only applicable to verbs or derived semiverbs can be seen in examples like (8.53), where the only apparent modification to the root semiverb *-wane'* 'to be able to' is the addition of the duplicative suffix.

(8.53) **eyewagkekxeyk** eyke makham sekpáwáso

ey-e-wag-kekx-eyk =eyke makham sek-paw-as-o
1SG-VBLZ-able-DUP-DECL =TC:ASR still 1SG.PART-noise-CAUS-NM:IP

'I regained my ability to play [piano]'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (8.54a), *-sexte'* 'to be few, not much' takes only the stative pronominal prefix and the declarative suffix. However, in 8.54b, the terminative *-wokm* is applied to indicate a change of state. In order to take this directional morphology, the verb requires the verbalizer and a verbal pronominal prefix.

(8.54) a. **asextek** sekmowána masopeywa

a-**sext**-ek sek-m-o-wán-a masopeywa
F.STAT-few-DECL 1SG.PART-TI-VBLZ-able-INF Spanish

'I don't speak Spanish very well ' (literally 'very little are my capabilities in Spanish')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kesextegwokmek** kaxwo' sekya anmen
k-e-**sexteg**-**wokm**-ek kaxwo' sek-y-a anmen
F-VBLZ-few-ARR-TERM-DECL now 1SG.PART-drink-NM:IP alcohol
'I drink less alcohol now'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (15.85), the ambulative is applied to the semiverb *-sam* 'bad', which requires derivation. Example (8.55a), with the same semiverb in a non-derived context, is given for comparison.

(8.55) a. **Asamchek** keso negmasé
a-**sam**-chek keso negmasse
F.STAT-bad-DECL this disease
'This disease is bad'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **kesagkeyha** exchek appeywa sexéna
k-e-**sag**-**key**-**ha** =exchek ap-peywa se-xe:n-a
F-VBLZ-bad-TI-AMB.DECL =TC:HOD M.PART-words 1SG.PAT.PART-show-NM:IP
'He spoke badly of me' (literally 'His words discussing me were bad')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

8.7 Directions for further research

Plurality is an open question for many of these forms, and it seems possible that the different pluralizing morphology is actually more phonologically similar across forms than what is described here, but similarities are obscured by the unusual glottal stop morphology (§2.4.4).

Chapter 9

Adverbs, adpositions, and adverbial semantics

9.1 Overview of adverbial semantics

The canonical definition of an adverb is an item which modifies the verb, and in some grammatical traditions it is also used to describe modifiers of anything other than a noun. The latter categories, like modification of adjectives and other adverbs, are not gainfully applied to any construction in Enxet Sur, and the base definition, modification of the verb, should be stated for Enxet as modification of the PREDICATE, since (as established in Ch. 5) nominal and other non-verbal items are also frequently PREDICATES, and can themselves take adverbial modification (e.g. 'I am *still* young'). Such qualifications for the use of the term *adverb* are common, but there are some further qualities to be defined and qualifications which need to be made to the use of the term in this description of Enxet Sur.

Cross-linguistically (cf. Hallonsten Halling 2018), adverbs typically provide one of three kinds of information about the predicate: spatial ('I'm gonna sit down *right here*'), temporal ('I'm gonna sit down *right now*'), and manner ('I'm gonna sit down *slowly*'). For reasons that are explained below and discussed throughout this chapter, I distinguish in this grammar between the terms *adverbial* and *adverb*. An *adverb* is a grammatically dependent item which modifies its head by providing spatial/temporal/manner information about it. The term *adverbial*, on the other hand, is applied to any item which provides similar kinds of spatial/temporal/manner information about some event or proposition in the discourse, regardless of its grammatical or structural position. Thus, *adverbs* are *adverbial*, but other kinds of items or constructions may have an *adverbial* semantic function without actually being an *adverb* or any kind of dependent modifying expression.

This distinction is useful because, as one might imagine based on the description of the paratactic nature of semantic argument relations described in chapter 5, items with an adverbial function are often paratactic PREDICATES, and do not arise in the grammar as dependent modifiers. We can recognize at least four classes of items which can be used to serve an adverbial function:

- A small, essentially closed class of true *adverbs*, which function as dependent modi-

fiers closely linked to the PREDICATE complex (e.g. the verb and its TAME marking)

- Nouns, including deverbal nominalizations, whose semantic relationship to a PREDICATE is typically established by implicature rather than overt indicators of their semantic relationship; these can be dependent COMPLEMENTS or paratactic PREDICATES
- Positional nouns and some adposition-like elements which are likely themselves also nouns but which, at least in some cases, behave like true adpositions; these can also be dependent COMPLEMENTS or paratactic PREDICATES
- Adverbial PREDICATES, which cannot exist as dependent items at all

The notion of a 'modifier' and 'modification', which is conventionally used to describe a semantic relationship of a dependent item relative to its head, is somewhat murkier in Enxet Sur, since adverbial elements may semantically 'modify' something to which they are not grammatically dependent. Enxet Sur, in its minimal clause shape and highly paratactic syntax, frequently places content which semantically "modifies" a proposition in a separate clause. For example, in (9.1), *neptámen* 'after him' is providing temporal information about the PREDICATE verb *aptépekxeyk* 'he emerged again', and the translation into English or Spanish would certainly be rendered by a prepositional phrase (a type of adverbial modification). However, in this example, *neptámen* is marked with the past tense TAME clitic *axta*, which marks it as a distinct PREDICATE.

(9.1) aptépekxeyk axta makham pók wesse' **neptámen axta**

ap-tép-ekx-eyk	=axta	makham	pók	wesse'	neptámen	=axta
M-emerge-DUP-DECL	=TC:PST	still	other.M	leader	after.M	=TC:PST

'Another leader rose up after him'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

As with the discussion of TAME clitics on S-argument nouns in §5.1, the presence of the past tense clitic *axta* on *neptámen* in this example cannot be seen as arising through a process of grammatical relations with the PREDICATE verb to its left, and the distribution of TAME clitics prevents them from being elements of an embedded phrase within a clause.

This process of placing adverbial information in paratactic clauses is perhaps easier to understand when we look at the "adverbial clause"-like function of the imperfective nominalization (described further in §15.2.3). In a construction like (9.2), there is a declarative form verb, followed by the grammatical nominalization *sekwákxo yátnáta'* 'my arriving in Yátnáta" which provides temporal information about the declarative verb. In such isolated examples, especially when looking at a written "sentence", it is tempting to view the adverbial element as a simple dependent of the finite verb.

(9.2) sektósso ekhéwésákxak **sekwákxo yátnáta'**

sektósso	ek-héw-és-ákx-ak	sek-wá-kx-o	yátnáta'
my.dog	1SG-huntVAL-DUP-SCND	1SG.PART-arrive-DUP-NM:IP	Yátnáta'

'I was taking my dog hunting *when I arrived at the village of Yátnáta*'.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, when we look at running discourse, we see that strings of such nominalized verbs, often several in a row as in (9.3), are used to indicate actions occurring simultaneously or in quick succession. The difference between the declarative (second position form) verbs and the nominalized imperfective form verbs in (9.3) is not so much indicative of subordination as it is information structure and stylistic choice — the declarative verbs at the beginning and end of the passage are foregrounded, important points, while the nominalized verb forms are used for backgrounded information.

(9.3) *Context: In a story about the Chaco War, the narrator is chasing after a carriage driven by Paraguayan soldiers which has captured the narrator's father and other Enxet men*
meyakxak ko'o ma'a, chán móteyagweykxak carro, natámen, **sénmexo makham**, náxet ámay, **sekwet'a**, **exxega**, carreta, seykekxa enmaga aqtek, nahan nento, qat tayépek makham carro, kelwegqekke'

mey-akx-ak ko'o =ma'a // chán mó-tey-agwey-kx-ak carro //
head.to-DUP-SCND 1SG =DMSTR // none NEG.1SG.IRR-see-ARR-DUP-SCND carriage //
natámen // sé-nmex-o makham // náxet ámay //
after.F // 1SG.PART-oppose-NM:IP still // middle.F road //
sek-wet'-a // ex-xeg-a // carreta // sey-k-ekx-a
1SG.PART-see-NM:IP // F.PART.DIST-go-NM:IP // cart // carry-TI-DUP-NM:PV
enmaga a-qtek // nahan nento // qat tayépek makham carro //
gun F.POSS-seed // AND food // far far still carriage //
kel-wegqek-ke'
DIST-take.far-DECL

'I got there, nothing! I didn't see the carriage when I got there, then, *while I was still standing there looking*, in the middle of the road, *I saw it*, *it was coming*, a cart, carrying ammunition and food, the carriage was still far away, they had been taken far away'

NNE190 05:59

There is no particular language-internal motivation to treat the usage of nominalized verbs in (9.3) any differently than the adverbial phrase in (9.2), since they are both formally and functionally equivalent. They are formally equivalent in that they are imperfective form nominalizations with no overt indicators of relationship to the declarative verbs which precede them (like *while* or *when*). They are functionally equivalent in that they indicate events which are ongoing, sequential, or otherwise logically connected to the events indicated by preceding declarative verbs, and they are backgrounded or generally less emphasized than the events indicated by the declarative verbs.

In these instances, where a positional noun like *neptámen* or a nominalized verb like *sekwákxo* is in a distinct clause from that which they semantically "modify", or that which they provide adverbial information about, the semantic relationship is established

through the broad functions of the nominal PREDICATE clause. As described in §5.2.1 in §7.3, while nominal PREDICATES often express an identity/categorial relationship, they can function in a locative sense as well — the English copular construction can similarly be used for an identity/categorial function (*He was a police officer*) or a locative function (*He was in Buenos Aires*). So, in the case of paratactic nominal predicates which have an adverbial relationship to the PREDICATE of a prior clause, the relationship is established through this broad function of the nominal PREDICATE construction.

Powys (1929) claims that there is a scarcity of prepositions in Enxet, and claims that there is often 'ambiguity' within Enxet clauses resulting from the lack of prepositions. It is not entirely clear what exactly becomes ambiguous due to the lack of prepositions in Powys' reasoning, since spatial or temporal relationships are generally well established by the semantics of verbs if not simply by context, but Powys' observation that adpositions are typically not obligatory to express spatial relationships or introduce "oblique" arguments is generally true. That is, where many languages would require some kind of adposition to introduce oblique arguments or nouns serving an adverbial function, Enxet Sur does not.

In a majority of cases, phrases which indicate the spatial or temporal location of an event do so with no added morphology or particles to indicate topological relations. For example, in (9.4a-9.4d), the locational s-arguments have no morphological indication of their relationship to the verb. In these examples, the semantics of the verb more or less require such a goal or locational s-argument, and the relationship is fairly well specified by the verb. Verbs like *apyentama* 'to lead to' or *apmeyakxo* 'to head to' have semantics which require a locational or goal s-argument and have verbal semantics which encode the necessary relationships such that adpositions like English *to* or *at* are not necessary.

(9.4) *Local arguments of motion verbs*

a. naqsoya apyentama exnek apketche **Nepyeyam**?
naqso =ya ap-yentam-a =exnek ap-ketche **Nepyeyam**
true =TC:Q M.PART-lead.person-NM:IP =TC:REP M.POSS-child Asunción
'Is it true that he took his son to Asuncion?'

b. wánesesha sa' pelota apmeyákxo sa' Cristobal **Nepyeyam**
w-ánes-es-ha =sa' pelota ap-mey-ákx-o =sa'
1SG.IRR-do.favor-VAL-AMB =TC:FUT ball M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP =TC:FUT
Cristobal **Nepyeyam**
Cristobal Asuncion
'I'll ask Cristobal to get you ball when he goes to Asuncion'

c. keñe apkempágwaktámho apmeyákxo **Filadelfia**
keñe apk-empag-wak-tá-m-ho ap-mey-ákx-o
after M.PART-continue-ARR-CISL-TERM-INTS.NM:IP M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP
Filadelfia
Filadelfia
'Then he continued his trip to Filadelfia from here'

d. axnamhok sa **Makxawáya**

a-xn-am-hok=sa' Makxawaya
1SG.IRR-sit.stay-TERM-INTS=TC:FUT Makxawaya

'I'm going to stay at Makxawaya'

However, the same situation holds even when the locational argument is not required or specified by the verb. In (9.5a-9.5c), the existential predicates do not require a local argument or necessarily specify a spatial relationship, but there are, nonetheless, still no adpositional particles to indicate the spatial relationship.

(9.5) *Local arguments of existential constructions*

a. méko sélyekpelchémokxa **Filadelfia**
me:ko se:l-yekpelch-e:m-okxa **Filadelfia**
NEG.EXIST 1SG.DIST.PART-recognize-TI-NM:OB Filadelfia

'There's nobody that I know in Filadelfia'

b. kaxwók méko yewa ekwanyam **Makxawé**
kaxw-ok meko yewa ek-wany-am Makxawe
NOW-INTS NEG.EXIST snake F.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV Makxawaya

'Nowadays there are no giant snakes at Makxawaya'

EDP enx038

c. yetneyk ko'o selwesayo xamo' **El Estribo**
yetneyk ko'o sel-wes-ayo xamo' El Estribo
EXIST 1SG 1SG.PART.DIST-name-INTS.NM:PV together El Estribo

'There is someone with the same name as me in El Estribo'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This lack of spatial specification on the local argument, however, works in part because any one verb can only take a single local argument. That is, one cannot construe as a single clause something like the English sentence *I took the cows from Filadelfia to Concepción*, without making use of multiple verbs. For example, in (9.6), there is a declarative verb 'go', which canonically has a goal s-argument, but to express 'go somewhere from Makxawaya', the 'from Makxawaya' bit is expressed as a nominal PREDICATE clause with a nominalized verb, literally something like 'Makxawaya is where we came from'. This is very similar to what is sometimes done with multiple core s-arguments, described in §5.1, where disambiguating semantic roles of multiple nominal expressions actually requires multiple lexical verbs.

(9.6) nenxegakmek axta negko'o **néleñama Makxawé**

nen-xeg-akm-ek =axta negko'o nél-eñam-a makxawé
1PL-go-TERM-DECL =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART.DIST-come.from-NM:PV Makxawaya

'We went to a new place from Makxawaya'

EDP enx028 00:44

The sections below first describe items which are functionally similar to adpositions, followed by a description of true adverbs and PREDICATE adverbials.

9.2 Adpositions

Despite the fact that topological relationships are often expressed within the verb or left morphologically underspecified, there are a number of lexical items which express topological relationships with a nominal complement, as in (9.7). Because of their semantic content, and their apparent (though often illusory) phrasal constituency with NP complements, these items have been referred to in some previous works (Powys, 1929, Rojas and Curtis, 2017, Unruh and Kalisch, 1997) as prepositions. As can be seen throughout this chapter, there is variation in whether these items occur before or after their complement, and they are therefore referred to with the order-neutral term *adposition*.

(9.7) ektémakxa ekpálleyam agko' **kañe El Estribo**

ek-tem-akxa	ek-pal-leyam	=agko'	kañe	El Estribo
F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB	F.PART-fall-TERM.NM:PV	=DEG.F	inside	El Estribo

'They were born in El Estribo'

EDP enx028 07:51

As elsewhere in this description, I am using the term *adposition* mainly as an indicator of semantic function, and the descriptions below discuss the degree to which it is syntactically and typologically appropriate to apply this term. These ostensible adpositions do not constitute a homogeneous class, and there is a good deal of variation in their internal morphology and their syntactic behaviors. The following sections are based on these different sub-classes of adposition-like items.

The descriptions herein could be interpreted a number of different ways, but the items which present as adpositions mostly seem to be analyzable as something other than true adpositions — they are nouns or or morphologically idiosyncratic items which ultimately function like independent predicates, and I believe they provide a good example of how a language can express topological relations without a class of true adpositions. However, in many constructions, these items are indistinguishable from canonical adpositions, and, as I suggest throughout this section, there is evidence that Enxet Sur speakers are in a process of making these items work more like canonical adpositions. Some readers may very well be of the mindset that if these items look, swim, and quack like adpositions, then they are adpositions, and I will concede that the term is at least useful as a heuristic device, even if I think it suggests a degree of syntactic complexity and hierarchical structure that the Enxet Sur language does not actually make use of.

9.2.1 Declinable Positional Nouns

One of the major adposition-like word classes is a set of **positional nouns**: items which, at their core, are related nouns, but which serve the function of establishing a topological relation to the possessor noun. Semantically, the [positional noun:possessor] relationship is analogous to the [adposition:object of adposition] relationship which many languages use to express topological relations. In other words, in Enxet Sur, the topological relationship 'beside me' is expressed as 'my side'

In such forms, the pronominal prefix indicates the possessor, and therefore when positional nouns take overt nominal complements, the complement is co-referential with the pronominal prefix in the adposition, as in the examples in (9.8).

(9.8) a. eltamhok ko'o kólhaxnegkegkesek hópen yámet **nepyáwa** tegma
el-tamh-ok ko'o kól-haxnegk-egk-es-ek
1SG.DIST-want-INTS.DECL 1SG IMPR.IRR-encircle-COMPL-VAL-NM:PO
hópen.yámet nepyáwa tegma
barb.wire M.around house
'I want to put a barbed wire fence around the house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekwet'ak yálwa **neyáwa'** páxen
ek-wet'-ak yálwa neyáwa' páxen
1SG-see-SCND armadillo F.around edge.of.woods
'I saw a armadillo around the edge of the woods'

Notes 8.20.18

The positional noun *tekhenxet* 'in the sky above us' (as opposed to more closely above with *néten*, appears in the paradigm given in (9.9), inflected for the same five personal inflectional categories as related nouns, verbs, semiverbs, and adjectives. These pronominal prefixes in such adpositions are not on the left edge of the word, but rather have additional formatives to the left of the productively alternating stative pronominal prefixes. In the glossing of these forms, I do not segment these elements, and instead gloss them as though they were fused forms (i.e. *napakha* 'his side' is glossed just as *m*.side and not as *na-p-akha* LOC-M-side).

(9.9) a. tekhéxet 'above me'
b. tekhenxet 'above us'
c. takháxet 'above her/you'
d. takhapxet 'above him/you'
e. kéltakháxet 'above y'all'

While such a form can take an overt nominal complement, as in (9.10a), or even an independent pronominal complement as in (9.10b), it does not require an overt complement at all, as the semantic complement is established by the pronominal prefix that sits inside the form.

Gloss	1SG	1PL	F	M	2PL/IMP
'in the middle of'	—	—	náxet	nepxet	kélnáxet
'around'	neyáwa'	negyáwa'	neyáwa'	nepyáwa'	kélnepyáwa'
'after (before)'	netámen	nentámen	natámen	neptámen	kélnentámen
'beside'	nehekha	neghekha	nekha	napakha	kélnapakha
'amongst, while'	—	negyeseksa	neyseksa	nepyeseksa	kélnepyeseksa
'in front of'	nahaqto'	negaqto'	naqto'	nápaqto'	kélnaqto'
'at the tip of'	—	—	naw'a	napwa'a	kélnapwa'a
'before'	emogye'	egmogye'	amogye'	apmogye'	kélmogye'
'on the other side of'	—	—	neyp	teyp	—
'in the sky above	tekhéxet	tekhenxet	takháxet	takhapxet	kéltakháxet

Table 9.1: Declineable adpositions

(9.10) a. ekpeysyam agko' axta yaphopé ekyetna **takhapxet énxet**
ek-peys-eyam =agko' =axta yaphope ek-yetn-a takhapxet
F.PART-black-TERM.NM:PV =DEG =TC:PST cloud F.PART-lie-NM:PV above.M
enxet
man
'The clouds sitting above the men were very dark'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Aphegkek **ko'o tekhéxet** ma'a Wesse' egegkok Espíritu apagkok
ap-h-eg-kek ko'o tekéxet =ma'a Wesse' egegkok espíritu apagkok
M-sit-TI-DECL 1SG above.1SG =DMSTR lord 1PL.POSS spirit M.POSS
'The spirit of the Lord sits above me'

Luke 4 18

As can be seen in the list of declinable adpositions in table 9.1, the most common pre-pronominal formative is *n(a)-*, which is almost certainly the locative *ná-* which attaches to nouns (§4.2.5). Some have very clear etymological structure, like *nápaqto'* 'in front of him' constructed from the locative *na-* and the root *-aqt-* 'eye, face', therefore meaning something like 'at its face'. However, as described in §4.2.5, the *na-* locative attaches to nouns and produces a noun — it does not function like an adposition itself, and therefore *nápaqto'* is a noun meaning 'the location of its face'. Therefore all of these *na-* initial forms, whether their etymology is fully transparent or not, are likely composed of a locative *na-* and an related noun.

Others, namely *amogye'* 'before', *neyp* 'on the other side of', and *takháxet* 'above' lack the *na-* element. *Amogye'* is a fully regular related noun with an initial pronominal prefix — its inclusion in this category is simply based on semantic and not morphological grounds. The other two, *neyp* and *takháxet*, cannot be accounted for through any regular morphological process seen elsewhere in the language. The *takh-* element before

the pronominal prefix in *takháxet* is probably related to *takha'* 'lightning', since it means being up in the sky.

Another interesting formal point of note concerns the 2PL forms. In these, the second person plural *kél-* prefix occurs outside of the *na-* element, leaving the internal pronominal prefix between the *na-* and the root. For example, the *2pl* form of *náxet* 'in the middle of' is *kélnáxet*, rather than something like ***nakélxet*. There appears to be quite a lot of variation regarding whether the internal pronominal prefix in the *2pl* forms is masculine or feminine, and whether or not there is a productive difference between the two. This inconsistency in the paradigm is likely just due to the fact that the second person plural *kél-* is a recent innovation in Enxet Sur (§3.3.1).

In most constructions in which they occur, Enxet Sur positional nouns can be hard to distinguish syntactically or semantically from a more canonical adposition — the nominal designation is first and foremost morphological. In fact, in some examples like (9.10a) above, it is much easier (from an English perspective) to see *takhapxet énxet* as 'above the man' than as something like 'the man's above'. However, some of the positional nouns can very transparently be used like any other related noun, as in (9.11). Here *nekha* is clearly used as a referential noun, and cannot be construed as an adposition.

(9.11)

(9.12) **áxa nekha** kelyetláwak ephék

áxa nekha kel-yetláw-ak e-phék
palm F.side DIST-follow-SCND 1SG.POSS-finger

'Some palm splinters [lit. 'side of the palm'] got stuck in my hand'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Similarly, while *náxet* 'its middle' is often used with a possessor 'X' to mean 'in the middle of X' as in (9.13a), its identity as a noun is confirmed in other uses. For example, it is often used to refer to a belt, as in (9.13b), or can be used to refer to half of something, as in (9.13c).

(9.13) a. awanhek axta mameye **náxet** ámay

a-wanh-ek =axta mameye náxet ámay
F.STAT-big-DECL =TC:PST rain F.middle road

'There was a lot of rainwater in the middle of the road'

EDP enx028 01:21

b. aptetekxeyk axta **nepxet** yágke kenhan pexpáxa

ap-tet-ekx-eyk =axta nepxet yágke kenhan pexpáxa
M-tie-DUP-DECL =TC:PST M.middle arrow AND bow

'He tied his bow and arrow to his belt'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. xama pelten **nepxet** pók
xama pelten nepxet pók
one moon M.middle M.other
'One and a half months', literally 'one moon, the middle of its other'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Positional nouns do appear to have some behaviors distinct from other related nouns, however. They all regularly take the intensive suffix (see §9.2.5 below), which some other related nouns can but with far less semantic regularity. Also, the order of the positional noun and its possessor is typically [noun : possessor], as in (9.14a-9.14b), while with most inalienable possession, the typical order is [possessor : possessed] (see §13.4.1). However, the opposite order [possesor : noun] is also possible, as in (9.14c). With the non-declineable adposition like items discussed in §9.2.2, it is clear that the older order was [noun : positional item] and it has recently changed to [positional item : noun], but there is no evidence of such a diachronic change in tendencies with these positional nouns.

(9.14) *Various examples of neyseksa 'X's midst, among'*

a. Yamásek axta **neyseksa mayahat** yakwayam kalanagkok échaha ánek
ø-yam-as-sek =axta neyseksa mayahat yaqwayam
F-dry-VAL-DECL =TC:PST amongst.F sunshine for
kal-an-agkok echaha a-anek
F.IRR.DIST-make-COMPL.NM:PO algorrobo F.POSS-grain
'They dry it out in the sun so that they can make algorrobo powder'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. negyexánegwokme' axta negko'o **neyseksa pa'at ekmompánaq**
neg-yexáneg-wok-m-e' =axta negko'o neyseksa pa'at
1PL-hide-ARR-TERM-DECL =TC:PST 1PL F.amidst grass
ek-m-om-pánaq
F.PART-TI-VBLZ-overgrown
'We hide amongst the overgrown grass'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. yetneyk **Makxawe neyseksa** ketsek banco

yetneyk Makxawe neyseksa k-etsek banco
EXIST Makxawaya F.midst F-few banks
'Throughout Makxawaya there are a few river banks'

EDP enx037

d. *Context: Speaking of the pre-contact Enxet*
wánxa apheykha m'a naxma', méko xama aqsok ektaqmela **nepyéseksa**

wánxa ap-h-eykha =m'a naxma' // méko xama aqsok
only M.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV =DMSTR woods // NEG.EXIST one thing
ek-taqmel-a nepyéseksa
F.PART-good-NM:PV M.amidst

'They just lived in the forest, there was not one nice thing amongst them'

EDP enx006 11:30

e. negyepteyxchek kaxwo' **negyeseksa**
neg-yeptey-x-chek kaxwo' negyeseksa
1PL-split-MID-DECL now 1PL.amidst

'We have separated', literally 'we separate from each other now amongst ourselves'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. xép sa' ewatagkasek makham **negyeseksa**
xép =sa' e-wa-tagk-as-ek makham negyeseksa
2SG.M =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-arrive-CISL-VAL-NM:PO still 1PL.amidst

'You will bring him back among us'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. chaqhak ñat weyke taqáxchók énxet **neyseksa nenxegà**
ch-aqh-ak =nat weyke=taqaxchok enxet neyseksa nen-xeg-a
F-kill-DECL =TC:RPST ox cart man amongst.F 1PL.PART-go-NM:PV

'An ox cart killed a man during our travel'

EDP enx047 30:26

h. Dios appeywa ekmowana hegméssek ektaqmalma élchetamso egwáxok **neyseksa negha enxakko'**
Dios ap-peywa ek-m-o-wan-a heg-mes-sek
God M.PART-words F.PART-TI-VBLZ-able-NM:PV 1PL.IRR-give-NM:PO
ek-taqmal-ma elch-etams-o eg-waxok neyseksa
F.PART-good-NM:PV F.PART.DIST-search-NM:IP 1PL.POSS-innermost amongst.F
neg-h-a en-xakko'
1PL.PART-sit-NM:PV 1PL.STAT-alone

'The word of God has the power to give us the peace of our thoughts amidst our living in solitude'

EDP enx039

Syntactically, positional nouns function like other nouns in the sense that, when they are dependents of a PREDICATE (not independent PREDICATES themselves) they are morphosyntactically unspecified for their grammatical role, and regardless of their grammatical dependency status (which, as discussed in §5.1.3, can be hard to discern), their semantic relationship to a leftward PREDICATE is not overt. They can be semantically oblique

locational s-arguments, as in (9.14d), can provide manner information about a PREDICATE, as in (9.14e), or act as a more semantically core s-argument as the goal of motion verbs, as in (9.14f). They do not take adpositions or any other morphological indicator which might specify their semantic relationship to a PREDICATE, just like any other noun.

Finally, the possessor of positional nouns can be a nominalized verb or nominalized clause, as in (9.14g-9.14h), and the positional noun with its possessor functions similar to an adverbial clause. Again, this does not necessarily mean that the positional noun has to be in a dependent position relative to a "main" clause. More on nominalized possessors of positional nouns can be found in §15.2.1.

9.2.2 Non-declining positional items

Another class of items which serve to establish topological relations are referred to here simply as non-declining positional items, listed in table 9.2. Unlike the positional nouns above, they do not have possessive or pronominal affixes, and therefore have no morphological indication of their semantic complement. They also are not so clearly lexical nouns, and might be thought of as more like canonical adpositions, although they do not grammatically require an overt complement.

Positional item	Intensive form	Gloss
kañe'	kañók	inside
keto'	ketók	near
kóneg	kónegok	beneath
néten	netnók	above

Table 9.2: Non-declining positional items in Enxet Sur

In the modern Enxet Sur language, these items most often occur as prepositions, followed by their semantic complements, as in the examples in (9.15)

(9.15) a. yaqwayam enxol'a ampekkenwatak **ketok enxagkok**

yaqwayam =enxo =l'a am-pekken-wa-t-ak ketok
for =TC:CONJ =TC:DUB 1PL.IRR-place-ARR-CISL-NM:PO close
en-xagkok
1PL.POSS-house

'So that we can come back and place it close to our house'

EDP enx007 10:13

b. apwet'ak axta apmenek ekmeyákxoho ma'a kañe ságe, natámen aptaxnek axta ketsek **kañe' qámok**

ap-wet'-ak =axta ap-menek ek-meya-kx-oho =m'a kañe
M-see-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-foot F.PART-head.to-DUP-INTS.PART =DMSTR inside
ságe // natámen ap-taxn-ek =axta ketsek kañe' qámok
estuary // therefore M-enter-DECL =TC:PST little inside reeds

'He saw some footprints heading into the estuary, so he entered a little bit into the reeds (in the water)'

EDP enx006 03:26

c. negkenaxche' xeyk weykcha'áhak **néten mesa**
negken-ax-che' =xeyk weykcha'áhak néten mesa
place.many-MID-DECL =TC:HOD book above table
'The books were placed above the table'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. ekpós sa **kónego' colchón**
e-kpós =sa kóneg-o' colchón
M.IRR-hide =TC:FUT under-INTS mattress
'hide it well under the mattress'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, in other EE languages, including Enlhet Norte (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997), these items occur after their semantic complement, and thus act like postpositions. This is in fact the more common pattern with older Enxet Sur speakers as well, as in the example in (9.16). This strongly suggests that the prepositional constructions seen in (9.15) are a quite recent development.

(9.16)

(9.17) xámok axta énxet'ák nano' **iglesia kañe'**

ø-xamok =axta enxet-'ak nano' iglesia kañe'
F-many =TC:PST man-PL old church inside
'There were many Enxet in the church back then'

EDP enx038

All of these items, however, can be used without overt nominal complements, as in (9.18). In some cases, there is a semantic complement that is simply indicated through zero anaphora, but in others, these topological items do not really have a semantic complement. For example, *néten* 'above' can establish a topological relationship, but it can also just mean 'up in the air', as in the use of the intensive form *netnók* in (9.18c).

(9.18) a. agyepkónek hana agketmok se'e **kañe** nak
ag-yepkón-ek =hana agk-etm-ok =se'e kañe =nak
1PL.IRR-try-NM:PO =TC:PLZ 1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO =PROX inside =TC:VIS
'Let's try to look here, inside'

EDP enx025 10:56

b. *Context: looking at a tree with many beehives*
yawhan **néten** tén han yamyawhéna **kóneg**

yawhan néten tén =han yamyawhéna kóneg
k.o.bee above then =AND honey.bee below

'there are *yawhan* bees above and *yamyawhéna* bees below'

EDP enx025 33:02

c. *Context: Referring to planes circling the city of Concepción during the Chaco War*
xega néten **netnók**, ánet

xeganéten netn-ók // a-anet
airplane above-INTS // F.STAT-two

'there were planes way up high, two of them'

NNE190 02:28

d. pexcha' nak la'a empehek sekweta **keto'**

pexch-a' =nak =la'a e-empehek sek-wet-a keto'
goosebumps-DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB 1SG.POSS-skin 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP close

'My skin gets goosebumps when I look closely'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Like many pairs of items which form semantic constituencies, these adposition-like items and their semantic complement may be prosodically distinct, constituting a separate utterance, as in (9.19). Like other instances of this phenomenon (§5.1), the appositive nominal expression is as much an independent, topic-identifying nominal PREDICATE clause as it is an asyntactic, free-noun afterthought.

(9.19) ampekkenek sa' táxa **kóneg**, **yamyawhéna**'

am-pekken-ek =sa' táxa kóneg // yamyawhéna'
1PL.IRR-place-NM:PO =TC:FUT fire beneath // honey.bee

'We will put the fire underneath them, the honeybees'

EDP enx025 33:42

Ultimately, however, these positional items, like most lexical items, seem to function primarily as PREDICATES that can take NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS. When they are used as PREDICATES, their semantic complements occur in the post-TAME position like regular COMPLEMENTS, rather than as a whole adpositional phrase in the PREDICATE position. For example, in (9.20), the clause 'it was *near the lake*' is rendered as *ketók axta ságe* rather than ***ketók ságe axta*, meaning that the grammar does not treat *ketók ságe* 'near the lake' as a constituent phrase.

(9.20) haxko exa negaqhakxa axta, **ketók axta ságe**

haxko =exa neg-aqh-akxa =axta // ket-ók =axta ságe
where =TC:DUB 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB =TC:PST // close-INTS =TC:PST lake

'Where is the place where we killed it... It was near the lake'

EDP enx025 07:16

9.2.3 Deverbal positional nouns

There are at least two items in Enxet Sur — *yetlo* 'with' and *payho* 'at, in the place of' — which appear to have recently grammaticalized from deverbal nominalizations. They are composed of verb stems with perfective form endings (§3.4.3), but lack pronominal prefixes (similar to the lexicalized nominalizations described in §4.3). They exhibit sound changes that are unique to Enxet Sur and do not appear to have structurally comparable cognate forms in Enlhet Norte, suggesting that they are recent innovations in the language. Unlike the declining positional nouns described in §9.2.1, they mostly co-occur with an overt nominal complement and do not establish a topological relation without a semantic complement, and therefore function like true adpositions. However, like a number of other phenomena in Enxet Sur (see the discussion on NP coordination in §16.2), I view these structures as examples of recent calquing — Enxet Sur speakers using the existing building blocks of their language to produce prepositional phrases like those of other regional languages, even though the language did not historically make use of such structures.

The prepositional *yetlo* 'with' has functions quite similar to 'with' in English or *con* in Spanish, and etymologically is a depronominalized perfective form of the verb base *-yetlaw-* 'to follow', an example of which is given in (9.21). Some consultants identify at least some of the uses of this preposition as a form of "missionary Enxet"[1], but it is also a very high frequency word in the corpus (over 2,000 tokens) across many document types.

(9.21) **ekyetlókok** axta apxega

ek-yetlo-kok =axta ap-xeg-a
1SG-follow-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-go-NM:IP

'I followed him when he left'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It is attested in a handful of different functions. For example, it is commonly used in the corpus for to introduce instruments, as in (9.22).

(9.22) a. nentegyak negko'o popyet **yetlo enmaga**

nen-tegy-ak negko'o popyet yetlo enmaga
1PL-search-DECL 1SG deer with rifle

'We hunt for deer with a rifle'

EDP enx009

b. negmék negko'o kelasma' **yetlo yám'en**

[1] This is a term used by some to refer to the simplified accomodation variety of Enxet that was used by and with the Anglican missionaries, full of calques from English. That some consultants view this word this way is further evidence that it is calqued from other languages, maybe even directly from English missionaries.

neg-m-eyk negko'o kelasma' yetlo yam'en
1PL-have-DECL 1SG fish with net
'We catch the fish with a net'

EDP enx002

It is also used to indicate accompaniment, either in the sense of having partners in a task (9.23a), multiple objects (9.23b), or performing an action concomitantly with another action or state (9.23c-9.23d).

(9.23) a. **Yetlo apnakteyegka'a** axta apkelxegak
yetlo ap-naqteyegka'a =axta apk-el-xeg-ak
with M.POSS-spouse.PL =TC:PST M-DIST-go-SCND
'They went along with their wives'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. egwanchek antegyek ketekma', antok **yetló nátekhet**
eg-wanch-ek an-tegy-ek ketekma' // an-to-k
1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO prickly.pear // 1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO
yetlo natekhet
with chili
'We can get some prickly pears, we eat them with chili pepper'

EDP enx007 13:23

c. *Context: referring to the uses of the traditional Enxet violin called axpog*
atsek ampáwaksek **yetló wegke néten**
a-ats-ek am-pawak-s-ek yetlo wegke néten
F.STAT-sweet-DECL 1PL.IRR-make.noise-CAUS-NM:PO with wegke néten
'It's nice when we play it with Wegke Néten [dance]'

EDP enx007 17:55

d. *Context: a were-jaguar enters a village and acts strangely*
Aptókok hekñat yempehek **yetlo péyem kañe**
ap-tok-ok =hek =nat yempehek yetlo peyem kañe
M-eat-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST skin with lizard inside
'He ate the skin with a lizard inside'

López Ramírez (1996)

The prepositional *payho*[2] 'at, in the place of' has clear verbal derivation from the verb stem *-payhe'-* 'to be located in, to be in the right place, to spread out', seen in (9.24).

[2] *Payho* is less clearly accepted as "good" Enxet by speakers than *yetlo* is. For example, while *yetlo* appears

(9.24) Makxawáya payhok negko'o negheykegkaxa

Makxawaya payh-ok negko'o neg-h-ey-keg-kaxa
Makxawaya locate-INTS.SCND 1PL 1PL.PART-sit-TI-AMB-NM:OB

'Our living area is located at Makxawaya'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The semantics of *payho* as an adpositional item are somewhat nebulous, but this is probably because the productive verb base it comes from has a semantic value that is hard to pin down. For example, in (9.24), the same basic idea could be expressed with a simple nominal PREDICATE, like 'Our living area is Makxawaya', but speakers use the verb *-payhe-* for certain kinds of locative constructions like this. Probably, *-payhe-* has some semantic value that would not be expressed through a simple equational or identity PREDICATE, much like the distinction between non-verbal PREDICATES and similar constructions which use the semantically contentful copular verb *-teh-* (§5.2.1).

Thus, the semantic value of *payho* as a more adposition-like item is somewhat murky as well, but some generalizations can be made about its distribution. Most often, in contrast to the general observations about locational and goal arguments in the beginning of this section, *payho* is used to with semantically obligatory locational or goal s-arguments, as in (9.25-9.26).

(9.25) yentexek negko'o negheykha payho **El Estribo**

yentex-ek negko'o neg-h-eykha payho El Estribo
heavy-DECL 1PL 1PL.PART-sit-TI.AMB.NM:IP location El Estribo

'It was hard living here in El Estribo'

EDP enx028 06:00

(9.26) natámen apwakteyk Domingo **payho Makxawé**

natamen ap-wak-t-eyk Domingo payho Makxawe
F.after M-arrive-CISL-DECL Sunday location Makxawaya

'Then they would go back to Makxawaya on Sunday'

frequently in Bible translations, these sources use the form *ekpayho* with the regular feminine participial prefix (§3.3.3), and some speakers who say *payho* will prefer the written form to be *ekpayho*. Again, this does not mean that examples of its use can be discounted, just that its grammaticalization from participial verb to true adposition does not appear to be as widely accepted across the speech community as the analogous *yetlo*. However, unlike *yetlo*, even the form *ekpayho* with the pronominal prefix has irregularities at the right edge indicative of grammaticalization-linked phonological reduction. With the productive verb base *-payhe'-*, the perfective form of the bare base is *ekpayhe*, and the intensive perfective form is *ekpayhemo*, meaning that the *ekpayho* form is formally distinct from productive forms of the verb base from which it derives historically.

EDP enx047 03:08

Payho can also be used to introduce semantically oblique elements which are not obligatory s-arguments of a preceding verb, as in (9.27). In any of these instances, however, it is not clear that there is any loss of semantic content if *payho* is not included — it asserts that its complement is a location, but in most contexts, this would be equally clear without *payho*.

(9.27) apwetágwokmek axta ságe étkok neysekso naxma, **payho nexcheyha**

ap-wetag-wok-m-ek =axta sage e-etkok neyseks-o naxma // payho
M-see-ARR-TERM-DECL =TC:PST lake F.STAT-small F.amidst-INTS woods // location
nexcheyha
north

'Upon arriving they saw a small lake in the forest, up to the north'

López Ramírez (1996)

Unlike *yetlo*, *payho* is occasionally used without a complement, always involved in specifying locations. For example, in (9.28a), it is apparently part of a nominal identity construction where *neyáwa wátsam* 'around the Paraguay River' is equated with *payho* 'place, location'. It is also often used with *haxko* 'how, where' to make clear a distinction between the 'how' and 'where' uses, as in (9.28b).

(9.28) a. CONTEXT: TALKING ABOUT THE FIRST TIME THE ENXET ENCOUNTERED PARAGUAYANS
Neyáwa wátsam **payho** keto' kexaha nawátsam
neyáwa' watsam payho // keto' =kexaha nawatsam
around.F river at close =TC:DUB Concepción
'It was around a river at a place maybe near Concepción'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. haxko **payho** apxagkok
haxko payho ap-xagkok
where location M.POSS-house
'where is its house?'

EDP enx025 16:49

9.2.4 *Maxa* 'like'

Máxa 'like' is a high frequency item which defies simple lexical categorization. It is included here with adpositions because of its semantics and because it typically takes a nominal or pronominal complement. It is the only adposition-like item, however, whose semantic content is one of manner, as opposed to spatial or temporal relation, as can be seen in the examples in (9.29).

(9.29) *Examples of máxa 'like'*

a. *Context: Explaining how to shake the pollen out of cattails for consumption*
wa' ekho' nentokek han negko'o **máxa harina**
wa' ekho' nen-to-kek =han negko'o maxa harina
so cattails 1PL-eat-DECL =AND 1PL like flour
'so cattails, we eat them like flour'

EDP enx007 15:24

b. *Context: talking about printing out a map*
ná tekkek máxa foto
na ø-tek-kek maxa foto
so F-come.out-DECL like photo
'It came out like a photo'

EDP enx038

c. Apyetnakkak axta aksok nawhak empe'ék. Ekeso yakwayam elaklakpok axta'a, tásek ñát se'e **máxa apáwa**
ap-yetnak-kak =axta aqsok nawhak e-empe'ek // ekeso yaqwayam
M-lie.TI-DECL =TC:PST thing wild F.POSS-skin // this for
el-aql-akp-ok axta'a // ø-tasek =ñat =se'e maxa
M.IRR.DIST-cover-MID.M-NM:PO night // F-good =TC:RPST =PROX like
a-pawa
F.POSS-cloth
'He would lie in animal hides. This he used to cover himself at night. It was good, like clothes'

López Ramírez (1996)

Máxa and it semantic complement can serve as a phrasal PREDICATE, as in (9.30).

(9.30) a. **máxa mano** amnek kelpayhamék
maxa mano a-mnek kelpayhamek
like hand F.POSS-foot raccoon
'The raccoon's foot is like a hand'

EDP enx009

b. **máxa táxa** axta entahak
máxa táxa =axta en-tah-ak
like fire =TC:PST F-be/say-DECL
'It was like fire'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. **máxa yámet cedro sa'** etnehek yektog élámha nak Líbano
maxa yamet cedro =sa' e-tneh-ek y-ektog
like tree cedar =TC:FUT M.IRR-be-NM:PO M.IRR-grow.NM:PO
el-amh-a =nak Libano
F.PART.DIST-nm:ob.plant-NM:PV =TC:VIS Lebanon
'It will grow like a cedar of Lebanon'

TA Psalm 92:12

However, its semantic complement might also occur to the right of the TAME clitic, which calls into question the phrasal cohesion of *máxa* and its complement. This may be a matter of variation, or there may be a semantic or grammatical distinction expressed by the difference — some comparative data would be informative here.

(9.31) a. **máxa** exa popyet
maxa =exa popyet
like =TC:DUB deer
'It's maybe like a brocket deer'

EDP enx038

b. **máxa** axta anhan ma'a élmahágweykmohol'a etyamok takha'
maxa =axta =anhan =ma'a el-mahag-wey-k-m-oho
like =TC:PST =AND =DMSTR F.PART.DIST-head.to-ARR-TI-TERM-INTS.NM:IP
='la e-tyam-ok takha'
=TC:DUB M.IRR-fall.to.ground-NM:PO thunder
'It was like the rumble of a loud thunder'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

At least in a few instances, *máxa* has been observed taking declarative verbs, and when it does, they are in full first position form, as in 9.32.

(9.32) natámen ósseke' egwáxok máxa teyekmek avión
natámen óssek-e' eg-wáxok máxa teyek-m-ek avión
F.after tingle-DECL 1PL.POSS-innermost like fall-TERM-DECL plane
'So we would feel our stomachs drop, it was like the plane was dropping.'

EDP enx038 11:23

9.2.5 The intensive with adpositions

The intensive suffix can attach to items in most word classes (see §10.4, §8.5), often with a range of semantic behaviors. In the adposition-like items described in this section, it

also has a range of functions that differ by class. With the declinable positional nouns, it increases proximity, while with non-declining positional items it increases distances — it is not observed with the deverbal positional nouns or with *máxa*. Therefore, on declinable positional nouns like *nentámenók* it means 'just right after us' or with *napaqtawok* it means 'just right in front of him', whereas in non-declining positional items like *kañók* it means 'deep inside' or with *netnók* it means 'way above'. For some items like *neyseyksa* 'in the middle, midst', the intensive *neyseksok* 'just in the middle' does not particularly distinguish between the two different semantic values for the intensive, since, spatially, *neyseksa* relates to two positions, a beginning and an end.

Such categorical distinctions in the semantic function of the intensive help to further distinguish these lexical classes of items.

9.3 Adverbs and adverbials

As discussed in the overview for this chapter, in this grammar, I follow a terminological distinction (cf. Payne and Payne 2012, p. 137) between adverbial and adverb — the former referring to formatives or constructions which have the function of providing certain kinds of semantic information about propositions (like time, place, manner), while the latter is reserved for a language-internal word class in Enxet Sur with particular morphosyntactic and lexical properties. This section describes the latter word class, along with some other formatives which may be deemed adverbial.

A number of phenomena in Enxet Sur resemble adverbial modification of verbs in some form or another. For example, the intensive suffix or the degree TAME marker can both be used to semantically modify a verb or predicate, indicating an increased intensity or severity of the event or state denoted by the PREDICATE as in (9.33a-9.33b) . These two morphological devices are discussed in §10.4 and §6.2.1, respectively, but they do not constitute true adverbs because they are not independent words.

(9.33) a. atohok **agko'**
a-atoh-ok =agko'
F.STAT-hot-INTS =DEG
'It's very hot'

b. aplokok **apagko'**
ap-lok-ok =apagko'
M-angry-INTS.DECL =M.DEG
'He's very angry'

Another major strategy for semantic modification of verbs is to nominalize them and render them as subjects of a descriptive PREDICATE, which may be a verb, semiverb, adjective or one of the adverbial predicates described in this §9.3.3. For example, the only way to say something like 'I went quickly' in Enxet is to say 'My going was fast', as in (9.4). Or, in (9.34b), to intensify the expression *payheykekxeyk ewaxok* 'my soul spreads out' (essentially 'I'm happy'), speakers might use an expression like 'the spreading out of my soul

is great', with the predicate semiverb *awanhek* 'large'. While this kind of construction fulfills much of the function of adverbs in other languages, the items contributing semantic content like 'quick' or 'great' are not structurally adverbs, since it is the nominalized verb which is the dependent and not the "adverbial" unit.

(9.34) a. **yahamok** sekxega
ø-yaham-ok sek-xeg-a
F-fast-DECL 1SG.PART-go-NM:IP
'I went really fast'

b. **awanhek** ekpayheykekxa' ewaxok
a-wanh-ek ek-payh-eyk-ekx-a' e-waxok
F.STAT-big-DECL F.PART-spread-TI-DUP-NM:PV 1SG.POSS-innermost
'I am very happy'

Several items which often have an adverbial semantic function are ultimately nominal. For example, while the word *axta'a* 'night' is most commonly used in an adverbial capacity, as in (9.35a), it can be counted (9.35b) and host TAME without derivation (9.35c), neither of which are accessible to adverbs. Therefore, while a language like Spanish distinguishes between a noun *noche* 'night' and an adverb *anoche* 'last night', or a language like English can embed a noun *night* within a prepositional phrase *at night*, Enxet Sur makes no such formal distinctions.

(9.35) a. apnaqtenchek axta **axta'a**
ap-naq-ten-chek =axta axta'a
M-PL-sleep-DECL =TC:PST night
'They slept through the night'

EDP enx006 01:18

b. nenténchek axta **xama axta'a** Náwatsam
nen-ten-chek =axta xama axta'a Nawatsam
1PL-sleep-DECL =TC:PST one night Concepción
'We slept for one night in Concepción'

EDP enx047 24:16

c. yantápak aptegye esenhan pomap **axta'a axchek**
yantapak ap-tegy-e esenhan pomap axta'a =axchek
firewood M.PART-search-NM:PV or board night =TC:HOD
'He was looking for firewood or hunting boards last night'

EDP enx009

Ultimately, there is only a small number of items which can be considered true adverbs in the language, like *kaxwo'* 'now' in (9.36). Adverbs can be categorized as either

post-predicate or **pre-predicate** adverbs, and items in either of the two categories can be identified by the following morphosyntactic behaviors:

- Adverbs take no pronominal inflection
- They are not productively derived from verbs, and have no nominalized forms themselves
- They have fairly fixed positions in the clause: either to the immediate right of the *tame* clitic region for post-predicate adverbs or to the immediate left of the predicate for pre-predicate adverbs
- Post-predicate adverbs can be used as PREDICATES, but they must take a declarative prefix *-ek* to do so; pre-predicate adverbs cannot be used as PREDICATES

(9.36) na émenyeyk **kaxwok** pánaqte naxma'

na e-menyey-k kaxwok panaqte naxma'
so 1SG.STAT-want-DECL now medicine woods

'Now I want some medicine from the forest'

EDP enx041

This chapter first describes the behaviors of items in the two categories of true adverbs, then describes items which are functionally/semantically rather adverbial but which only occur as PREDICATES.

9.3.1 Post-PREDICATE adverbs

The best fit for a true "adverb" class is a small, essentially closed class of lexical adverbs which function primarily as dependents of PREDICATES and require derivation to serve as PREDICATES themselves. Because their default position is in the post-TAME region before NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS, I refer to them as **post-predicate adverbs**. Throughout this dissertation, any reference to Enxet Sur "adverbs" is referring to this particular class of items unless otherwise specified. Table 9.3 lists the members of this word class.

Semantically, almost all of the post-predicate adverbs provide temporal modification. *Xamo'* 'together' might be thought of as indicating manner, since it denotes that an action is done along with a partner, but this could be considered temporal in the sense of 'simultaneous action'. Similarly, *aqsa* 'just' could be described as having temporal semantics in the sense that it denotes that an action is done independently without relation to or conceptual dependence upon other events. *Makhawo'* 'far', however, stands out as not really having any particular temporal connotation[3].

[3]To be frank, *makhawo'* may not really belong to this class or at least may not be a prototypical member of it. Because of its semantics, it never really co-occurs with NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS to its right and is therefore only really observed after TAME clitics and at the right edge of utterances, or in the declarative form. The fact that it has the declarative form, however, suggests that it is in fact a member of this class, even if only marginally.

Base form	Gloss	Declarative form
axayo'	later	axayók
makham	still, again	makhemek
nano'	old, old times	nanók
kaxwo'	now, soon	kaxwók
sekxo'	first, soon	sekxók
aqsa, naqsa	just, truly	naqsók
xamo'	together, same	xamók
makhawo'	far, at a distance	makhawók
chá'a	always	—

Table 9.3: Post-predicate adverbs

The true adverbs also have a rather clearly defined clausal position. They always occur to the immediate right of the predicate proper but before any dependent NPs (not including pronouns). Where they occur in relation to pronouns and the coordinator *han* clitic is a point of variation, and there may be semantic or at least pragmatic effect of this variation in order. Some examples which show this particular position in the clause are given in (9.37).

(9.37) *Adverbs after* TAME *clitics but before dependent NPs*

a. pero tásek eyke **makham** negheykha
pero tás-ek =eyke makham neg-h-eykha
but good-DECL =TC:ASR still 1PL.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV
'But our life here is still good'

EDP enx028 03:29

b. almaxneyha' sat **sekxo'** Aníbal
a-l-maxney-ha =sa' sekxo' Aníbal
1SG.IRR-DIST-ask-AMB.NM:PO =TC:FUT first Aníbal
'I'll ask Aníbal real quick'

Notes 2015

c. apwet'ak xép **kaxwo'** ektémakxa apkeltamheykha enxet
ap-wet'-ak xep kaxwo' ek-tem-akxa apk-el-tamh-eykha
M-see-DECL 2SG.M NOW F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB M.PART-DIST-work-AMB.NM:PV
enxet
Enxet
'You see now what Enxet work is like'

EDP enx008 23:05

d. Na etaw **aqsa** kélhanma, meyk'a aptéyak

na e-taw aqsa kél-han-ma // meyk'a ap-t-éyak
PRHB M.IRR-eat just IMPR.PART-cook-NM:PV // visitor M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
'Don't eat the cooking, it's the visitors food'

Notes 2018.8.20

e. negkexyekmek ñat negko'o **chá'a** axto'o
negk-exyek-m-ek =nat negko'o cha'a axto'o
1PL-return-TERM-DECL =TC:RPST 1PL always morning
'We would always go back in the morning'

EDP enx047 30:08

Another defining characteristic of this class is that almost all of its members can take an *-ek*[4] suffix to function as a PREDICATE. This distinguishes adverbs from the other four major word classes — verbs, nouns, semiverbs, and adjectives — in that they require some additional morphology to be used as PREDICATES. I refer to this *-ek* as a **declarative** suffix, due to its formal and functional similarity to the declarative components of verbs (§3.4.1) and semiverbs (§8.3).

Consider the alternation in (9.38). In (9.38a), a dependent adverb *makham* 'still' modifies a declarative verb *apheyk* 'he lives', while in (9.38b), a declarative form of the same adverb *makhemek* 'continues' is a PREDICATE with a nominalized verb *apha* 'his living' as its semantic subject. The alternation between the dependent usage in (9.38a) and the predicative usage in (9.38b) is licensed by the declarative suffix *-ek*.

(9.38) a. **apheyk** makham
ap-h-eyk makham
M-sit-DECL still
'He's still alive'

Skype Notes

b. makhemek **apha**
makhem-ek ap-h-a
still-DECL M.PART-sit-NM:PV
'He's still alive' or 'His living continues'

Skype Notes

In the alternation between *makham* and *makhemek*, the distinction between the dependent and declarative forms has a fairly transparent semantic or functional distinction —

[4]That this is a simple *-ek* suffix can be seen in the alternation between *makham* and *makhemek*, but for most adverbs, this surfaces a distinction between final *-o'* in the dependent form and final *-ók* in the declarative form. This long vowel is the product of the regular reduction of an intervocalic glottal stop and its adjacent vowels into a single long vowel (§2.4.4).

at the very least there is a clear translational distinction between an adverb 'still' and a predicate 'it continues'. However, with other adverbs, there is not such a clear semantic distinction between the dependent base form and the predicative declarative form. For example, *nano'* 'old, in the old times' very often occurs adjacent to nouns and, in part because of its semantics, it is very easy to misidentify it as an irregular adjective that simply means 'old'. It occurs both before and after nouns, but whenever it occurs after them it takes the dependent *nano'* form, as in (9.39a), and whenever it occurs before them it takes the declarative *nanók* form, as in (9.39b). Thus, in (9.39a), it is a dependent modifier of a nominal PREDICATE (i.e. 'that was the story *back then*'), while in (9.39b), it is a PREDICATE with a nominal subject (i.e. 'the road *is old*').

(9.39) *Uses of nano' 'old' and its declarative form* nanók

a. *Context: At the end of a traditional story about dangerous beings in the woods*
aptahanya'al'a aqsok ekló, kes'e na amya'a axta **nano'**
ap-tahanya'-a =l'a aqsok ek-l-ó // kes'e na
M.PART-come.across-NM:IP =TC:DUB thing F.PART-angry-NM:PV // this so
amya'a =axta nano'
story =TC:PST old.time
'They could encounter angry things, this was the old story'
EDP enx006 11:53

b. wa ekeso **nanók** picara se'e, **nanók** ámay
wa ekeso nano'-ok picara =se'e // nanók ámay
so this old.time-DECL path =PROX // old.time-DECL road
'This here, the path here is old, the road is old'
EDP enx004 03:44

9.3.2 Pre-predicate adverbs

The second class of true adverbs in Enxet Sur is limited to two items which come to the left of PREDICATES: *yáma* 'sort of, almost' and *wánxa* 'only'. In general, there are very few items in the language which can come before a declarative verbal PREDICATE without triggering morphological changes indicative of a focus construction (§5.2.4), and the fact that *yáma* and *wánxa* do so makes them distinct and perhaps unusual within the morphosyntax of Enxet Sur.

The first of these, *yáma* 'almost, sort of', is likely etymologically related to the simulative *yam-/yata-* (§4.2.3), but the connection is not clear and reconstructable, so it may have another source[5]. It can appear to the left of a PREDICATE to weaken or soften its meaning, meaning 'sort of' or 'more or less', as seen in the examples in (9.40). It does not have an epistemic modal semantics indicating doubt or reservation — these semantic values are expressed with TAME clitics (§6.2.6), not adverbs.

(9.40) *Pre-predicate adverb yáma before declarative form verbs and semiverbs*

[5]There is a cognate particle *yaam* in Enlhet Norte that appears to have the same behaviors and distribution (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997, p. 675).

a. **yáma yeskehe** sektamheykha
yama ye-skeh-e' sek-tamh-eykha
almost NEG.F.STAT-painful-DECL 1SG.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV
'My work is pretty easy'

Notes 8-5-18

b. *Context: said to another Enxet speaker about the American filming him*
yáma aptahak énxet nempeywa, yám enles apketkok
yama ap-tah-ak enxet nem-peywa // yam=enles apk-etkok
almost M-be-DECL Enxet 1PL.PART-words // SIM=English M-young
'He sort of speaks Enxet, the young American'

EDP enx025 27:38

c. aptahak axta apcháneya pók na... **yáma asamchek** ko'onek se'e nélwakxa hakte yátapyohóxma axta xáma
ap-tah-ak =axta apch-aney-a pok na // yama
M-be-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-put.forward-NM:IP other.M so // almost
a-sam-chek ko'onek =se'e nel-w-akx-a hakte
F.STAT-bad-DECL I.think =PROX 1PL.PART.DIST-arrive-DUP-NM:IP because
yat-ap-yohoxma =axta xama
SIM-M-shaman =TC:PST one
'He said to his friend "I think its kinda bad we came here", because one of them was only a partial shaman.'

EDP enx006 01:28

Like the post-predicate adverbs, *yáma* is always a dependent of independent predicates, even if at times it gives the impression of being part of a noun phrase. For example, in (9.41), *yáma* is a modifier of *élsaye* 'dawn', but rather than being a phrase *yáma élsaye* 'almost dawn, near dawn' which is dependent upon the following verb, *élsaye* here is a PREDICATE 'is dawn' and *yáma élsaye* means 'it was dawn, almost'. That *yáma élsaye* is an independent clause is supported by the fact the declarative verb that follows it is not in the second position form, and is followed by the TAME clitic *axta*.

(9.41) **yáma élsaye** kelpáweyk axta nátetkók aphakxa
yama el-say-e kel-paw-eyk =axta nata=etk-ok
almost F.PART.DIST-sunlight-NM:PV F.DIST-noise-DECL =TC:PST bird=small-INTS
ap-h-akxa
M.PART-sit-NM:OB
'It was almost dawn and the little birds were singing in their nests'

EDP enx006 03:14

The other pre-predicate adverb, *wánxa* 'only' has a very clear etymology as a de-pronominalized (see §4.3) form of *ekwanxa*, the oblique nomialization of the stem *-wokm-* 'to arrive at the end, somewhere new'. This nominalization *ekwanxa* could be translated as something like 'where it comes to', indicating the full extent or limits of something, and therefore the meaning of *wánxa* as 'only' shows a fairly transparent semantic pathway from the original verbal semantics.

Although *wánxa* can occur ahead of declarative verbs, as in (9.42a), it most often occurs with nominal PREDICATES, as the other examples in (9.42) show.

(9.42) *Pre-predicate wanxa 'only'*

a. *Context: Speaker runs after father who is being taken away by soldiers*
wánxa aptahak táta, náne'!
wánxa ap-tah-ak táta // náne'
only M-be/say-DECL my.father // don't
'My father just said 'Don't'
NNE 190

b. egmenyeyk negko'o chá'a mámeye, **wánxa méko negko'o chá'a**
eg-menyey-k negko'o chá'a mámeye // wánxa méko negko'o
1PL.STAT-want-DECL 1PL always rain // only NEG.EXIST 1PL
chá'a
always
'We always want rain, but there just never is any'
EDP enx025 02:40

c. hawe ekwennaqte, **wánxa xama áwa ko'ónek**, apxénchek Kennaqte Appeywa
hawe ek-wennaqt-e // wánxa xama a-awa ko'ónek // ap-xén-chek
NEG F.PART-long-NM:PV // only one F.POSS-leaf I.THINK // M-show-DECL
Kennaqte Appeywa
Kennaqte Appeywa
'It wasn't long, it was only one page, I think... Kennaqte Appeywa showed it'
EDP enx047 00:54

d. Méko axta waley kenhan inglés nepyeseksa, **wánxa énxet**,
méko =axta waley kenhan inglés nepyeseksa // wánxa
NEG.EXIST =TC:PST Paraguayan AND Englishman M.amongst // only
énxet
Enxet
'There were no Paraguayans or Englishmen around, it was only the Enxet'
López Ramírez (1996)

We might ask why these two pre-predicate adverbs exist in the first place, since there are only two of them, and they are distinct from the post-predicate adverbs which have different morphological and syntactic properties. The most likely explanation is that the pre-predicate adverbs simply have a different, more recent grammaticalization history.

Wánxa clearly derives historically from a deverbal nominalization, and given the final *-a* (and the final *-am* of the cognate form *yaam* in Enlhet Norte), *yáma* probably does as well. These nominalizations likely simply began as independent PREDICATES frequently collocated before other co-referential PREDICATES, and then grammaticalized as dependent modifiers. For example, in (9.42c) above, we see the clause *wánxa xama áwa ko'ónek* 'I think it was only one page'. If we discard the epistemic modal *ko'ónek* (itself a recent grammaticalization, §6.2.6), we could posit an earlier comparable series of independent clauses: *ekwanxa* 'This is where it came to' and *xama áwa'* 'it's pages were one'. Grammaticalization from such collocations seems the most probable explanation for these two otherwise exceptional forms.

9.3.3 Predicate adverbials

Along with the dependent modifiers which constitute true adverbs, there are a number of lexical items which have adverbial semantics but which are never dependents, which I call **predicate adverbials**. These predicate adverbials are morphologically heterogenous, and really do not make up a discrete word class — they appear to be lexical detritus and, as a category in this grammatical description, predicate adverbial is mostly a mixed bag of items that do not fit anywhere else. What these items all have in common is 1) they can syntactically only function as PREDICATES, never dependents, and 2) they show no morphological alternations or characteristics which might associate them with verbs, semiverbs, nouns, or adjectives.

Table 9.4 lists items that I place in this category. There are some temporal ordering predicates (see §15.2.1), like *éya* 'now, same time' or *keñe* 'then', and some temporal frequency predicates, like *katakhe* 'a few times' or *hágkaxwe* 'often'. However, this category also includes predicates which express speaker attitudes, like *yámek* 'hopefully, should have been' and *nákxa* 'fortunately'. Semantic values like this are not available in the inventory of dependent adverbs.

Typically, these predicate adverbials take deverbal nominalizations as subjects, and in this way, provide semantic information about verbs. Similar constructions occur with PREDICATE verbs and semiverbs, as described in §9.3 above, and in §15.2.1. For example *hágkaxwe* 'often' has temporal semantics, but only ever appears in a PREDICATE position with a deverbal nominalization as its semantic subject, as in (9.43). Note that, because of the semantics of *hágkaxwe*, the nominalized complement verb is always in the potential form.

(9.43) a. **hágkaxwe** amyekxak ma'a
hagkaxwe a-my-ekx-ak =ma'a
often 1SG.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO =DMSTR
'I often go there.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **hágkaxwe** chá'a altamho kataqmelekxak sekwete, makke kataqmeleykekxa

Enxet	Gloss
éya	now, at the same time
há	risky
hákho	for this reason
hágkaxwé	many times, frequently
halep	towards here, to this side
hán hán	accidentally
hexmagke'	in the world
heykxe, heytxa	quickly
kaleklemek	many times
keñe	then
katakhe	a few times
láye	unfortunately
nákxa	fortunately
tayepe'	far
tén	then, after
yámek	hopefully, desiderative

Table 9.4: Predicate adverbials

hágkaxwe chá'a a-l-tamh-o ka-taqmel-ekx-ak
often always 1SG.IRR-DIST-want-INTS.NM:PO F.IRR-good-DUP-NM:PO
sek-wet-e // m =akke ka-taqmel-eyk-ekx-a
1SG.PART-see-NM:PV // NEG =ASR F.IRR-good-TI-DUP-SCND
'I often wait for the right opportunity, but it never comes.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Some of these items can take lexical nouns in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position, although a discrete accounting of the semantic role of such nouns is not necessarily clear. For example, the predicate adverbial *yámek* expresses the desire or wish for the existence of the noun which is in the NOMINAL COMPLEMENT position, as in the examples in (9.44). This item, therefore, is something like an existential with inherent desiderative modal semantics.

(9.44) a. **yámek** la'a **sekto** alagkok meyk'a ahagkok
yámek =la'a sek-t-o a-l-agk-ok meyk'a
wish =DUB 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV 1SG.IRR-DIST-distribute-NM:PO visitor
ahagkok
1SG.POSS
'Hopefully there's food for me to give to my visitors'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **yámek** la'a **gaseosa**
yámek =la'a gaseosa
wish =DUB soda

Too bad we don't have any soda

Skype Notes 6.6.2020

c. **yámek** la'a **computadora** yaqwayam agwet'ak ektahakxa
yámek =la'a computadora yaqwayam ag-wet'-ak ek-tahak-xa
wish =DUB computer for 1PL.IRR-see-NM:PO F.PART-be/say-NM:OB
Hopefully we'll have a computer so we can see what's happening

Skype Notes 6.6.2020

d. **yámek** axta l'a **selyaqye**
yámek =axta =l'a selyaqye
wish =PST =DUB money
Too bad I didn't have any money

Skype Notes 6.6.2020

None of these items are high frequency in the available corpus, however, and they are worthy of further investigation. It seems likely that most of them are limited to a single construction type, and are not highly productive, multi-use items.

9.4 Directions for further research

The semantic values of the post-predicate adverbs are not really that well understood at present, and are likely quite interesting. This is especially true of *chá'a*, which is generally glossed as 'always' — it is extremely high frequency and is used in ways that do not seem to line up with a meaning of 'always', and I often have little idea what its semantic value is in a particular sentence. Given that the set of adverbs is small and essentially closed, we would expect that their semantic values might be rather multifunctional.

Part V

Complex Verb Stems

Chapter 10

Verbal Plurality

10.1 Overview of verbal plurals

In §3.3, I describe the inflectional categories of the verbal pronominal prefix, in which plurality of s-arguments is indicated only in the first person plural *neg-*, and in the second person plural usage of *kél-*. Indicating the plurality of third person s-arguments is not accomplished through the pronominal system. Rather, plurality of participants is done through a number of other ways in Enxet Sur:

- plural marking on nouns/nominalized verbs which serve as s-arguments
- one of several **verbal plural** morphemes which can indicate participant plurality indirectly
- lexically, through the use of verb roots which indicate plurality, typically of objects rather than subjects

The first of those options can be seen in examples like (10.1), where the head verb *apketsekkek* 'they died' does not overtly indicate the plurality of its subject — the masculine pronominal prefix does not indicate number. Instead the plurality of the subject is indicated both through the plural suffix on *énxet'ák* 'men' and the use of the quantifying expression *apxámokxoho* 'many'. Plural morphology on nouns, however, is highly restricted (see Ch. 4), and thus this particular strategy is not so common. It is not discussed further in this chapter.

(10.1) Apketsekkek ñat apxámokxoho **énxet'ák**

ap-ketsek-kek =ñat ap-xámok-xoho énxet-'ák
M-die-DECL =REM.TC:PST M.PART-many-INTS.NM:PV man-PL

'Many men died'

López Ramírez (1996)

It is much more common to have the plurality of s-arguments indicated through one of several stem-forming affixes which I refer to as a group as the verbal plural affixes. For example, in (10.2a), the plurality of the patient is indicated through the use of the distributive marker (DIST), rather than on the s-argument noun itself. There is a plural form of this nominal expression (*apkelwesey* 'their names'), but generally speaking, Enxet Sur tends to avoid using multiple indices of plurality — if plurality is indicated on the noun, it is not on the verb, and if it is indicated on the verb, it often is not on the noun.

(10.2) a. **élwagqeykmek** apwesey
él-wagqey-km-ek ap-wesey
1SG.DIST-forget-TERM-DECL M.PART-called
'I have forgotten their names'

EDP enx047 16:25

Although alternations involving these verbal plural affixes may sometimes be directly correlated with participant number, none of these verbal plurals act as a form of strict number agreement. Rather, they fundamentally express some kind of plurality or expansion of the event denoted by the verb, and the indication of participant plurality is a by-product of the plurality marking of the event. Morphological indices of event plurality are sometimes referred to as **pluractionals** (Newman, 2012), but I use the broader term 'verbal plural' here, because some of the affixes described in this section do more than simply indicate that an event happens many times.

The three stem affixes described here — the distributive *el-*, the complexive *-ey*, and the intensive *-oho* — demonstrate a high degree of lexical specification in their semantic effect. Each, especially the latter two, have a broad range of functions, and different semantic functions are selected for by individual verb bases.

Regarding the expression of plurality, Powys (1929, pg. 16) makes the following observation, which appears true in the modern language as well: "the Lengua idea of plural is not quite the same as ours, and although when very many objects are referred to the plural verbs and prefixes are nearly always used, a few objects may pass as singular". In other words, Powys suggests a fuzzy contrast in number between 'few' and 'many' rather than a discrete one between singular and plural. This does conform to cross-linguistic tendencies for some kinds of pluractional marking, in that two or three iterations of an event is not enough to warrant a pluractional marker (Hofherr and Laca, 2012, p. 15). But another view is that verbal plural marking is somewhat variable and optional in Enxet Sur, and therefore is sometimes simply not used if it is not important to indicate plurality in a given situation.

This chapter presents each of the three verbal plural morphemes in its own section, followed by a section on suppletive plural verb stems.

10.2 Distributive *el-*

The most commonly used of the pluralizing affixes is a stem prefix which most often takes the shape *el-*. It is referred to here as the *distributive*[1], but it is comparable to what is referred to in the descriptions of other languages as a pluractional or verbal plural. It is most closely associated with participant plurality, and if participant plurality is indicated in the morphology of a verb, it is more often than not with this prefix. However, its functions are not limited to the indication of participant plurality, and it is apparently used productively in some instances to indicate pluractionality or iterativity of a verb in ways that have nothing to do with the plurality of a participant. This section presents these two uses — participant plurality and non-participant plurality — in separate subsections below.

This morpheme, however, appears to be frequently lexicalized to stems in ways that are phonologically irregular and/or semantically non-compositional, and there is still quite a lot of grey area between clearly productive uses and fossilized ones. Its form and allomorphy is described in the final subsection below.

10.2.1 Indicating participant plurality

In the majority of uses, the distributive either marks the distinction between singular and plural subjects of monadic verbs, as in (10.3), or the distinction between singular and plural patients of polyadic verbs, as in (10.4a) and (10.5). Out of convenience, I refer to this as an "absolutive" distribution, although, as described in §5.2.3, there is not really a sense in which Enxet Sur has any kind of ergative-absolutive alignment patterns other than those expressed by this distributive marker. Such a distribution, however, is cross-linguistically common for verbal plurals and pluractionals regardless of the dominant alignment type of a language.

(10.3) a. **apwa'ak** wokma'ák
ap-wa'-ak wokma'ák
M-arrive-DECL boy
'the boy arrived'

b. **apkelwa'ak** wokma'ák
apk-el-wa'-ak wokma'ák
M-DIST-arrive-DECL boy
'the boys arrived'

EDP enx044

(10.4) a. **étawanyások** máxek sekmetà
ey-etawany-as-ok maxek sek-met-a
1SG-deep-CAUS-INTS.DECL hole 1SG.PART-dig-INF

[1]This is the term used by Unruh et al. (2003), and is what Powys (1929) and Sušnik (1977) simply call the "kil-" prefix in their transcriptions.

'I dug a deep hole'

EDP enx044

b. **életawanyások** máxek sekmetà
el-etawany-as-ok maxek sek-met-a
1SG.DIST-deep-CAUS-INTS.DECL hole 1SG.PART-dig-INF
'I dug deep holes'

EDP enx044

(10.5) a. **ekweteyak** ko'o xa énxet nak
ek-wet-ey-ak ko'o=xa e:nxet=nak
1SG-see-EXTS-DECL 1SG=DEIC man=PRES
'I know that man'

Elliott notes

b. **élweteyak** ko'o xa énxet'ák nak
e:l-wet-ey-ak ko'o=xa e:nxet-'ak=nak
1SG.DIST-see-EXTS-DECL 1SG=DEIC man-PL=PRES
'I know those men'

Elliott notes

The exception to this "absolutive" distribution comes with first person patient pronominal prefixes, with which the distributive marks the plurality of agents acting upon the first person patient. In 10.6a, the first person stative distributive prefix *hél-* in *hélaqhek* 'you all will kill me' indicates a singular first person patient and a plural agent *kéxegke* 'you all'. A non-distributive example of the same verb is given in (10.6b). Similarly in (10.6c), the distributive can refer neither to plurality of the goal ('me') or the patient ('one sword'), and therefore refers to the agent of the imperative verb.

(10.6) a. kélmáheyók eyke **hélaqhek** ko'o kéxegke
kél-maáhey-ók =eyke hél-aqh-ek ko'o kéxegke
2PL-want-INTS.DECL =TC:ASR 1SG.STAT.DIST-kill-NM:PO 1SG 2PL
'yet you look for an opportunity to kill me'

John 8:37

b. **Heyaqhek** sa' ko'o m'a!
hey-aqh-ek =sa' ko'o =m'a
1SG.STAT.IRR-kill-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG =DMSTR

'He will kill me.'

TA 1 Kings 18:14

c. **Hélsantagkas** xama sókwenaqte!
hél-s-antagk-as xama sókwenaqte
1SG.IRR.DIST-carry-COMPL.CISL-VAL one blade
'Bring me a sword'

1 Kings 3:24

10.2.2 Non-participant plurality

Probably the clearest indicator that the distributive *el-* is not exclusively a marker of participant plurality is that it is used with monadic verb stems in the first person singular. In (10.7a) or (10.7b), both verbs are monadic, meaning that if the distributive were indicating "absolutive" plurality in these instances, it would be indicating plurality of the monadic subject, which in both examples is the first person *singular*. Similarly, in (10.7c) the verb is dyadic but reflexive, and there is no way that the distributive can be indicating participant plurality.

(10.7) a. **allexpakhagkok** sa' wanyehek seyaqmasa enxoho yányawhéna'
a-l-lexpakh-agkok =sa' w-any-ehek
1SG.IRR-disperse-COMPL.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-run-NM:PO
se-yaqmas-a =enxoho yanyawhena'
1SG.STAT.PART-persecute-NM:IP =TC:CONJ honey.bee
'I will run in a zig-zag to avoid the bees'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **élpexyennegkek** ko'o seyeye
el-pexyenneg-kek ko'o sey-ey-e
1SG.DIST-shiver-DECL 1SG 1SG.PART-feat-NM:PV
'I shook in fear'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **aláxñesaxchek** sa' sekxo'
al-áxñ-es-axch-ek=sa' sekxo'
1SG.IRR.DIST-clear-MID-DECL =TC:FUT first
'I'm going to comb myself first'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

What the examples in (10.7) share is a semantic notion of iterativity or repetitive action, indicating that the event indicated by the verb is something that happens multiple

times. Ultimately, it is likely that the participant plurality semantics most common to the distributive are simply a by-product (either synchronically or diachronically) of this more general verbal plural semantics. In other words, the indication of participant plurality is really an indication of an event happening multiple times to different patients or different experiencer subjects.

That said, true alternations with *el-* that do not indicate plurality are rare — many of the more temporal uses do not necessarily alternate with a non-distributive stem, or show other characteristics of lexicalization. Some clear alternations do exist however, like that in (10.8).

(10.8) a. **eyekak** axta ko'o yámakméwa
ey-ek-ak =axta ko'o yamakmewa
1SG-fear-DECL =TC:PST 1SG lion
'I used to be scared of lions."

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b. **élmeneygkek** xeyk sekxega
elmen-ey-g-kek =xeyk sek-xeg-a
1SG.DIST-fear-COMPL-DECL =HTC:PST 1SG.PART-GO-PART
'I went with fear'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

For verbs like *-peys-* 'to be dark/black' or *-mope'-* 'to be white/clear', the use of the distributive refers to wearing clothes (multiple pieces of clothing) in that color, like in (10.9a), as opposed to indicating a more general quality of a person. Again these examples refer to intransitive verbs with first person singular arguments.

(10.9) a. háwe sélpeysyam ko'o, ko'o sélmope
háwe se:l-peys-yam ko'o // ko'o se:l-mop-e
NEG 1SG.PART.DIST-black-TERM.NM:PV 1SG // 1SG 1SG.PART.DIST-white-INF
'I'm not dressed in black, I'm dressed in white.'

EDP enx042 1:00:01

b. sekmope ko'o
sek-mop-e ko'o
1SG.PART-white-INF 1SG
'I'm a white person/blonde'

EDP enx042 1:01:23

In either of these contrastive examples, however, it is somewhat difficult to see a discrete semantic model of pluractionality which fits with indicating participant plurality.

The distributive use in (10.8) does not indicate multiple individuated actions, and those in (10.9a) are semantically stative verbs.

Most likely, the distributive is in the middle of a slow process of moving from being a pluractional with some aspectual semantics to becoming exclusively a marker of "absolutive" plurality. Even in the modern language, it is being used as a straightforward plural participant marker with verb stems that may not have previously taken it as such. For example, one middle-aged consultant initially rejected the use of the distributive on the verb stem -hawo- 'be the same', but then said that teenagers might indeed say something like the utterance in (10.10).

(10.10) **mélhawók** námok

m-e-el-hawo-ok námok
NEG-M-DIST-same-NEG palo.borracho

'The palo borracho trees are different'

EDP enx042 00:33:19

10.2.3 Form and allomorphy

The morphophonology of the distributive marker is complex. It has allomorphs which appear almost completely phonologically unrelated and which are selected for by different verb bases, and also has irregular interactions with pronominal prefixes to the left which show evidence of morphological fusion.

The most regular forms of each pronominal prefix followed by the distributive prefix are given in table 10.1. Although some of these forms have a clear *el-* distributive to the right of the regular pronominal prefix, as with the masculine declarative distributive prefix *apkel-*, most forms show some kind of reduction across the border of the pronominal prefix and the vowel initial *el-* of the distributive.

Person	Declarative	Irrealis	Participial
1SG	*él-*	*al-*	*sél-*
1PL	*nél-*	*ól-*	*nél-*
M	*apkel-*	*el-*	*apkel-*
F	*kel-*	*kal-*	*él-*
2PL	—	—	—
1SG.PAT	*él-*	*hel-*	*sél-*
1PL.PAT	*ẽl-*	*hẽl-*	*sẽl*

Table 10.1: Basic, most common forms of pronominal prefixes followed by the distributive morpheme

Some forms (*él-*, *ól-*, *sél-*) show regular reduction of //VC-V// strings (see §2.4.6). The first person plural patient forms show a reduction of //eg-e// strings to a nasalized ẽ, a reduction that is mostly unique to this morphological combination. Interestingly, the

first person plural declarative and participial forms have the same underlying //eg-e// strings, but they reduce to a non-nasalized *e*. The distributive forms which have vowel final pronominal prefixes have underlying //V-V// strings which reduce to a single short vowel — the same strings in other morphological contexts leads to a long vowel.

The only major allomorphy which displays changes on the left edge of the *el-* distributive involves apocope of the //e// vowel. Compare the distributive and non-distributive paradigms for the verb stem *-haxen-* 'listen' in table 10.2. In the first person plural, the underlying distributive string is //ag-el//, but the //e// is in the position to get deleted by the apocope rule (§2.4.2), which, followed by assimilation of the nasal consonant leads to a surface form *anl-*.

Person	Potential	Potential + DIST
1SG	weyxhok	aleyxhok
1PL	ageyxhok	anleyxhok
M	yeyxhok	eleyxhok
F	keyxhok	kaleyxhok
2PL	kóleyxhok	kóleyxhok
1SG.PAT	heyexhok	heleyxhok
1PL.PAT	hegeyxhok	**henleyxhok**

Table 10.2: Irrealis forms of -haxen- 'listen' in the distributive and non distributive. The 1PL shows the [henl-] variant of this pronominal prefix.

One major morphological issue is that distributive marking is incompatible with the second person plural/impersonal pronominal prefix. With the second person plural — *kél-* in the realis and participle, *kól-* in the irrealis — the distributive marker is essentially absent. In the sense that it is a marker of plurality for s-arguments in an absolutive distribution, we might expect it not to occur with the second person plural in monovalent verbs, just as it often does not occur with the first person plural for monovalent verbs. However, dyadic verbs with a **2pl** prefix also lack any kind of distributive marking, even with clearly plural patient s-arguments. This may also suggest that the **2pl** marker — which is absent in other EE languages and is therefore a recent innovation exclusive to Enxet Sur — is formed in part by the distributive marker. The source of the remaining phonological material is unclear.

Even if the interactions between the distributive morpheme and the pronominal prefixes to its left are occasionally irregular or inconsistenly apply phonological rules, they at least follow the broad strokes of the language's phonology. To the right, however, the interactions between the distributive and verb stems lead to allomorphy of the distributive prefix that do not reflect general phonological processes in Enxet Sur, at least not its modern form. There are three major allomorphs of this type: *elan-*, *naq-*, and *elmen-*. Some examples are given in table 10.3.

Base	NM:PV	DIST+NM:PV
-teyen- 'sleep'	nenteyenma	nennaqteyenma
-mele'- 'fat'	negmele	nennaqmele
-tehet- 'tie'	nentete	nennaqtete
-tawas- 'control, compete'	nentawasso	nennaqtawasso
-xatekhe'- 'wake up'	nenxátekhe	nennaqxátekhe
-taxes- 'write'	nentáxesso	nennaqtáxesso
-teyep- 'emerge'	nenteyapma	nélánteyapma
-taxn- 'enter'	nentaxno	nélántaxno
-e'- 'fear'	negaye	nélmenaye
-naqsap- 'swallow'	nennaqsapma	nélmennaqsapma
-ey'- 'give out'	negéyak	nélménéyak

Table 10.3: Lexically-determined allomorphy of the distributive marker

10.3 Complexive *-ey/-eg*

Aptekhánegkek hekñat amnek ekwokmoho hekñat ekmahágkaxa keso kelán'a. The first of the pluralizing suffixes is what Unruh et al. (2003) refers to as the *complexive*[2], and it is referred to as such in this dissertation and glossed as COMPL, in keeping with this label from other sources. Its functions are diverse and appear quite lexically specific, and therefore finding a satisfactory descriptive label is a challenge. It has pluralizing functions related to participant number with some verbs, but also can refer to movement along a physical path of motion or a metaphorical 'path' of development. An example inflectional paradigm is given for the stem *-mahey-* (*-mah*+COMPL) 'to head towards a place' in table 10.4, and a paradigm of the seven basic inflectional types in their most common orthographic forms is given in table 10.5.[3].

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
/mh/ + COMPL	*apmahágkek*	*apmahágkok*	*emhagkok*
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Oblique Nom.
emhok	*apmahágko*	*apmahéyak*	*apmahágkaxa*

Table 10.4: Forms of the base *-mah-* 'head to' with the COMPL suffix, meaning 'to head towards'

The phonemic identity of this suffix is somewhat unclear, although it is probably something like *-ey*, with a [y] that usually becomes [g] before inserted [k] (see §2.4.4, §2.4.3). However, in the imperative form, where there is no suffix following the complexive, its form is *-Vk* or *-V'*, suggesting its underlying form is //-e'//. Compare the potential and imperative forms of the complexive stem *-haxtama'-* in (10.11) below.

(10.11) a. **alhaxtamagkok** sa' ámay

[2]Unruh et al. (2003) is a learner's guide to Enenlhet

[3]The only allomorphy with these forms concerns the length and quality of the initial vowel, generally based on whether or not it is preceded by a glottal stop coda or not.

Morpheme	COMPL-DECL	COMPL-SCND	COMPL-NM:PO
COMPL *-ey*	*-ágkek*	*-ágkok*	*-agkok*
COMPL-IMP	COMPL-NM:IP	COMPL-NM:PV	COMPL-NM:OB
-ok	*-ágko*	*-éyak*	*-ágkaxa*

Table 10.5: Combinations of COMPL suffix with grammatical suffixes

a-l-haxtam-agk-ok =sa' ámay
1SG.IRR-DIST-block-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT road
'I will block the road'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kólhaxtamak** ámay!
kól-haxtam-ak ámay
2PL.IRR-block-COMPL
'Block the road!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

One of the most consistent and inflection-like uses of this suffix is as a marker of agent plurality for a small set of verbs whose objects are typically non-definite and which are generally rendered as having low transitivity despite being semantically dyadic — *-taw-* 'to eat', *-yen-* 'to drink', and *-tegye'-* 'to search for, hunt for'. Compare the singular form in (10.12a) to the plural form in (10.12b).

(10.12) a. **ektókek** xeyk
ek-to:-kek =xeyk
1SG-eat-DECL =TC:HOD
'I ate recently'

b. **nentókagkek** xeyk
nen-to:k-**ag**-kek =xeyk
1PL-eat-COMPL-DECL =TC:HOD
'We ate recently'

In the example in (10.13), there are plural agents of the verbs 'eat' and 'drink' and this is marked by the complexive suffix both in the declarative verbs as well as the infinitive forms which act as the objects of the verbs (*aptéyak* 'their food' and *apyenéyak* 'their drink'). Note that the distributive marker is not used in any of these forms.

(10.13) **aptókagkek** axta aptéyak, **apyenágkek** han apyenéyak

ap-to:k-ag-kek =axta ap-t-e:yak // ap-yen-ág-kek =han
M-eat-EXTS-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-eat-EXTS.PART // M-drink-EXTS-DECL =AND
ap-yen-e:yak
M.PART-drink-EXTS.PART

'they ate their food and drank their drink'

The examples (10.14) further show how the complexive marks plurality of agents of these verbs. The distributive cannot be used with these verb bases, and there is no way to indicate overtly on the verb the plurality of the patient (that which is eaten/drunken/searched for).

(10.14) a. yetneyk melápag, yaqwayam sa' negko'o **katawagkok** egketchek
yetneyk melápag // yaqwayam =sa' negko'o ka-taw-ag-kok
EXIST prickly.pear // for =TC:FUT 1PL F.IRR-eat-COMPL-NM:PO
eg-ketchek
1PL.POSS-child
'There are prickly pears for our children to eat'
EDP enx009

b. yaqwayam **kategyagkok** teyt, echáha
yaqwayam ka-tegy-ag-kok teyt // echáha
for F.IRR-search-COMPL-NM:PO viñal // algorrobo
'so that they can get viñal and algorrobo
EDP enx009

The marking of agent plurality also extends to some essentially monadic verbs, as in the examples in (10.15), but it is not so clear that verb bases which specifically take the complexive instead of the distributive to mark participant plurality actually form any kind of distinguishable semantic or lexical class. In other words, it has not yet been shown that verbs with this property share other properties, morphological or semantic.

(10.15) a. Kelántekkek sa' agkok kelán'a étkók éleñama nak Siló, yaqwayam **kanéwagkok**...
kel-ántep-kek =sa' =agkok kelán'a e:tko:k
F.DIST-emerge-DECL =TC:FUT =IF woman small
e:l-eñ-ama =nak Siló yaqwayam **ka-ne:w-ag-kok**
F.DIST.PART-come.out-PART =TC:VIS Shiloh for F.IRR-dance-**EXTS**-INDEF
'When the young women of Shiloh come out to dance'

b. **apyetekpogagkek** yáteyem
ap-yetekpog-agk-ek yáteyem
M-hatch/sprout-COMPL-DECL caiman
'The caiman are hatching (out of their eggs)'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In some cases, a verb might take both the distributive and the complexive, with the former indicating patient plurality and the latter indicating agent plurality, like the contrast between (10.16a) and (10.16b)

(10.16) a. **akkelpaqtekkyassek** kelasma yateyem

ak-kel-paqtek-kyas-sek kelasma yateyem
M-DIST-popcorning-VAL-DECL fish caiman
'the **caiman** made all the fish jump out of the water'

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b. akkelpaqtekkyasegke' kelasma yateyem
ak-kel-paqtek-kyas-**eg**-ke' kelasma yateyem
M-DIST-popcorning-VAL-COMPL-DECL fish caiman
'the **caimans** made all the fish jump out of the water'

Notes 2018.8.1

Although the complexive appears to be marking agent plurality with the verbs listed above, its function changes when the valency increaser (§11.2) is added. In (10.17a), there is a first person singular agent, and the complexive marker appears to be marking the plurality of the benefactor.

(10.17) *Complexive with*

a. **ategyesagkok** sa' anaqteyegka'a
a-tegy-es-agk-ok =sa' a-naqteyegka'a
1SG.IRR-search-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT F.POSS-spouses
'I will look for husbands for them'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. keñe axta apnaqlákxésa énxet yaqwayam **etegyesagkok** chá'a élwesey
keñe=axta ap-naql-ákx-és-a énxet yaqwayam
after=TC:PST M-lead.many-DUP-VAL-NM:IP man for
e-tegy-es-agk-ok chá'a él-wesey
M.IRR-search-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO always F.DIST-name
'Afterwards he led [the animals] to the man so that he could find names for them'

TA Genesis 2:19

c. **wahanchesagkok** sa' aptéyak
wa-han-ches-agk-ok =sa' ap-t-eyak
1SG.IRR-cook-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
'I will cook for them'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

With other verbs, like *-xatm-* 'fill', the complexive marks patient/goal plurality, as in (10.18).

(10.18) a. **axatmok** sa'

a-xatm-ok sa'
1SG.IRR-fill.up-NM:PO TC:FUT
'I will load it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **axatmagkok** sa' yágkentamáhak tewes
a-xatm-agk-ok =sa' yagkentamahak tewes
1SG.IRR-fill.up-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT bag algorrobo
'I will put the algorrobo fruit in the bags'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The complexive sometimes appears to indicate plurality of the subject of a monadic verb, like in (10.19), where its use may also indicate that 'all' of the storks are white. A singular/plural alternation of this type can be seen in the use of the complexive with the base *-eltaphan-* 'be blistered', in (10.20).

(10.19) **kamopagkok** yáho neyáwa yammáxek

ka-mop-ag-kok yáho ne-yáwa yammáxek
F.IRR-white-COMPL-NM:PO stork LOC-edge tajamar
'they are all white the storks at the edge of the tajamar'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(10.20) a. **keltaphanchek** apwakto wokma'ák
k-el-taphan-chek ap-w-akt-o wokma'ák
F-DIST-blister-DECL M.PART-arrive-RH-NM:IP boy
'The boy returned with blisters on his feet'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **keltaphánegkek** apkelwakto wokma'ák
k-el-taphán-**eg**-kek ap-kel-w-akt-o wokma'ák
F-DIST-blister-DECL M.PART-DIST-arrive-RH-NM:IP boy
'The boys returned with blisters on their feet'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Although the complexive can indicate or be sensitive to argument plurality in a number of different ways, this is not its exclusive function. Often times, it indicates a kind of **associated motion**, in which the event indicated by the verb root occurs while on the move, as in (10.21). Associated motion is defined and discussed extensively in Ch. 12.

(10.21) **ektasqapagkek** axta neygmen yaqwayam matxehek máxek

ek-tasqap-ag-kek =axta ne-ygmen yaqwayam
1SG-poke-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST LOC-water for
m-a-tx-ehek máxek
NEG-1SG.IRR-enter-NEG.NM:PO hole

'I was walking around the muddy water poking a stick in the ground so that I wouldn't fall into a hole'

The COMPL suffix also sometimes carries connotations of continuity of action, or of a build up of events, as in (10.22a). This usage appears more common and productive in other EE languages, like Enenlhet (Unruh et al., 2003) and Sanapaná (pc: Jens van Gysel), but most instances in Enxet Sur are likely rather lexicalized.

(10.22) a. **tahánegkek** mók sektamheykha keso pelten nak
ø-tahan-eg-kek mo:k sek-tamh-eyhka keso pelten =nak
F-over-COMPL-DECL other.F 1SG.PART-intent-EXTS.NM:PV this moon =TC:VIS
'I have a lot of work that's piled up on me this month'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **apxénagke'** chá'a aptáhakxa pók
ap-xe:n-ag-ke' cha'a ap-tah-akxa po:k
M-show-COMPL-DECL always M.PART-say-NM:OB other.M
'he always repeats what the other says'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **tépegkek** eykel'a ko'o moto, megkatsapak
ø-te:p-**eg**-kek =eyke =l'a ko'o moto // m-egka-tsap-ak
F-go.out-COMPL-DECL =TC:ASR =TC:DUB 1.SG motorcycle // NEG-F.IRR-die-SCND
'My motorcycle is still going, it hasn't died yet.'

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Table 10.6 provides a list of semantic additions that the complexive suffix confers to its hosts which are not directly related to the indication of argument plurality. The implication from consultants is that the semantic effect of the complexive in such examples is rather lexically fixed, but I would imagine that such the usage, necessity, and effect of the complexive with some of these verb bases is more variable and context-driven in actual use.

Base form (NM:PV)	Gloss	+COMPL form (NM:PV)	Gloss
negketamso	'to search for someone'	negketámeyak	to attack someone
		negeykáseyak	to tense something
negeynma	to lift something	negeyneyak	to hold something in your arms
negapma	to cover	negápeyak	'to beat ceaselessly'
		negápogwatcháseyak	'to go lighting up'
negátegmakte	to respond	negátegmowe:yak	to contest what is said
negáxñesso	clean	neg:axñessáseyak	to go around clearcutting
negeywe	to gallop	negeywe:yak	to gallop to another location
		neghaxne:yak	go to check on something you heard
neghaxtama	to encircle and protect something	neghaxtame:yak	to put down fencing
		negkemhe:yak	to follow someone
		negmahe:yak	to head somewhere
negmeñexma	to rob someone	negmeñexe:yak	to cheat in a futbol match
negma	to have	negme:yak	to grab/ a debt
negmeneykmasso	to sing	negmeneykmáseyak	to walk around singing
negmeta	'to burn'	negméteyak	'to burn quickly'

Table 10.6: Uses of the complexive which do not indicate participant plurality

In general, it seems most likely that the apparent indication of participant plurality is simply part of a more general verbal plural semantics. Unlike some of the other semantically nebulous stem-forming morphology in this language (see the next section on the intensive), it is not so clear that several possible semantic effects associated with complexive broadly would be accessible to a single verb base. In other words, it seems as though, despite a wide range of semantic values it appears to confer, the complexive only ever has a single semantic effect on a given base.

10.4 Intensive *-oho*

The stem-forming suffix labeled INTENSIVE (or INTS in the gloss) is used to indicate some kind of qualitative amplification of the event or state entailed by the verb, beyond what is typically expected or indicated by the verbal semantics. The precise semantic effect of this stem-forming suffix is highly variable, perhaps more so than any other productive morpheme in the language. As described in this section, the intensive can indicate

plurality of participants and patients, doing something accidentally, doing something to detrimental affect, greater affectedness of a patient than what is typical of the verb base, the maintenance of a state beyond the expected amount of time, habituality of an action, and extreme precision or alignment of events.

Its form in verbs is generally predictable, although the phonological process underlying the extensive allomorphy is not necessarily well understood. There is always an [o] element, and typically some form of what is likely an underlying glottal stop (§2.4.4), which surfaces as [h], [w], or leads to a long vowel [o:]. Like most stem forming morphology, there is a degree of phonological fusion with grammatical suffixes, if not outright suppletion as appears to be the case in the declarative form. The intensive is formally similar to suffixes on adjectives (§8.5) which take forms like *-awok* and *-ók*, although their identity with this verbal intensive is not clear and probably unlikely.

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
-xeg- + INTS	*apxegawok*	*apxegawok*	*exñohok*
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Oblique Nom.
exñoho	*apxegawo*	*apxegamo*	*apxegawokxa*

Table 10.7: Forms of the base *-xeg-* 'to go' with the INTS suffix, meaning 'to go quickly'

Morpheme	INTS-DECL	INTS-SCND	INTS-NM:PO
INTS /-w/	*-awok*	*-awok*	*-ohok*
INTS-IMP	INTS-NM:IP	INTS-NM:PV	INTS-NM:OB
-oho	*-awo*, *-ayo*	*-amo*, *-eyo*	*-awokxa*, *-ókxa*

Table 10.8: Combinations of INTS suffix with verb-endings (attaches directly to stem, assumes no other bound suffixes)

With many monadic, intransitive verbs, the intensive can simply mean that the action denoted by the verb is more intense than usual, as in (10.23). Note, however, that in both of these examples, the 'intensity' reading is not the only one possible, and that another reading involves an increased temporal profile. In (10.23a), the intensive can indicate that the end result of the verb *-xeg-* 'go' holds indefinitely, and in (10.23b), it can indicate the rain continues.

(10.23) a. **apxegawo'**
ap-xeg-awo'
M-GO-INTS.DECL
'He ran away very fast' (alternatively 'He went and never came back')
Skype Notes

b. **mámekawo'**
ø-mamek-awo'
F-rain-INTS.DECL
'It is raining really hard' or 'The rain continues'

Skype Notes

A similar notion of extended duration or permanence of a state can be seen in (10.24). These semantic values related to duration do not appear to vary based on something like the lexical aspect or *Aktionsart* of the verb, since, in these examples, *-xeg-* 'go' is a fairly telic, achievement verb, while *-mame'-* 'rain' and *-peysakm-* 'dirty' are more like an atelic event and a true stative verb, respectively.

(10.24) **peysakmók** yegmen

ø-peysak-m-ok yegmen
F-black-TERM-INTS.DECL water

'The water is still dirty'

Skype Notes 4.8.2020

Of course, if a verb indicates a short duration, the intensive would indicate a shorter than expected duration, as in (10.25b).

(10.25) a. **awenaqteshok** sa' sekha El Estribo

a-wenaqt-es-hok =sa' sek-h-a El Estribo
a-yáqwat-es-hok =sa' sek-h-a El Estribo

'I will be in El Estribo for a very long time', literally 'I will make very long my stay in El Estribo'

Notes 2018.8.16

b. **ayáqwateshok** sa' sekha El Estribo

a-yáqwat-es-hok =sa' sek-h-a El Estribo
1SG.IRR-short-VAL-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-sit-NM:PV

'I will be in El Estribo for a very short time', literally 'I will make very short my stay in El Estribo'

Notes 2018.8.16

With the general 'intensity' reading combined with causative valency increasers (§11.2), the increased intensity is applied to the state affected upon the patient, not to the action of the agent of the causative, as in (10.26).

(10.26) ekmetmeyk ko'o máxek, **étawanyassók** nahan

ek-metm-eyk ko'o máxek // ey-e-tawany-ass-ók =nahan
1SG-dig-DECL 1SG hole // 1SG-VBLZ-deep-VAL-INTS.DECL =AND

'I dug a hole, and I made it very deep'

Notes 2018.8.6

One of the more interesting effects of the intensive is that it can be used to indicate that something was done accidentally, as in the examples in (10.27). All of the examples of this 'accidental' usage of the intensive thus far observed have first person agents, although it is not clear that this represents a hard and fast restriction, and non-first person uses are possible in other EE languages.

(10.27) a. **ektahánawo'** aqsa penek
ek-tahán-awo' =aqsa penek
1SG-on.top-INTS.DECL =JUST toad
'I just stepped on a toad!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **ektakxawo'** aqsa ahaxkok
ek-takx-awo' aqsa ah-axkok
1SG-bite-INTS.DECL JUST 1SG.POSS-tongue
'I bit my tongue!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. egwanchek negko'o **antahanyohok** aqsok ekló
eg-wan-chek negko'o an-tahany-ohok aqsok
1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL 1PL.IRR-over-INTS.NM:PO thing
ek-l-ó
F.PART-angry-NM:PV
'We can come across dangerous things'

López Ramírez (1996)

d. **ekyetmawo'** aqsa kelasma étkok sekmahamo
ek-yetm-awo' aqsa kelasma e-etkok sek-mahamo
1SG-fill.liquid just fish F.STAT-small 1SG.PART-water.bottle
'I just poured a little fish into my water bottle by accident'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(10.28) a. yaqsak sa' **atwohok** xamo' sekto
yaqsak sa' a-tw-ohok xamo' sek-to
what TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-eat-INTS.FUT together 1SG.PART-eat.PART
'Who will I eat with'

b. **ekxegawok** axta xamo' sektegya'a Nini kelasma
ek-xeg-awok =axta xamo' sek-tegya'-a Nini kelasma
1SG-go-INTS.NM:PO =TC:PST together 1SG.PART-search-NM:IP Nini fish
'I went fishing with Nini', literally 'I went fishing together, my searching, Nini, fish'

Notes 2018.8.6

c. Zimrí axta apwesey m'a israelita **apmatñawo** axta xamók ma'a kelán'a madianita

Zimrí =axta apwesey =m'a israelita ap-matñ-awo =axta
Zimri =TC:PST M.POS-name =DEIC Israelite M.PART-killed-INTS.PART =TC:PST
xamo:k =ma'a kelán'a madianita
together =DEIC woman Midianite

'The name of the slain Israelite man who was killed with the Midianite woman was Zimri..'

Sometimes, when accompanied by the irrealis prefix it suggests engaging in an action habitually, sometimes with a negative connotation, as in (10.29a) and (10.29c).

(10.29) a. **waspohok** axta ko'o

w-asp-oh-ok =axta ko'o
1SG.IRR-smoke-INTS-IRR =TC:PST 1.SG

'I used to smoke'

EDP enx047 29:32

b. **atwohok** ko'o héna

a-tw-ohok ko'o héna
1SG.IRR-eat-INTS.NM:PO 1SG tobacco

'I chew tobacco'

Notes 2018.8.5

c. **kanewhok**

ka-new-ho'
F.IRR-play-INTS

'It likes to play around' (said of a young dog)

Notes 2018.8.2

It should be noted, however, that the INTS.NM:PO combination does not automatically confer some kind of habitual aspect. For example, (10.30a) and (10.30b) have identical verbs in the potential intensive, but the one with the future marker *sa'* has a future 'intensity of action' reading, while the one with the demonstrative clitic is read as habitual.

(10.30) a. **éynhok** sa'

e-yn-hok =sa'
M.IRR-drink-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT

'He is going to drink a lot.'

Skype Notes

b. **éynhok** ma'a

e-yn-hok =ma'a
M.IRR-drink-INTS.NM:PO =DMSTR
'He tends to drink'

Skype Notes

The intensiveness may also indicate an enhanced affectedness on the patient of a verb, as in the examples in (10.31).

(10.31) a. megkataxnawo yampa'at égmenek
m-egka-taxn-awo yam-pa'at e-egmenek
NEG-F.IRR-enter-INTS.SCND SIM-grass F.POSS-liquid
'Sugar doesn't affect him'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **ekyensa'awo'** sekxegexma
ek-yensa'-awo' sek-xegexma
1SG-leave-INTS.DECL 1SG.PART-friend
'I left my friend here.'

Skype Notes

Some verb bases occur typically with the intensive morpheme, and other verb stems have been lexicalized with the intensive.[4] The verb *--haxen-* +INTS 'to listen', for example, always has the intensive suffix, as in (10.32). The base of this verb, *-haxen-* is also found with the DIST prefix meaning 'to wait', where it does not take the intensive. It is hard to find a compelling argument for discrete semantic compositionality in such a case.

(10.32) ekeso keñamak yaqwayam **kahaxnaxkoho** sekpeywa
ekeso k-eñam-ak yaqwayam ka-haxn-axk-oho sek-peywa
this F-come.from-SCND for F.IRR-listen-MID-INTS.NM:PO 1SG.PART-words
'This is so that what I say will be heard.'

EDP enx028 07:20

Another example of lexicalization is *-elane'* +INTS 'to look at, to watch', from the base *-elane'-* /[5] 'to make, attend to'. The *-elane'* +INTS form never means 'to make something with fervor' or 'to attend to something with someone else', and only has the 'to look at, to watch' interpretation. As with other base-suffix lexicalizations, there is no restriction

[4]This is noted for Toba-Enenlhet (Unruh et al., 2003, p. 254), specifically for ngkailhoho' 'listen', ngkotienengvakhoho' 'go to see', and ngkammelhoho' 'look towards', although the suggestion for Toba-Enenlhet is that they are always required with a given root. Notably, the latter corresponds to Enxet Sur /enmex/ 'look towards', which does not require this intensive suffix.

[5]This verb has the formal characteristics of a lexicalized distributive as well, and is derived from the root *-ane'-* 'put, place, attend to'.

on additional morphology being applied between the root and the lexicalized suffix, as in (10.33), where the valency increaser is between the two items which otherwise are part of a single lexeme.

(10.33) élánesawók axta apnaqtósso

e:-**lán**-es-**awo:**-k =axta ap-naq-to:s-so
1SG-attend.to-VAL-INTS-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-PL-control-INF

'I looked after your animals for you.'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

10.5 Base suppletion

For a handful of verb bases, plurality of semantic arguments is expressed not through stem-forming verbal plural morphology, but instead through suppletion of the verb base. For example, in (10.34a), the verb base *-mateg-* means 'to be killed'[6] takes a singular subject. However, to express the same verbal semantics with a plural subject, as in (10.34b), the verb base *-tekyaw-* 'to be killed (many)' must be used.

(10.34) a. **apmatñek** axta xa neptána nak
ap-matñ-ek =axta =xa neptána =nak
M-be.killed-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR jaguar =TC:VIS
'That jaguar was killed'
López Ramírez (1996)

b. **tekyókek** axta kelasma, yexem kenhan mók aksok
tekyó-kek =axta kelasma yexem kenhan mók aksok
be.killed.many-DECL =TC:PST fish eel AND F.other thing
'Fish, eels, and other things were killed'
López Ramírez (1996)

A list of verbs with an observed plural suppletive form is given in table 10.9 below, and there are two initial observations that should be noted from this list. First, there is no particular semantic category of verbs which take suppletive plural forms, although, intuitively (not based on any quantitative study), these mostly appear to be fairly high frequency verbs. Second, although some alternations simply involve two distinct bases, such as *-etsap-*/*-masm-* 'to die', some of the plural suppletive forms have pluralizing stem forming morphology. For example, *-le'(l)-* 'to emit, loosen' has a plural form *-elhaxyawas-* which clearly contains the distributive *el-*. Therefore, while in this case there is base suppletion, the plural base also takes additional pluralizing morphology.

Another important generalization is that, with dyadic verbs, plural suppletives indicate plurality of the patient, never of the agent, and in this way have the same "absolutive" distribution as other indicators of verbal plurality. For example, in (10.35), *-ennap-* 'kill

[6]This is *not* a passive construction — the lexical verb base here just means 'be killed'.

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'to kill'	negaqhe	nennapma
'to die'	netsapma	negmasma
'to be killed'	negmatñe	nentekyawa
'to loosen'	nenleko	nelhaxyawasso
'to sell, get rid of'	negyenyawa	negkexakha
'to put'	negpekkenma	nennegkenma
'to grow'	negwanegye	néktega
'to cry'	negwóno	nélyapqáxamaxche
'to drive'	negyentama	negmenxanma
'to stand'	émha-	negaqneykha

Table 10.9: Suppletive plural verb bases

many' always indicates plurality of that which is killed, never of the killers. Although first person patient markers have an inverting effect on this "absolutive" distribution with the distributive (see §10.2), this inversion never occurs with suppletive plural bases.

(10.35) a. **Énapchek** ko'o tat'a seltekpaga póte

e-**enap**-chek ko'o tat'a **sel**-tekpag-a po:te
1SG-kill.many-DECL 1SG chicken 1SG.DIST.PART-hit-SUB axe

'I killed the chickens with an axe' (literally 'I killed many chickens, hitting them with an axe')

EDP enx035

b. **Kelnapchek** axta agkok anmen apkelwányam, yahamok axta kólpakhetchesek.

Kel-nap-chek =axta =agkok anmen apk-el-wány-am
DIST-kill.many-DECL =TC:PST =TC:COND alcohol M.PART-DIST-grow-TERM.NM:PV
// yahamok =axta kól-pakhet-ches-ek
// fast =TC:PST IMPR.IRR-chat-VAL-NM:PO

'If the old men were drunk (lit. 'if the alcohol killed them'), they would quickly get to chatting'

López Ramírez (1996)

Sušnik (1977, p. 94) suggests that when verbs take suppletive plural bases, it is because the plural bases typically have different connotations or semantic values. This would suggest that such forms are not necessarily directly suppletive in the same way as pairs like *ir/voy* in Spanish or *am/was* in English. In general, an argument could be made that the plural forms indicate fundamentally different types of events. For example, '*etsap*' 'the death of one' is distinguished from *-masm-* 'the death of many' not because of a grammatical imperative to distinguish argument number, but because mass death is a fundamentally different kind of event than the death of an individual, similar to the English distinction between *murder* and *massacre*.

Some further evidence for a substantial semantic distinction between the "singular" and "plural" base forms comes from the fact that the number distinction between them is typically not discrete, and "singular" forms can still have plural s-arguments. In (10.36a), the distributive *apkel-* is used with the root *-etsap-* 'to die' to indicate the plurality of the subject, in contrast to the use of *-masm-* 'to die (many)' in (10.36b), where there is no further plural marking on the verb stem. In part, this may reflect the observation made by Powys (1929) that the participant number constrast is less 'singular/plural' and more 'few/many', and thus *-etsap-* is used in (10.36a) because it only refers to two people. However, the example in (10.36b) does not simply refer to the death of 'more than a couple/few', it refers to a mass death event during an epidemic, and is therefore quite qualitatively different.

(10.36) a. **apkeletsekkek** han ma'a apqánet apketchek nak
apkel-estek-kek=han=ma'a ap-qánet ap-ketchek=nak
M.DIST-die-DECL=and=DEIC M-two M.POSS-child=PRES
'and two of your sons died'

TA 1 Samuel 4:17

b. *Context: referring to a smallpox epidemic* // **apmaskeyek** axta énxet'ák kenhan kelán'ák kenhan sakcha'a l'etkawok
ap-**mask**-eyek=axta énxet-'ák kenhan kelán-'ák kenhan sakcha'a
M-die.many-DECL=TC:PST man-PL and woman-PL and child
l'=etk-awok
DEIC=small-PL
'many men, women, and small children died'

López Ramírez (1996)

As discussed in the overview above, the fuzzy and non-obligatory 'few' vs. 'many' distinction in Enxet Sur plurality is likely really about an expression of the quality of an event, and not some kind of discrete inflectional property which agrees with number properties of nominal arguments. Thus, plural base suppletion is likely not an inflectional, agreement-like phenomenon, but instead an expression of qualitative differences in events which happen to a few patients those which happen to a lot of patients.

10.6 Directions for further research

The verbal plurals are interesting for a number of reasons in Enxet Sur, especially since they present interesting challenges regarding the indication or cross-referencing of s-arguments within verbal morphology. A better understanding of them from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective could go a long way towards understanding more general principles of lexical classes, argument structure, and lexicalization within the language.

The clear next step is to create a master list of the observed semantic effects of each verbal plural morpheme listed in this chapter, and attempt an exhaustive list of which semantic effects are available to which verb bases or stems. Especially for the intensive, which can have a number of different effects on the same base, it is not clear where there are actual limits on possible semantic effects and whether or not those limits are systematic and deeply fixed into the grammar of Enxet Sur or EE languages more broadly. A more expansive account of possibilities and impossible semantic values may lead to the discovery of a more elaborated system of lexical classes of verbs than what is currently recognized in this or any other EE language.

Another interesting topic of investigation is the interplay between a more qualitative, derivational semantics of some of these morphemes on the one hand and a more inflectional function on the other. While something like the distributive prefix is not as discretely inflection or agreement-like as indicated in previous descriptions of Enxet Sur (especially Powys 1929), it does seem to correlate more closely to participant number in Enxet Sur than it does in other EE languages — see the much more temporal-centered description of the Enenlhet distributive in Unruh et al. (2003). The changes between the more verb-centric, temporal uses and the more grammatical, number-centric uses would best be understood through comparative study, since it seems to be a phenomenon that is, quite understandably, in flux.

Disentangling productive uses through the two types of investigation mentioned so far would then make it easier to distinguish between regular functions of these verbal plural morphemes and instances where they have actually been lexicalized as parts of stems. Thus far, I apply the term 'lexicalized' or 'lexicalization' to instances of analyzable morphology which are not completely semantically transparent or at least analogous to other uses. However, a richer understanding of this morphology and what kinds of semantics are productive and which are not would give the lexicalization analyses more weight, and would allow for improved comparative study and reconstruction of the EE family.

The references to the distributive in the EE literature present rather different analyses — where Unruh et al. (2003) asserts rather clearly that the distributive is a verbal plural with occasional indication of participant plurality, Sušnik (1977) and (Powys, 1929) see it as a discrete indicator of argument plurality. These differences may reflect genuine differences in the use of this morpheme between different EE languages, but based on internally reconstructable morphology in Enxet Sur, it seems likely that the temporal, pluractional usage is the ancestral one. Section 3.2 describes how many verb bases are at least historically compositional, and that many contain base prefixes which are no longer productive in the modern language. Most of these base prefixes have temporal, aspect-like semantics. Given that the distributive is the *only* stem prefix while all other stem forming morphology is suffixing, it seems plausible that the distributive was originally one of several temporal/aspectual affixes, all of which have since fossilized except for the distributive. The distributive may have been saved from extinction by its association with participant plurality and the fact that it is adjacent to pronominal prefixes which indicate participants.

Chapter 11

Valency, voice, and their manipulation

11.1 Overview of valency and voice morphology

Valency and voice operators have a natural functional relationship to one another, in that valency operators can change the number of semantic or grammatical arguments of a predicate, while voice operators affect the mapping of semantic roles to grammatical roles.

Here, I distinguish valency from transitivity — valency is a simple count of the number of arguments a verb can or must take, while transitivity is a more complex and multifaceted semantic and morphosyntactic characterization of the relationship between verbal arguments (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000, p. 3). Valency is therefore a more or less scalar, categorical descriptive tool, whereas transitivity is seen as a gradient or continuum (Hopper and Thompson, 1980), construction specific (LaPolla, Kratochvíl, and Coupe, 2011), and established through semantic properties of lexical items which are language-specific rather than universal or *a priori* (Næss, 2007). Transitivity is therefore a secondary analysis to valency — a monovalent verb is inherently intransitive, while a bivalent verb could have high or low transitivity.

Transitivity as a morphologically observable phenomenon in Enxet Sur is complex and diffuse, indicated through the use of first person patient pronominal prefixes (§5.2.3), some variable uses of verbal plurals (Ch. 10), and properties of deverbal nominalizations (Ch. 15). Such indices of transitivity ought to be a central topic of future studies, but they are not addressed in this chapter and a holistic account of transitivity is outside of the scope of this dissertation.

With valency, it is critical to distinguish between its semantic and grammatical instantiations (cf. Payne 1997, p. 169–71, Allerton 1982, p. 40–48, Götz-Votteler 2007, p. 38–39). Semantic valence is a count of semantic arguments, or the participants which are conceptually related to an event or state, while grammatical or syntactic valence is a count of grammatical arguments, elements which enter into grammatical relations with a predicate. See §5.1.2 for more on the use of the notion of s-arguments and g-arguments in this description.

Although Enxet Sur has no real syntactic operations which serve to alter voice or valency, there are two primary morphological means of adjusting valency or voice within

the verb:

- A valency increasing suffix *-es*, glossed VAL, which can act either as a benefactive applicative or a causative
- A middle voice suffix, *-(ak)p-* in the masculine but otherwise *-ex*, which generally identifies the morphological "subject" — that which is indicated by the pronominal prefix — as the semantic patient, acting in some cases like a marker of passive voice, in some cases as a reflexive or reciprocal marker, and in some cases indicating some kind of enhanced affectedness of the subject of a monadic, intransitive verb

Like most stem-forming morphology in Enxet, it is more felicitous to the data to view such affixes in terms of their semantic operations rather than in morphosyntactic terms of the selection and constraints on the number of g-arguments. In §5.1.2, I argue that there are a number of problems with and no language-internal motivation for describing nominal expressions as acting like canonical arguments of PREDICATES, as they show no major evidence of being differentiated for argument roles. Voice and valency operators, therefore, do not have observable morphosyntactic effect on argument noun phrases, because, I would argue, noun phrases do not behave as canonical arguments in this language.

This chapter first discusses the valency increasing suffix (§11.2) and then the middle voice suffix (§11.3).

11.2 Valency Increasing *-es*

The suffix *-es* (or one of its allomorphs, see below) has the effect of adding a semantic argument to the semantic argument structure of the base, typically either with a causative function or a benefactive/malefactive applicative one. The causative function can be seen in the contrast between (11.1a) and (11.1b). The benefactive function can be seen in the contrast between (11.2a) and (11.2b). Because it has this general valency increasing function, and the semantic role of the additional s-argument is not specified, this morpheme is simply labeled VAL for 'valency increaser'.

(11.1) a. **apnaqtenchek** axta
ap-naq-ten-chek =axta
M-DIST-sleep-DECL =TC:PST
'They slept.'

b. **apnaqtenchessek** =axta
ap-naq-ten-ches-sek =axta
M-DIST-sleep-VAL-DECL =TC:PST
'He put them to sleep.'

Whatsapp notes

(11.2) a. **ayekwok** sa' yegmen mók yámelchet nak
a-yekw-ok =sa' yegmen mók yámelchet =nak
1SG.IRR-get.water-NM:PO =TC:FUT water other.F well =TC:VIS

'I'll go get water from the other well'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **ayekwések** sa' yegmen
a-yekw-**és**-ek =sa' yegmen
1SG.IRR-get.water-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT water
'I'll go get some water for you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
-m- + CAUS	apméssek	apmésak	egkesek
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
egkes	apmesa	apmesso	apmesakxa

Table 11.1: Forms of the base *-m-* 'have' with the CAUS suffix, meaning 'to give'

A paradigm for the stem *-mes-* 'give', the causative form of *-m-* 'have', is given in table 11.1. Formally, there are a few major allomorphs of the valency increaser — *-és*, *-as*, and *-ás* — though they all involve regular phonological processes related to the vowel-initial nature of the suffix, and the [s] segment is always present. The most notable allomorphy of the valency increaser occurs in the potential [NM:PO] forms, with what appears to be an allomorph *-aks* or *-eks*. Compare, for example, the form of the causative in the imperative (11.3b) to that in the potential (11.3a).

(11.3) a. apwancheya **heyesaksek**?
ap-wan-che =ya he-yes-aks-ek
M-able-DECL =TC:Q 1SG.STAT.IRR-cut.hair-VAL-NM:PO
'Can you cut my hair?'

b. **héyésses** ko'o s'e
he-yes-ses ko'o =s'e
1SG.STAT.IRR-cut.hair-CAUS 1SG =PROX
'Cut my hair'

Skype Notes 2020.4.20

Many verb bases will tend to be either benefactive or causative with the VAL suffix, based on their semantics — 'put someone to sleep', for example, is simply more common than 'sleep for someone's benefit' (though the latter might occur when a parent pleads with a child to 'go to sleep for me'). Although it requires further research, these tendencies likely correspond to a cross linguistic tendency for structures with patient-like monovalent subjects to not take applicatives (Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019, p. 12, Peterson 2007, p. 65; 133–35).

However, the suffix is fundamentally ambiguous between the two functions, and with many verbs, either reading can be accessed. With the 'drink' and 'eat' verbs in (11.4), the

application of the VAL suffix can either mean 'make me drink/eat' or 'drink/eat something that belongs to me, to my detriment', with no morphosyntactic distinction between them. This is true despite the fact that benefactive applicatives and causatives have different effects on ordering of their s-arguments — causatives create a new agent argument while applicatives create a new patient argument (cf. Dixon 2000, p. 30).

(11.4) *The VAL suffix with eat and drink verbs*

a. **nahetókas** aqsok seneyekxa
   na he-tok-as aqsok sey-eney-ekx-a
   PRHB 1SG.PAT.IRR-eat-VAL thing 1SG.PART-plant-DUP-NM:PV
   'Don't eat [to my detriment] the things I have planted'

   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **eyenchessek** xeyk sekya
   e-yen-ches-sek =xeyk sek-y-a
   1SG.PAT-drink-VAL-DECL =TC:HOD 1SG.PART-drink-NM:PV
   'He drank my drink [to my detriment]'

   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ko'o sekwánxa ahagkok **sektókasso** cháxa sakcha'a létkók nak
   ko'o sek-wá-n-xa =ahagko' sek-tók-ass-o cháxa
   1SG 1SG.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB =TC:1SG.DEG 1SG.PART-eat-VAL-NM:PV that
   sakcha'a létkók =nak
   child little =TC:VIS
   'It is only I who feed these children'

   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **eyenchesse'** yegmen yanyawhéna'
   e-yen-ches-se' yegmen yanyawhéna'
   1SG.PAT-drink-VAL-DECL water honey
   'The honey made me [need to] drink water'

   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The VAL suffix, then, only really indicates the addition of an s-argument, not its role. Furthermore, the VAL morpheme itself cannot be taken as directly referencing or indicating the additional s-argument, or constituting the g-argument instantiation of an additional s-argument, since, as in the examples in (11.4), the s-argument is directly indicated by the pronominal prefix in the case of causatives, or if the s-argument added by the benefactive applicative function is first person.

While the valency increaser does not distinguish between a causative and benefactive function, it should not be taken as a completely all-purpose valency increaser. Its applicative effect is limited to the addition of a benefactor/malefactor, and cannot be used as any

other kind of applicative like an instrumental or locative. There is not, with this applicative function, any sense of "dative alternation/shift/movement"(cf. Hollmann 2007), like the contrast in English between 'Keli'i gave the pork to Noalani' and 'Keli'i gave Noalani the pork', because, as I argue throughout several sections of this dissertation (§5.1.3, §9.1, §15.5) there is not really any grammatical oblique position within the language, which arises because of the lack of a grammatical distinction between arguments and adjuncts.

This particular kind of isomorphy seen in Enxet Sur between causatives and benefactives has been noted in a number of languages, especially across Uto-Aztecan languages and in many Australian languages (Peterson (2007, p. 65; 133–35), Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002, p. 166–72)). This isomorphism is generally limited, however, and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) describes these instances of isomorphy as a "causative/applicative split", because the two are generally mutually exclusive in languages where there are forms which have both causative and applicative functions. In other words, where languages have forms with either a causative or benefactive function, which of the two functions is used is determined by the verb root and its semantics, and the two functions are generally exclusive of one another for a given verb root. This is quite distinct from what is seen above in Enxet Sur, where either a benefactive or causative interpretation is available for the same verb base with no morphosyntactic distinction.

Furthermore, Enxet Sur (and other EE languages) stand out in that the valency increaser can be added twice to a verb, typically to achieve both a causative and benefactive effect on the same verb. For example, in (11.5a), the base *-teh-* 'be/say' uses the first valency increaser to mean 'make be' and the second to mean 'make be for me'. While some double iterations of the valency increaser may be due to lexicalization of one of the *-es* morphemes to the base (*-yaqpas-* 'spread/bathe' in (11.5b) has no corresponding form without the first *-as*), it is actually a very common phenomenon and fully productive, as with stems like that in (11.5d). In other languages which have forms that can be either causatives or benefactives (Dayley 1989, p. 112–18,Austin 2005, Tuggy 1988, Ichihashi-Nakayama 1996), I have not found any evidence for double application of the form to achieve both a causative and benefactive effect on the same verb.

(11.5) *Double application of* VAL

a. apwancheya sa' **hetnessásekxak** énxet nempeywa s'e?
ap-wan-che =ya =sa' he-tn-**es**-**sás**-ekx-ak énxet
M.STAT-able-DECL =TC:Q =TC:FUT 1SG.PAT.IRR-be-VAL-VAL-DUP-NM:PO Enxet
nem-peywa =s'e
1PL.PART-words =PROX

'Can you translate this into Enxet for me? (literally 'Can you **make this be** in Enxet **for me**')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. *Context: speaker talking about his first communion*
natámen, appenchessekxa **segyaqpassáseyak** yegmen, nentókek pan

natámen // ap-penchessek-xa seg-yaqp-ass-ás-eyak yegmen
F.-after // M.PART-finish-LOC 1PL.PART-spread-VAL-VAL-COMPL.NM:PV water

// nen-tó-kek pan
// 1PL-eat-DECL bread

'After he finished baptizing us (lit. 'spreading water for us'), we ate the bread'
EDP enx047 04:12

c. **heláhamtésses** ko'o yámet
hel-á-hamt-es-ses ko'o yámet
1SG.PAT.IRR-DIST-VBLZ-sharp-VAL-VAL 1SG tree
'Can you sharpen the stick for me?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **ekháxexchásese'** aptamheykha
ek-hax.exch-ás-es-e' ap-tamh-eykha
1SG-sick.MID-VAL-VAL-DECL M.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV
'I made him loose his will to work', literally 'I made him demotivated (slumped) to the detriment of his work'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **alpaqhetchessesaxkohok** sa' ko'o kéxegke
a-l-paqhet-ches-ses-axk-ohok =sa' kéxegke
1SG.IRR-DIST-chat-VAL-VAL-MID.M-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT 2PL
'I will speak with him on y'all's behalf'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
/m/ + CAUS	apméssek	apmésak	egkesek
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
egkes	apmesa	apmesso	apmesakxa

Table 11.2: Forms of the root *-m-* 'have' with the VAL suffix, meaning 'to give'

The view of isomorphic causative/applicative splits in some languages in Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) is that they arise because of differences in open "slots" within the semantic argument structure: causatives add agents to a patient-like monovalent subject, while applicatives add patients to an agent-like monovalent subject. This explanation cannot hold for Enxet Sur, since both effects can apply to the same verb base from a single valency increaser morpheme, and this morpheme can be doubly applied. Instead, I would argue that the multifunctionality of the valency increaser in Enxet Sur is part of a more general trend in the language, in which different semantic roles are very minimally distinguished through different grammatical labels, and that causativization and the benefactive applicative are non-distinct as valence changing operations because diathesis in Enxet Sur is minimal in general.

We might further ask, if this isomorphism is a product of minimal diathesis or distinction of grammatical roles, why the applicative functions of this morpheme are limited to

benefactives, and not a broader applicative function. First, the intensive (§10.4) or the adverb *xamo'* 'together' (§9.3.1) have the functions of a comitative applicative, but other kinds of applicatives like instrumentals or locatives do not really exist as morphosyntactic devices. Instead, nominal expressions which denote non-obligatory instruments or local s-arguments simply act like any other s-argument noun, occurring either as a non-ordered NOMINAL COMPLEMENT or an appositive PREDICATE. The fact that morphological devices exist for benefactive and comitative applicatives and not for instrumental or locative applicatives is problably related to the fact that the former generally add animate s-arguments and the latter generally do not.

Although the causative and benefactive functions cover most of the functions of this suffix, the semantic change affected by this morpheme is sometimes not particularly transparent. For example, when the causative suffix is added to the root *-makta'-* 'to shoot (an arrow)', it can take on a meaning of tensing the arrow but not shooting it, as can be seen in (11.6). There is a great deal of lexicalization of the valency increaser, however, and I have not seen major regular patterns aside from the causative and benefactive functions.

(11.6) **apmátchesse'** aqsa, memaktak

ap-mat-ches-se' aqsa // m-e-makt-ak
M-shoot-VAL-DECL just // NEG-M.IRR-shoot-SCND

'He just aimed it (arrow), he didn't shoot it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Still, there are instances where formal alternations with the valency increaser don't appear to have much semantic effect at all. In (11.7), which comes from elicitation, the consultant gave two forms of the same verb meaning 'be impatient', one with the valency increaser and one without, and said their was no distinction in their meaning. It is possible, however, that in context the latter form with the valency increaser would have a salient malefactor — someone negatively affected by the speaker's impatience.

(11.7) a. **apekhawok** chá'a ko'o

a-pekh-aw-ok chá'a ko'o
1SG.IRR-intent-INTS-NM:PO always 1SG

'I'm impatient'

Skype Notes

b. **apekhaksohok** chá'a ko'o

a-pekhak-s-oh-ok chá'a ko'o
1SG.IRR-intent-VAL-INTS-NM:PO always 1SG

'I'm impatient'

Skype Notes

11.3 Middle voice marker *-ex/-p*

The most important and functional voice manipulating morphology is a stem forming suffix — *-(ak)p* in the MASCULINE and *-ax(k)* otherwise — which is here labeled a marker of

the MIDDLE voice, due the cluster of more discrete voice and valency operations it engages in, which include apparent passive, reflexive, and reciprocal constructions (cf. Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019, p. 171–7). I use the term middle voice not as an assertion of a precise, regular voice or valency operation, as may implied by some treatments of the middle voice, but rather the term is used to indicate the cluster of semantic and pragmatic values it has. From a strictly language-internal point of view, the Enxet Sur middle voice suffix, which in most cases agrees with the gender of the pronominal prefix, indicates that the semantic argument indicated by the pronominal prefix is an affected patient of the verb. This basic semantic value generally accounts for its passive, reflexive, and reciprocal functions, but also accounts for other operations which have less obvious effects on grammatical valency or voice and which do not fit neatly into any of these categories.

Some alternations involving the middle voice show it functioning very much like a canonical passive, "promoting" an object or patient noun by giving it morphosyntactic properties generally associated with subjects. Compare the dyadic verb in (11.8a) to the feminine and masculine middle constructions of the same verb in (11.8b) and (11.8c), respectively. In (11.8a), the pronominal prefix indicates a first person singular agent and the verb has a third person patient 'shakee'. In (11.8b) and (11.8c), the pronominal prefix instead indicates the patient 'shakee', and there is no apparent indication of the agent of the verb at all.

(11.8) a. **apaxnexchaha** sa' sektaxno
a-paxnex-chaha =sa' sek-taxn-o
1SG.IRR-shake-AMB.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-enter-NM:PV
'I'm going to shake out my shirt'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **paxnexchaxche**' semheg
ø-**paxnex-chaxch-e'** semheg
F-shake-MID-DECL
'The dog was jerked'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **appaxnexchakpe**' yátnáxeg
ap-paxnex-chakp-e' yatnaxeg
M-shake-MID.M-DECL horse
'The horse was jerked'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Like a canonical passive, the patient is "promoted" to being indicated by the pronominal prefix, and the agent is "demoted" or, really, is entirely suppressed — there is only overt indication of a single semantic argument within the verbal morphology, and because s-argument nouns are not assigned grammatical roles by the PREDICATE in the first

place, there is no OBLIQUE argument role that an agent-referring noun could be demoted to. As far as I have seen in the available corpus, verbs marked with the middle voice never co-occur with nouns which indicate their agent. Some additional examples of passive like constructions with the middle-voice are given in (11.9).

(11.9) *Passive constructions with the middle voice marker*

a. *Context: Speaker is talking about Enxet youths taken during the Chaco War to do labor for the Paraguayan military*
eyke **apkelmakpo** makham joven, kelane ámay, kelmagkya'a pala
eyke apk-el-mak-p-o makham joven // kel-an-e
TC:ASR M.PART-DIST-have-M.MID-NM:IP still youth // DIST-make-NM:PV
ámay // kel-m-agkya'a pala
road // DIST-have-AMB.NM:IP ahovel
'The young men were taken, to prepare the roads, to carry the shovels'
NNE 190 12:49

b. **negkenaxche**' xeyk weykcha'áhak néten mesa
negken-ax-che' =xeyk weykcha'áhak néten mesa
place.PL-MID-DECL =TC:HOD book above table
'The books were put on top of the table
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **Aptókakpek** ko'o sekxegexma naxma, tamayawhan chaqhak
ap-tók-**akp**-ek ko'o sek-xegexma naxma // tamayawhan ch-aqh-ak
M-eat-M.MID-DECL 1.SG 1SG.PART-friend woods // tamayawhan F-kill-SCND
'My friend was eaten in the woods, a Tamayawhan killed him'
AEAALC

This passive type construction with the middle voice never co-occurs with patient pronominal prefixes of first person arguments (§3.3.2). When the middle voice suffix is used, first person pronominal prefixes are always in the non-patient form, as in the examples in (11.10). This distributional fact has a couple of related implications: 1) verbs marked with patient first person pronominal prefixes are gramatically bivalent and 2) the middle voice, at least in these passive-like contexts, is a valency reducing operation.

(11.10) a. **wánexchek** sa' eykel'a waqhak
w-án-exch-ek =sa' =eyke =l'a w-aqh-ak
1SG.IRR-think-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT =TC:ASR =TC:DUB 1SG.IRR-kill-NM:PO
'I will be thought to have killed him'
EDP enx006 05:51

b. ahóxek axta **sekpowásamáxche**

a-hóx-ek =axta sek-powás-am-áxch-e
F.STAT-long-DECL =TC:PST 1SG.PART-hide-TI-MID-NM:PV
'I was kept hidden for a long time'

(Rojas and Curtis, 2017)

The middle voice also has a reflexive function, in which the s-argument indicated by the pronominal prefix is both the agent and patient of the verb, as in the examples in (11.11). Not that in several of these examples, the verb base has taken a causativizing valency increaser suffix, followed by the middle voice. Many verbs which in other languages might canonically appear in the reflexive, especially those related to personal grooming, do not take reflexives in Enxet Sur, but causativized verb stems, in which an agent changes the state of a patient, are much more likely to be used reflexively with the middle voice marker, as seen in several of the examples in (11.11).

(11.11) *The middle voice as a reflexive marker*

a. **heyáséxkok** pa'at yéwa
ø-hey-ás-éxk-ok pa'at ye:wa
F-same-VAL-MID-DECL grass snake
'The snake makes itself look like the grass'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **wahakkasaxchek** sa' yámet áwa'
w-ahap-kas-axch-ek =sa' yámet a-awa
1.SG.IRR-over-VAL-MID-DECL =TC:FUT tree F.POSS-leaf
'I will cover myself with leaves.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **ekyenhaxche** aqsa xapop sekweta keto' ekxegakmo pelota
ek-yenh-ax-che aqsa xapop sek-wet-a keto'
1SG-throw-MID-DECL just earth 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP close
ek-xegak-m-o pelota
F.PART-go-TERM-NM:IP ball
'I'll throw myself to the ground when I see the ball is coming close'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **Apxekmowásekpók** axta han Dios Salomón xa axta'a nak
ap-xekmow-ás-ekp-ók =axta =han Dios Salomon =xa axta'a
M-show-VAL-MID.M-INTS.DECL =TC:PST =AND God Solomon =DMSTR night
=nak
=TC:VIS
'And God showed himself to Solomon that night.'

TA 2 Chronicles 1:7

The valency decreasing analysis described above for passive-like uses of the middle voice generally holds for this kind of reflexive construction as well. For example, in (11.11d), the base *-xekmowas-* 'show, demonstrate' is semantically triadic, with a person who shows something, the thing they show, and who they show it to. Because, in this example, the shower and what they show are the same, the middle voice indicates that there are only two distinct semantic arguments instead of three.

The middle voice with this particular stem, *-xekmowas-* 'show, demonstrate', actually helps illustrate some exceptions to two generalizations made thus far — 1) that the middle voice marker agrees in gender with the pronominal prefix, and 2) that the first person patient pronominal prefixes do not co-occur with the middle voice marker. The stem *-xekmowas-* is triadic and typically trivalent, but with the middle voice, its grammatical valency is only reduced to two, meaning that it can still take a first person patient prefix, as in (11.12). Such instances also provide some evidence for the existence of grammatical relations with the agent of a verb even when the pronominal prefix is the first person patient, since the middle voice in this case agrees in gender with the agent.

(11.12) **Enxekmowásekpok** axta negko'o m'a Wesse' egegkok

en-xekmow-as-ekp-ok	=axta	negko'o	=m'a	Wesse'	egegkok
1PL.PAT-show-VAL-M.MID-DECL	=TC:PST	1PL	=DMSTR	leader	1PL.POSS

'God showed himself to us'

(11.13) **ekwakheyásexchek** semheg axta'a exchek

ek-wakhey-ás-ex-chek	semheg	axta'a	=exchek
1SG-surround-VAL-MID-DECL	dog	night	=TC:HOD

'I made the dogs surround me last night [for my protection]'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Example (11.13) also shows that this valency reducing effect when a single participant serves two semantic roles extends beyond the conventional reflexive. In this example, the first person s-argument is both the agent of a causative construction and the patient of the causativized event. Instead of a canonical reflexive where one does something to onesself, examples like (11.13) show a situation where someone make someone else do something to them — a construction which in English is evidently quite difficult to express succinctly and which definitively does not use a reflexive construction.

With multiple animate s-arguments, the middle voice can have a reciprocal function, as in the examples in (11.14). A conventional reciprocal analysis (cf. Zúñiga and Kittilä 2019, p. 161) posits (at least) two concurrent events, wherein the agent and patient in one event reverse roles in the other ('A does X to B, while B does X to A'). This may actually be realized as discrete events, like 'see each other' in (11.14a), where 'A seeing B' and 'B seeing A' are discretely separate events. However, it can also be used for an event which is inherently "reciprocal", like 'intermixing' in (11.14b), where there is not really a semantic distinction between 'A intermixing with B' and 'B intermixing with A' — the two cannot be logically distinct.

(11.14) a. **ólwetaxchek** sa'
ol-wet-axch-ek =sa'
1PL.IRR.DIST-see-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'We will see each other'

EDP enx025 28:04

b. waley sa' **élpaxqeykpok**
waley =sa' el-paxqey-kp-ok
Paraguayan =TC:FUT M.IRR.DIST-mix-M.MID-NM:PO
'Paraguayans will mix with you'

EDP enx047 01:59

An important distinction is that there remains some asymmetry of the two s-arguments in some reciprocal constructions. For example, the base *-ennap-* 'kill (plural)', when combined with the middle voice suffix, means to battle — with the reciprocal reading, a 'kill each other' meaning for the stem makes sense. The middle voice marker agrees in gender with the pronominal-prefix marked "subject" of the verb, and in the case of an inclusive[1] first person plural pronominal prefix, as in (11.15a), the pronominal prefix indicates both the agent and patient of both concurrent, reciprocal events.

(11.15) a. élpayhe egmek sa' **olnapaxche**'
él-payh-e eg-mek =sa' **ol**-nap-**axch**-e'
F.PART.DIST-spread-NM:PV 1PL.POSS-hand =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR.DIST-kill.PL-MID-DECL
'We will fight with open hands'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. *Context: In a story, boy is battling a group of Tamayawhan demons*
apkennapeykpek axta
apk-en-nap-ey-kp-ek =axta
M-DIST-kill.PL-TI-MID.M-DECL =TC:PST
'He battled them'

EDP enx006 04:14

However, with the non-first person, the indication is asymmetrical. In (11.15b), there are two s-arguments, a MASCULINE gendered boy and FEMININE gendered group of demons, and these two entities are fighting each other using the reciprocal construction. However, unlike in (11.15a), the pronominal prefix can only indicate one of the two s-arguments, and it indicates the MASCULINE 'boy' s-argument and not the demons, despite the fact that the reciprocal, in essence, makes agents out of both of the s-arguments.

[1]Inclusive in semantics only, there is no morphosyntactic distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plurals in Enxet Sur.

Despite these asymmetries in the reciprocal function, the passive, reflexive, and reciprocal all appear to have a function of taking semantically dyadic verbs and turning them into grammatically monovalent constructions, and there is, therefore, a general valency reducing effect. However, some apparently productive uses of the middle voice do not involve valency reduction, and the middle voice can be used with semantically monadic verbs.

For example, in (11.16a), the base of *kellókaxche'* 'they got mad at each other' is *-law-* 'to be mad', a fully monadic, single s-argument verb which by itself cannot have a second s-argument indicating what the subject is mad at. A construction like (11.16b) is not grammatical, and such a concept has to be rendered with a causative construction like (11.16c). However, in (11.16a), the middle voice represents a reciprocal event with the plural s-arguments — A is mad at B and B is mad at A. So, even though this verb is strictly monadic and there is no way to decrease its semantic or syntactic valency, the middle voice applies a reciprocal semantics nonetheless.

(11.16) a. **kellókaxche'** axta'a exchek
kel-lók-ax-che' axta'a =exchek
DIST-mad-MID-DECL night =TC:HOD
'They got really mad at each other last night'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ****eklókek** ko'o exchep
ek-ló-kek ko'o exchep
1SG-mad-DECL 1SG 2SG.M
**'I'm mad at you'

Skype Notes

c. **élókassek** xép
é-lók-as-sek xép
1SG.PAT-mad-VAL-DECL 2SG.M
'You made me mad'

Skype Notes

Similarly, some apparently monadic verbs, like *-[oney-* 'be molded' or *wegkep-* 'go far, go to other side', will take the middle voice suffix, perhaps to emphasize the affectedness of the monadic s-argument.

(11.17) a. **kelchóneyxche'** selyátekto
kel-chóney-x-che' selyátekto
DIST-mold-MID-DECL orange
'the oranges are molded'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kelwegkepáxche'**

kel-wegkep-áx-che'
DIST-go.far-MID-DECL
'the people left'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

11.4 Directions for further research

Obviously, the morphosyntactic effects of the valency and voice morphology described in this chapter would be better understood with a more precise understanding of the degree to which verbs have a discrete, observable grammatical transitivity in the first place. A major cataloging of the co-occurrence of valency and voice morphology with different indices of transitivity would go a long way towards understanding the morphosyntactic effects of valency/voice manipulation.

Chapter 12

Directionals and Associated Motion

12.1 Overview of Directionals and Associated Motion

Directional suffixes, which provide both spatial and temporal alteration or specification to verbs, and **associated motion**, which establishes a secondary motion event occurring in conjunction with the primary verb event, are major stem-forming elements that are integral to Enxet grammar. Each of the bolded verb forms in (12.1) have directional or associated motion morphology, which I refer to here as Dir/AM morphology. The morphemes described here are in many ways the most productive and semantically transparent or compositional of any of the stem forming morphology.

(12.1) a. **nemyekxa** aqsa apxakko'
n-e-my-ekxa aqsa ap-xakko'
PRHB-M.IRR-head.to-DUP just M-alone
'Don't go there by yourself'
EDP enx006 02:08

b. **apteyekmek** náxop
ap-teyek-m-ek na-xop
M-fall-TERM-DECL LOC-earth
'He fell to the ground'
EDP enx047 31:20

c. **apkeltennáha** axta, **ekwakto** m'a **ekyenneykekxa**' apwáxok
apk-el-tenn-aha =axta // ek-wak-t-o =m'a
M-DIST-tell-AMB.DECL =TC:PST // F.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP =DMSTR
ek-yenney-k-ekx-a' ap-waxok
F.PART-strong-TI-DUP-NM:PV M.POSS-innermost
'He told them his story, when the strength of his spirit came back to him'
EDP enx006 07:34

d. exchek **ekpathetchesaktak** ko'o pók wokma'ák **apkelwakto** exchek axta'a

exchek ek-pathet-ches-sak-t-ak ko'o pok wokma'ak
TC:HOD F.PART-hug-VAL-ARR-CISL-SCND 1SG M.other boy
apk-el-wak-t-o =exchek axta'a
M.PART-DIST-arrive-CISL-NM:PO =TC:HOD night
'I put the two boys in the same bed when they got here last night'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This chapter describes five suffixes whose function is partially or entirely to indicate directionality, location, or associated motion of verbs. All five are listed with their proposed underlying form, gloss, and general function in table 12.1. In this chapter, each morpheme is given a full independent description, followed by a section describing the combination of directional morphology (other than associated motion), and one describing the relationship of associated motion to semantic argument structure, where it is viewed as a kind of applicative suffix.

Form	Gloss	Function
-wa'	ARR (ARRIVE)	prior associated motion event; by itself indicates arrival in the deictic center
-akx	DUP (DUPLICATIVE)	event or state occurring again; with ARR indicates returning somewhere away from speaker
-m	TERM (TERMINATIVE)	achievement of state; event reaches conclusion; with ARR indicates arriving somewhere for the first time
-t	CISL (CISLOCATIVE)	returning to the deictic center
-ha	AMB (AMBULATIVE)	repetitive motion, here and there

Table 12.1: Suffixes involved in directional and associated motion morphology

Although they are grouped together in this chapter, and I occasionally refer to them together as Dir/AM morphology, these so-called directionals **do not** form a natural formal class in Enxet Sur. For example, *-wa'* is arguably an incorporated verb root which occurs inside of the TI suffix in the verb template (§3.6), and there is not really any formal distinction between *-wa'-* as a full stem and as an associated motion suffix, as in (12.2). The rest of the Dir/AM morphology are definitively suffixes with no apparent relation to any verb base or root forms.

(12.2) a. ap**wa'ak** xeyk
ap-wa'-ak =xeyk
M-arrive-DECL =TC:HOD
'He arrived'
b. apteyen**wa'ak** xeyk

ap-teyen-wa'-ak =xeyk
M-sleep-ARR-DECL =TC:HOD
'He slept when he got here'

Whatsapp notes

Furthermore, the five morphemes introduced and described here are not the only ones which have motion or directional semantics. As mentioned in §10.3, the complexive suffix has motion semantics at times, and in fact sometimes directly contrasts with the use of *-wa'* (see §12.2.1 below). It might be included with Dir/AM motion morphology if not for the fact that its 'verbal pluralizer' function is somewhat more prominent and common within the corpus. The intensive suffix (§10.4) also occasionally has semantics dealing with range or extent of motion.

Distribution and exclusivity relationships are also quite complicated among the Dir/AM morphemes. The arrival suffix *-wa'* co-occurs with the duplicative, terminative, and cislocative for different kinds of associated motion readings, but it cannot co-occur with the ambulative. Some of the directionals, like the terminative and cislocative, can co-occur, as in (12.3). However, the cislocative and duplicative are contrastive and mutually exclusive of one another, but the duplicative cannot co-occur with the terminative. While Dir/AM morphemes tend to appear in particular region of the verb template (§3.6), there is certainly not some clear Dir/AM 'slot'.

(12.3) **eytlántamhok** sa' makham apkexyekmo sa'

e-ytl-an-**t**-**am**-hok =sa' makham
M.IRR-follow-COMPL-CISL-TERM-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT still
apk-exy-ekm-o =sa'
M.PART-return-TERM-NM:IP =TC:FUT

'He will come back here with you when you return'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Finally, the ambulative *-ha* is distinct from the other directionals in having portmanteau or fusional (multiply indicated) forms which completely morphologically erase the grammatical suffixes, as in (12.4), where the declarative form with the ambulative bears no remnants of the basic *-eyek* declarative suffix. This stands in contrast to the other forms which are more or less concatenative with regular phonological behaviors.

(12.4) natámen negko'o negmaha héwa

natamen negko'o neg-m-aha hewa
then 1PL 1PL-have-EXTS.DECL spear

'So we carry around a spear'

EDP enx009 01:43

First, it should be noted that the semantic value of the synthetic AM morphology, which establishes a motion event which is related to but independent of the primary event indicated by the root, can be accomplished periphrastically as well as through bound morphology. The 'arrival' event can simply be a imperfective form verb acting like an adverbial clause.

Sometimes, associated motion morphology can co-occur with a semantically equivalent motion verb in the same utterance. In (12.5), the initial declarative verb has the stem *-wa'-* 'arrive here', which is semantically equivalent to the 'arrive here' suffix on the perfective form verb *segyentawe* 'he who comes here looking for us'.

(12.5) **apwa'ak** cha'a légko **segyentawe** negko'o

ap-**wa'**-ak cha'a légko seg-yenta-**we** negko'o
M-arrive-DECL always mennonite 1PL.PAT.PART-search.for-ARR.NM:PV 1PL

'the Mennonite always comes here looking for us'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Occasionally, the same associated motion morphology might be applied to subsequent verb which refer to the same event. For example, in (12.6), the declarative verb *negyekkónwokmok* 'we try when we get there' and the adverbial-use nominalization *negágwokmo* 'our giving it out when we get there' both contain the associated motion morphology *-wokm-* 'when we arrive there'. However, there is not any sense of obligatory "agreement" between verbs in a "subordinate" relationship regarding AM marking — I argue there is not much of a sense of "subordination" in the first place in the language (§15.1), and those structures which are similar to subordination do not engage in such explicit indication of grammatical relations between a superordinate and subordinate verb form.

(12.6) kelasma negyekkónwokmok negágwokmo ekto yamáxek

kelasma **neg-yekkón-wok-m-ok neg-ág-wok-m-o**
fish 1PL-try-ARR-TERM-SCND 1PL.PART-distribute-ARR-TERM-NM:IP
ek-t-o yamáxek
F.PART-eat-NM:PV tajamar

'We went to try to fish at the tajamar'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

12.2 Semantic values of Dir/AM morphology

12.2.1 Arrival and associated motion with *-wa'-*

Associated motion is a typological category generally used to describe verbal morphology which establishes a secondary motion event occurring in relation to the primary event

indicated by a verb stem (Guillaume, 2016, Koch, 1984). The vast majority[1] of associated motion constructions in Enxet Sur verbs involve the addition of the verb root *-wa'-* 'arrive', and this might be thought of as a morphological process of verb-incorporation or verb-verb serialization, although there are not really any other comparable examples in the language, certainly not productive ones. This root *-wa'-* is a fairly high frequency stem on its own, as seen in (12.7). The seven basic forms of the verb are given in table 12.2, although, since the verb quite strictly means 'arrive', with no sense of 'come' or any particular movement, there is not really an imperative form that speakers recognize as meaningful. These forms of the verb stem plus the grammatical suffix are identical to the shapes of the suffix *-wa'* with the same grammatical suffixes, as in the paradigm for the verb stem *-xeyenwa'-* 'show upon arrival here' in table 12.3.

(12.7) *Use of -wa'- 'arrive' as independent stem*

a. **ekwa'ak** axta ko'o payho el estribo

ek-wa'-ak =axta ko'o payho el estribo
1SG-arrive-DECL =TC:PST 1SG place el estribo

'I arrived at El Estribo (*Enxet Sur community*)'

EDP enx028 01:56

b. **apkelwa'ak** axta kelyohóxma yaqwayam elána'

apk-el-wa'-ak =axta kel-yohóxma yaqwayam el-án-a'
M-DIST-arrive-DECL =TC:PST F.DIST-shaman for M.IRR.DIST-attend-NM:PO

'The shamans came to take a look'

EDP enx006 08:35

-wa'-	Declarative	Second	Potential
'arrive'	apwa'ak	apwa'ak	ewak
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
—	apwa'a	apwe	apwakxa

Table 12.2: Forms of the root *-wa'-* 'arrive'

-xeyenwa'-	Declarative	Second	Potential
'show upon arrival here'	apxeyenwa'ak	apxeyenwa'ak	exyenwak
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
—	apxeyenwa'a	apxeyenwe	apxeyenwakxa

Table 12.3: Forms of the root *-xeyen-* 'show' with the ARR suffix, meaning 'to show upon arriving here'

[1] The cislocative directional can establish an associated motion event with the complexive suffix, as described in §12.2.3.

When *-wa'-*, with no other morphology, attaches to another verb base, it most typically indicates that the primary event indicated by the verb base occurred upon arrival at the deictic center for the first time, as in (12.8). As can be seen in these examples, there is no particular specification for the scope of the deictic center — it can be as specific as one's physical person as in (12.8a) or as broad as just the general area, as in (12.8c). The motion event or 'arrival' is always conveyed as occurring prior to the primary event indicated by the base, which is in contrast to the 'on the way here' reading given by the complexive described in section 12.2.3. The *-wa'* suffix never has any other temporal relationship between the arrive event and the primary verb event, like 'while arriving' or 'do X and then come here'.

(12.8) a. **épalwa'ak** yegmen
e:-pal-**wa'**-ak yegmen
1SG.PAT-fall-ARR-DECL water
'The rain is drizzling on me'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **pánwa'ak** éten
ø-pán-**wa'**-ak e:ten
F-mist-ARR-DECL smoke
'The smoke has come over here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **apkelpakxenwa'ak** nahan kaxwók se'e keto' nak sekhakxa ko'o
ap-kel-pakxen-**wa'**-ak =nahan kaxw-o:k =se'e keto' =nak
M-DIST-settle-ARR-DECL =AND NOW-INTS =PROX near =TC:VIS
sek-h-akxa ko'o
1SG.PART-sit-NM:OB 1SG
'They have come to settle next to me' (literally 'They have now settled upon arriving here, where I live is close')

TA Numbers 22:5

More often than not, however, it is combined with other directional suffixes (duplicative, cislocative, or terminative) and some other stem morphology (often the intensive) to create other kinds of associated motion events, as in (12.9). These ARR + directional combinations are summarized in table 12.4, but are described more fully in each of the following sections describing the various directional affixes. As with the simple *-wa'* suffix, the main event is always carried out upon arrival, and other temporal relationships between the main event and the associated motion event are not possible. Although the system of associated motion is more complex and diffuse than this, we can identify an interesting symmetry within the main components of the system which create a two-by-two crosswise paradigm which coordinates the deictic direction of the motion (to 'here'

or 'there') with whether the arrival motion is for the first time or is a return, as in table 12.5.

(12.9) yaqwayam enxola **ampekkenwatak** ketok enxagkok

yaqwayam =enxo =l'a am-pekken-wa-t-ak ketok en-xagkok
for =TC:CONJ =TC:DUB 1PL.IRR-place-ARR-CISL-NM:PO near 1PL.POSS-house

'So that we can come back and place it near our house.'

EDP enx007 10:13

Combination	Function
ARR+DUP	'upon returning somewhere one has previously been'
ARR+CISL	'upon returning to the deictic center'
ARR+TERM	'upon arriving somewhere else'
ARR+TERM+INTS	'upon arriving somewhere new for the first time'
ARR+CISL+TERM+INTS	'going back and forth to perform primary action'

Table 12.4: Associated motion combinations of *-wa'* with directional suffixes

One critical aspect of the combination of *-wa'* with directional affixes is that if *-wa'* is present it always has scope over the directionals, such that they have to apply to the nature of the associated motion event and *not* to the primary event indicated by the verb base. For example, while the duplicative without *-wa'* can mean that the verb base is happening 'again', as in (12.10a), when it appears with *-wa'*, it can only indicate that the verb base is happening 'upon returning somewhere one has previously been' and not to the verb base event happening again, as in (12.10b). This means that X+ARR+DUP can never be interpreted as 'X happens again upon arriving here for the first time', only as 'X happens upon returning there'.

(12.10) a. **ekmagkaxneykxek** makham yegmen
ek-magkaxney-kx-ek makham yegmen
1SG-request-DUP-DECL still water
'I am asking for water again'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **ekmagkaxénwakxeyk** axta yegmen
ek-magkaxen-wa-kx-eyk =axta yegmen
1SG-request-ARR-DUP-DECL =TC:PST water
'I asked for water when I got back there'

Formally, this affix is *-wa'*, but can have a number of surface allomorphs, but these are generally predictable based on regular phonological processes. For example, when occurring after the valency increaser *-es* or an *s*-final verb base, the [w] assimilates to [s], and there is an additional [s] instead of the [w]. Because of the reduction of [aya] to [e]

	First time	Returning
'Here', Deictic Center	*-wa'* [ARR]	*-wakt* [ARR+CISL]
'There', Away from Deictic Center	*-wokm* [ARR+TERM]	*-wakx* [ARR+DUP]

Table 12.5: The symmetrical components of the associated motion system

discussed in as in §3.4.3, this leads to minimal pairs of verbs in the causative infinitive with the ARR marked only by the distinction between [-o] and [-e], as in (12.11a) versus (12.11b). Most allomorphy, however, concerns alternations between *-wa'*/*-wak*/*-wey*/*-wá* which are regular based on the phonological behaviors of coda glottal stops (§2.4.4).

(12.11) a. negaqlasso
neg-aql-as-**so**
1PL.PART-cloth.cover-VAL-NM:PV
'to cover something with cloth'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. negaqlasse
neg-aql-as-**se**
1PL.PART-cloth.cover-VAL-ARR.NM:PV
'to cover something with cloth upon arriving here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Aside from the fact that the morpheme *can* occur as an independent root, there is evidence that it continues to function as such when combined with another verb stem — indicating that this is not just a suffix but in fact something more like an incorporated verb. First, it occurs to the immediate right of the verb root, before the temporal indefinite (TI) morpheme, as in (12.12). None of the other directional morphemes occur between the base and the TI morpheme, with the exception of lexicalizations (see 3.6). The only other stem forming morphology which typically occurs to the inside of the TI morpheme is the valency increaser *-es* (§11.2), which has effects on the semantic argument structure or number of conceptual participants associated with the verb event. As described below in §12.3, this *-wa'* suffix also appears to have important implications for the semantic argument structure or participants structure of the verb.

(12.12) negápxegweykekxa'

neg-apxeg-wey-k-ekx-a'
1PL.PART-jump-ARR-TI-DUP-NM:PV

'to jump over something upon arrive back at a place'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Finally, although it is highly productive, there are a handful of stems formed with the *wa'* suffix which are not really semantically compositional. For example, when added to *-tey-* 'fall', it means to crash into something or to hit something, as in (12.13), and does not mean 'fall upon arriving'. We could imagine a previous compositional semantics for this, like 'X falls when Y arrives at it', but this no longer indicated by the pronominal prefixes used with this verb stem. However, the lexicalization of applicative stems such that their original semantic argument structure becomes obscured or convoluted is not so uncommon in the language (see §11.2).

(12.13) exagkok elhaxtamaha, hakte **tegwa'awo'** exchahayam

e-xagkok el-haxtam-aha // hakte teg-wa'-awo'
1SG.POSS-house 1SG.DIST-encircle-AMB.SCND // because FALL-ARR-INTS.DECL
exchahayam
north.wind

'I'm filling in the holes in the walls of my house, since the wind is crashing into it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

12.2.2 Duplicative *-akx*

The suffix *-akx*, here labeled the duplicative[2], signifies that the event or state implied by the lexical root is occurring again. With more stative verbs, it means that the state being described is one the experiencer has been in before, and is returning to, as in (12.14a), or with other types of action verbs, it can simply mean that the event is happening again for a second time, like in (12.14b), and the marker is simply a repetitive marker.

(12.14) a. *Context: returning to a beehive where the bees had previously swarmed the speaker*
apwanmeyakxeyk
ap-wanmey-**akx**-eyk
M-silent-DUP-DECL
'They've calmed back down'

EDP enx025 31:58

b. **kentákxok** makham nanók éntamákxa
k-ent-**akx**-ok makham nanók e-ent-am-akxa
F-break-DUP-DECL still old F.PART-break-TI-NM:OB
'The part that I broke a long time ago broke again.'

[2]In Unruh et al. (2003, p. 293–95), the Enenlhet use of cognate of this suffix, *-kh*is labeled the *repetitivo* 'repetitive', and the form with the associated motion and the duplicative is labeled the *locativo perventivo* 'locative preventive'. He recognizes that the same suffix *-kh* is used in both but uses different labels for the two uses. I identify these as two uses of the same suffix, which I label using a name for a similar suffix in Cherokee in the description in Montgomery-Anderson (2015).

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **mameyákxeyk** makham
mamey-akx-eyk makham
rain-AGAIN-DECL again
'It's raining again'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **chátekxe'**
ch-at-ekx-e'
F-hot-DUP-DECL
'It's hot again.'

With verbs of motion or with the associated motion *-wa'-* discussed above, the duplicative indicates 'return back to a place already visited or known', but away from the speaker, as in the examples in (12.15). This is in contrast both to the cislocative 'return here' and the terminative 'arrive somewhere else for the first time'.

(12.15) a. *Context: talking about going on cattle drives back and forth across the Chaco*
anteyenwakxak axta
an-teyen-w-akx-ak =axta
1PL.IRR-sleep-ARR-DUP-NM:PO =TC:PST
'We would sleep when we got back there'

EDP enx047 22:35

b. *Context: Referring to a path in the forest*
antakhok makham, yaqwayam sa' **antepwakxek** makham mók nekha
an-taqh-ok makham // yaqwayam =sa'
1PL.IRR-return-INTS.POT still // for =TC:FUT
an-tep-wa-kx-ek makham mók nekha
1PL.IRR-emerge-ARR-DUP-POT still F.other F.side
'We will head back again, so that we can reemerge when we get to the other side'

EDP enx009 21:06

c. *Context: In a story about a battle, a fallen warrior tells his friend..*
Exeg sata, **eltennágwakxa** sat, hegya'áwak sat apnámokkok
e-xeg =sata // el-tennág-wa-kx-a' =sat //
M.IRR-go =TC:FUT // M.IRR-tell-ARR-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT //
heg-ya'áw-ak =sat ap-námokkok
1PL.PAT.IRR-arrive.purpose-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.POSS-other.PL
'Go! Tell them [what happened] when you arrive, your kin will come for us

López Ramírez (1996)

Like basically all of the stem forming morphology, there is a great deal of lexical specification and lexicalization of this suffix, and many of its uses do not necessarily have either the 'again' or the 'return' semantics. For example, the base *-ene'* 'stand' is typically used as something like a locational copula for plants (i.e. 'it is in the forest'), and can also be used to speak of people standing up, although typically it refers to groups of people. It is therefore a generally monadic verb with a single participant, which is indicated by the pronominal prefix. However, the duplicative form of this base, *-enekx-* or *-eneykekx-* (TI form, see §3.5), has a meaning of 'to plant a plant', and therefore is dyadic, and it is the planter rather than the planted which is indicated by the pronominal prefix, as in (12.16). This alternation vis a vis the base *-ene'-* does not seem to have a semantically transparent explanation, unless we consider the possibility of a world view in which a plant is not individuated but instead all individual plants of the same kind are instantiations of the same single plant (which seems entirely plausible), in which case, planting something would be making it stand again. This does not, however, account for the apparently applicative nature or the suffix here which normally does not hold.

(12.16) *Context: I explained to my consultant that in Hawai'i, we don't grow yerba mate but we do grow coffee, and I asked him to translate that*
magkeneykekxak ka'a, **negkeneykekxeyk** cafe saxma

m-agk-eney-k-ekx-ak ka'a // negk-eney-k-ekx-eyk cafe saxma
NEG-1PL.IRR-plant-TI-DUP-SCND yerba.mate // 1PL-plant-TI-DUP-DECL coffee here

'We don't plant yerba mate, we plant coffee here'

Skype 6.20.2020

The form of this suffix is *-akx* and its morphophonological patterning is generally quite regular. A sample paradigm with the base *-wa'-* 'arrive' is given in (12.6)

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
-wa'- + DUP	apwakxeyk	apwakxak	ewakxak
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
ewakxa	apwákxo	apweykxa'	apweykxexa

Table 12.6: Forms of the base *-wa'-* 'arrive' with the duplicative, meaning 'arrive there again'

Formally, this suffix does have some occasional irregularities, most of which appear to result from analogic adjustments in relation to the cislocative suffix *-t*. These two suffixes, the duplicative and cislocative, are somewhat opposites, being mutually exclusive of each other and having contrastive 'returning there' and 'returning here' semantics, respectively, when occurring with the associated motion *-wa'* suffix. Their morphological behaviors produce alternations which give the appearance of a [kx] vs. [kt] distinction. For example, in the imperfective form, there is the near minimal pair *sekwákxo* vs. *sekwakto*, but the [k] in the latter is part of the root *-wa'-*, whereas in *sekwákxo*, the glottal stop of *-wa'-* leads to an underlying string //wa'-akx//, which predictably reduces to a

long [a:] (§2.4.4). In fact, some consultants give *sekwa'akxo* as an alternative from of *sekwákxo*. Similarly, the temporal indefinite form of the imperfective of the two suffixes is quite different, as in *sekweykto* vs. *sekweykekxo*. However, the perfective forms actually form a [kt] vs. [kx] minimal pair, as in *sekweykta'* vs. *sekweykxa'*. The latter form, based on the rules of forming the perfective from the temporal indefinite (§3.4.3), ought to be **sekweykekxa'*, and in fact with most other verb roots, like *-met-* 'dig', we see such a formal difference between the DUP.NM:PV form *negmétaweykekxa* and the CISL.NM:PV form *negmétaweykta*.

There appears to be some limited ability for this suffix to be iterative, or applied multiple times to a single verb, in order to use both the associated motion and temporal 'again' semantics simultaneously, as in (12.17). This is very rare, and its productivity and acceptability among speakers needs further confirmation. There are other verbal stem morphemes, namely the valency increaser *-es* (§11.2) which can be applied iteratively in this way.

(12.17) [*Context: In a story about cattle drives between Makxawaya and Concepción*]
bueno **negwakxeykxek** Makxawé... penchesaxchek makham wey

bueno neg-w-**akx**-ey-**kx**-ek Makxawé // ø-penches-axch-ek makham
good 1PL-arrive-DUP-TI-DUP-DECL Makxawaya // F-finished-MID-DECL still
wey
ox

'We returned again to Makxawaya, the oxen were all gone already'

EDP enx047 33:14

12.2.3 Cislocative *-t*

The directional suffix *-t* is labeled the CISLOCATIVE, as its primary and near exclusive function is to signal that some motion event or associated motion occurred heading towards or upon returning to the deictic 'here'. Unlike the other directional morphemes, it does not have any productive aspectual function, and always co-occurs with a marker of associated motion, either with the arrive marker *-wa'* or the complexive suffix, with which it forms a unit *-ánt*. A paradigm with the cislocative in the stem *-wakt-* 'arrive back here' is given in table 12.7. Note that the cislocative is never used with the oblique nominalization form[3].

Whenever the cislocative is used with *-wa'-* arrive, either in its capacity as a verb base or as an associated motion suffix, its meaning is always 'upon returning here', as in (12.18), in contrast to the semantics of the associated motion suffix *-wa'* on its own, which means 'upon arriving here for the first time'. This means, therefore, that the cislocative carries

[3]The incompatibility of the cislocative with the oblique nominalization is logical. The oblique nominalization typically (§15.5) denotes the place where the event indicated by the stem occurs, and since a stem with the cislocative always occurs 'here', there is no need for a nominalization which denotes the place the event occurs.

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
-wa'- + CISL	apwakteyk	apwaktak	ewatak
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
ewata	apwakto	apweykta'	*none*

Table 12.7: Forms of the root *-wa'-* with the cislocative suffix, meaning 'return here'

not only a deictic directional meaning, but also a temporal one, which is unusual cross-linguistically for associated motion systems (compare with other systems in the region in Guillaume 2016).

(12.18) a. pero **wakteyk** mámeye, ketsek mámeye, wakteyk, intonce kelántekkek yókx-oho planta

pero wak-t-eyk mámeye // k-ets-ek mámeye // wak-t-eyk //
but arrive-CISL-DECL rain // F-little-DECL rain // arrive-CISL-DECL //
intonce kel-ántek-kek yókxoho planta
then F.DIST-emerge-DECL all plants

'but the rain returns... a little rain... it returns, then all of the plants come out'

EDP enx001 05:35

b. **atyenwatak** sa' apxagkok

a-tyen-wa-t-ak =sa' ap-xagkok
1SG.IRR-sleep-ARR-CISL-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.POSS-house

'I will come back to sleep at your house again'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. eltamhok **yaptegwatak** pa'at nekha exagkok

el-tamh-ok y-apteg-wa-t-ak pa'at nekha e-xagkok
1SG.DIST-desire-DECL M.IRR-pluck-ARR-CISL-NM:PO grass F.side 1SG.POSS-house

'I want you to come back and pull up all the grass next to my house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The cislocative can also have a directional meaning of 'towards the ground', as in (12.19). While in many cases this may simply be an extension of the deictic 'here' semantics (one's 'here' is more often than not on the ground), it can be used with this 'down' meaning in contexts exclusive of a 'here' reading', as is the case in (12.19). In this sense, the movement towards the ground may be related to the 'return' semantics.

(12.19) **Nextegantek** axta náxop máleg, chakhawók axta **ektégwakto** wégke apwáxok

nexteg-an-t-ek =axta ná-xop máleg // ch-aqh-awók =axta
jump.into-COMPL-CISL-DECL =TC:PST LOC-earth fox // F-kill-INTS.DECL =TC:PST
ek-tég-wak-t-o wégke ap-wáxok
F.PART-fall-ARR-CISL-NM:IP pot M.POSS-inside

'The fox jumped towards the ground, and fell right into the pot'

Schoolbook Grade 1

The cislocative can also occur with the complexive to create a second kind of *concurrent* associated motion event that is exclusive to this directional affix. While AM constructions formed with *-wa'-* are sequential associated motion events, with the associated movement occurring before to the primary verb event, the complexive with the cislocative describe a concurrent associated motion event meaning 'while coming back here'

(12.20) a. **élmeneynteyk** séxyekmo
elmen-ey-n-t-eyk se-exy-ekm-o
1SG.DIST-fear-COMPL-CISL-DECL 1SG.PART-return-TERM-NM:IP
'I was scared on my way back here.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **éltaháneynte'** celular ahagkok, xegkessek katyamok néten piso
el-tahaan-eyn-t-e' celular ahagkok // ø-xeg-kes-sek
1SG.DIST-over-COMPL-CISL-DECL cell.phone 1SG.POSS // F-go-VAL-DECL
ka-ty-am-ok neten piso
F.IRR-fall-TERM-NM:PO above floor
'I grabbed my phone, it almost fell to the ground'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **kelápogwáteynte'** aqta'ak camión
kel-apogwat-eyn-t-e' ø-aqta-'ak camion
F.DIST-alight-COMPL-CISL-DECL F.POS-eye-PL car
'the lights of the vehicles are approaching' (literally 'The headlights of the cars are shining as they come here')

We can see minimal pairs with the use of cislocative *-t* between concurrent associated motion with the complexive and sequential associated motion with *-wa'*, as in (12.21).

(12.21) a. Nélmeneykenta'
ne:l-meney-k-**en**-t-a'
1PL.PART.DIST-fear-TI-COMPL-CISL-NM:PV
'To feel fear while returning here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Nélmeneygweykta'
ne:l-meney-**gwey**-k-t-a'
1PL.PART.DIST-fear-ARR-TI-CISL-NM:PV

'To feel fear upon arriving back here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There are some slightly more metaphorical uses, like that in (12.22), with the verb *-maxaq-* 'be cool', in reference to the ambient temperature. This lacks motion (presumably, I am not so sure this is true from an Enxet perspective), but still presumably refers to some kind of deictic 'here'. Another possibility is that this is a temporal rather than spatial use of deixis.

(12.22) **kamaxqeyntak** sa'

ka-maxq-ey-n-t-ak =sa'
F.IRR-cool-TI-COMPL-CISL-NM:PO =TC:FUT

'it's going to get cold'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

12.2.4 Terminative *-m*

The verbal suffix *-m-* is here labeled the *terminative* suffix, since its semantic value most often has something to do with achievement of a particular goal or state, a completed activity, or some other kind of finality. A sample paradigm is given with the verb base *-wa'-* in table 12.8. The form of this suffix is *-m*, although it very often occurs as *-akm* or *-okm* due to a phonological process referred to here as the implicit glottal stop (§2.4.4). Note that it also has a fusional form in the perfective.

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
-wa'-+TERM	apwokmek	apwokmok	emmok
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Oblique Nom.
ewom	apwokmo	apwayam	apwanxa

Table 12.8: Forms of the root *-wa'-* with the terminative suffix, meaning 'to arrive at a new place'

With verb bases that have fairly stative semantics, like 'red' or 'muddy' in (12.23), it simply denotes that the subject has achieved that state.

(12.23) a. **yelpakmo'** xapop

yelpak-m-o' xapop
muddy-TERM-DECL earth

'the ground has become muddy'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **yexwasakmek** xeyk sekxatakha'a

yexwasak-m-ek =xeyk sek-xatakha'-a
red-TERM-DECL =TC:HOD 1SG.PART-get.up-NM:IP

'I got up at the crack of dawn', literally 'It [the sky] had become red as I was waking up'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. Agkok atawa' ápetek, **mayaqkanmek** chá'a
agkok a-taw-a' a-apetek // m-a-yaqkan-m-ek cha'a
TC:COND 1SG.IRR-eat-SCND F.POSS-meat // NEG-1SG.IRR-full-TERM-SCND always

'If I don't eat meat, I don't feel full'

EDP enx045 19:08

With verbs that are more telic in their semantics, involving changes of state, the terminative denotes arriving at the end point of the change of state denoted by the verb, as in (12.24). For example, the terminatve form of the base *-wane'-* 'to grow' acts like a stative verb 'be old' but is compositionally something more like 'grow to the end (old age)'.

(12.24) a. háxko **apxeganamxa**?
háxko ap-xegan-am-xa
where M.PART-lost-TERM-NM:OB

'Where did you lose it?', literally 'the place where it became lost is where'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **apwanakmek**, la'a elpaqhawà nak apmáxempenák
ap-wanak-m-ek // la'a el-paqhaw-à =nak ap-máxempenák
M-GROW-TERM-DECL // TC:DUB F.PART.DIST-dent-NM:PV =TC:VIS M.POSS-cheeks

'He is old, that's why his cheeks are sunken'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Other verbs which involve motion, as in (12.25) can take a range of meanings with the terminative. In (12.25a), it denotes coming as far as one plans to go, and therefore the end of the planned range of motion. In (12.25b), it appears to suggest that the circling of the town by the planes is one or many complete circles. In (12.25c), the 'follow' verb with the terminative suggests 'coming with something to its final destination'.

(12.25) a. **sekmeyamxa** ahagko' se'e
sek-mey-am-xa =ahagko' =se'e
1SG.PART-head.to-TERM-NM:OB =1SG.DEG =PROX

'I've come this far and no further

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. *Context: Two war planes are circling the city of Concepción during the Chaco War*
haxyegkekmek ma'a Concepción takhapxet tegma
haxyeg-kek-m-ek =ma'a Concepción takhapxet tegma
circle-TI-TERM-DECL =DMSTR Concepción M.above building
'They circled Concepción above the buildings'
NNE190 03:01

c. **ekyetleyekmoho** agkoya axta so axát'ak nak
ek-yetley-k-m-oho =agko =ya =axta =so axát'ak
F.PART-follow-TI-TERM-INTS.NM:IP =TC:F.DEG =TC:Q =TC:PST =PROX cord
=nak
=TC:VIS
'Did the cord come with it (referring to a machine)'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

When the terminative occurs with *-wa'-* 'arrive', either as a verb base or an associated motion suffix, it means 'arrive there for the first time', in contrast to the associated motion use of the duplicative *-akx* which typically means 'return there'. For example, (12.26a) comes from a description of the speaker's trip to visit an indigenous community in Guatemala, a place he had never been before, and so the speaker uses the terminative when talking about arriving there.

(12.26) a. **ekwokmek** axta Guatemala indigena apchókxa
ek-wok-m-ek =axta Guatemala indigena ap-chókxa
1SG-arrive-TERM-DECL =TC:PST Guatemala indigenous M.PART-country
'I got to the indigenous Guatemalan's territory'
EDP enx009 04:55

b. **Aplegágwokmok** axta pók ektahakxa ekpáweygkya'a kamok áwa
ap-legag-wok-m-ok =axta pok ek-tah-akxa
M-hear-ARR-TERM-DECL =TC:PST M.other F.PART-be-NM:OB
ek-pawey-gkya'-a kamok a-awa
F.PART-noise-AMB-NM:IP rush F.POSS-leaves
'Upon arriving there he heard the rustling of the rush leaves.'
López Ramírez (1996)

c. **apkelxegakmek** kélenmexma ekpayho nexcheyha
apkel-xeg-**akm**-ek kel-enmex-ma ek-payh-o
M.DIST-GO-TERM-DECL 2PL.PART-oppose-NM:PV F.PART-situate-NM:IP
n-excheyha
LOC-north.wind

'Your enemies are heading north' (literally 'those that you watch (enemies) are heading to where the north wind is located')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The verb stem *-wokm-*, *-wa'-* with the terminative, is used when counting up to a certain number. In (12.27a), the use of *-wokm-* refers to having *arrived* at 30 years since the adoption of apiculture in the community. Similarly, (12.27b) comes from a story where a boy fights off a number of *tamayawhan* demons, and *-wokm-* is used to show the current number of demons killed.

(12.27) a. wa' keso año, **wokmek** ko'onek casi treinta año yetneyk negko'o colmena
wa' keso año // wok-m-ek =ko'onek casi treinta año yetneyk
so this year // arrive-TERM-DECL I.THINK almost thirty year EXIST
negko'o colmena
1PL bee.colony
'so, this year, I think it's been almost thirty years we've had bee colonies'

EDP enx007 08:47

b. **wokmek** axta cinco apkelnapma tamayawhan
wok-m-ek =axta cinco apkel-nap-ma tamayawhan
arrive-TERM-DECL =TC:PST five M.DIST.PART-kill.many-NM:PV demon
'There were five demons that they killed'

EDP enx006 05:20

Like the cislocative, it is often used expressions meaning 'fall' or 'trip', indicating that one falls all the way to the ground, as in (12.28).

(12.28) a. **etlápegwom**!
e-tlap-egwo-m
M.IRR-trip-ARR-TERM
'Fall down!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekyetlókokxek yatnaxeg **sekteyekmo**
ek-yetl-ok-okx-ek yatnaxeg **sek-teyek-m-o**
1SG-follow-INTS-DUP-DECL horse 1SG.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP
'I fell down with my horse' (literally 'I followed my horse when I fell')

Notes 8-20-18

From a diachronic perspective, this //-m// suffix might have been grammaticalized more recently than the previously mentioned directionals, most clearly seen in the infinitive form *sekwayam* //sek-way-a-m//, in which the //-m// occurs at the right edge of the verb, ostensibly outside of the actual NM:PV marker. That said, this is formally true of this same form in all EE languages, so it is not a terribly recent innovation unique to Enxet Sur.

12.2.5 Ambulative *-ha*

The final motion suffix is referred to here as the *ambulative*[4]. Although it is one of the more idiosyncratic affixes in the language, and its semantic value relative to the semantics of the base are often quite lexically specific to individual bases, its primary productive function is to express a type of spatial iterativity, in other words, it indicates that the action marked by the verb root occurs multiple times and typically in multiple places and in separate occasions. Compare the non-ambulative use of the base *-empa'-* 'fly' in (12.29a) to its use with the ambulative in (12.29b-12.29c).

(12.29) a. **kempa'ak** ekpaqneyam semheg ápak
k-empa'-ak ek-paqney-am semheg a-apak
F-fly-DECL F.PART-mist-TERM.NM:PV dog F.POSS-corpse
'The stench of the dog carcass wafted over.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kempáha** seleklek
k-empa-ha seleklek
F-fly-AMB.DECL butterfly
'The butterfly is flying'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **champeykha** axta eyke aqsa néten xa kágqag nak

ch-**ampey**-**kha** =axta =eyke aqsa neten =xa kagqag =nak
F-fly-TI.AMB.DECL =TC:PST =TC:ASR just above =DMSTR raven =TC:VIS
'But the raven flew back and forth above the earth.'

Formally, this suffix is unusual — a table of the seven basic forms of the stem *-m-*+AMB, meaning 'to use' or 'having as one goes about', is given in table 12.9. In the declarative, second position, potential, and perfective forms, there is essentially a suppletive *-ha* form of the ambulative that supplants any semblance of the basic declarative, second position, potential, or perfective suffixes, respectively. With the imperfective, its form is typically

[4]In Unruh et al. (2003), the cognate Enenlhet suffix is referred to as the *extensivo* 'extensive'. I took the name *ambulative* from the description of a very semantically similar morpheme in Cherokee in Montgomery-Anderson (2015)

-ancha'a or *-egkya'a* based on dialectical variation, which maintains the *-a* of many imperfective forms. In the oblique nominalization, it appears to be represented by a *-egk* string, making it essentially homophonous with the complexive oblique nominalization. It may generally suffice to say that this suffix is highly phonologically fused with the various grammatical suffixes, although the alternations between forms like *-ha*, *-ancha'*, and *-egk* do fit the general profile of glottal stop segments (§2.4.4), although precise synchronic phonological rules likely do not derive these forms.

Stem	Declarative	Second	Potential
-m- + AMB	apmaha	apmaha	emha
Imperative	Imperfective	Perfective	Obl. Nom.
—	apmancha'a	apmeykha	apmeyegkaxa

Table 12.9: Forms of the base *-m-* 'have' with the ambulative suffix, meaning 'to use'

The spatial iterativity of this suffix, that the main verb event happens in several different places, can take a number of different forms, and they do not all necessarily involve an actor physically moving around in space. In (12.30a), the verb stem *-elqeyn-* 'to carry under the arms' refers to a single, presumably static, carrying event, while with the ambulative form in (12.30b) there is motion implied.

(12.30) a. [Hypothetical context: getting on a bus] yenát apmonye', **alqeynchesek** sa' apketchek

y-enat ap-monye' // a-l-qeyn-ches-ek =sa'
M.IRR-mount M-before // 1SG.IRR-DIST-carry.under.arm-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT
ap-ketchek
M.POSS-child

'You go up first, I'll hold your kids under my arms for you'

b. **élqeynaha** sakcha'a

el-qeyn-aha sakcha'a
1SG.DIST-carry.under.arm-AMB.DECL child

'I carry the children around under my arms.'

The verb stem *-paknam-* has a complex of meanings relating to actions with the hands. By itself, it is often used for fishing or catching insects by hand, as in (12.31a). With the AMB in (12.31b), it is used to refer to a doctor touching various parts of a patients body as part of an examination. Therefore, the actor is not moving around doing something in different places, but instead is performing the action indicated by the verb at multiple different points within a small spatial range.

(12.31) a. akpog **ekpaknamak**

akpog ek-paknam-ak
snail 1SG-touch-SCND

'I'm catching snails by hand.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **elpaknamha** negyókxa pánaqte egyap
el-paknam-ha neg-yokxa panaqte eg-yap
M.IRR.DIST-touch-AMB.NM:PO 1PL-body medicine 1PL.POSS-father
'The doctor examines our body by hand'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Motion, regardless of its range, is not always a given with the ambulative, and with some verb bases it denotes an action happening many places at once, as in (12.32a). In (12.32b), 'drawing a picture' is rendered with the ambulative, which may have something to do with the idea that drawing involves multiple discrete actions in different parts of a page.

(12.32) a. **kelméteyha** nak la'a yókxexma nekha ruta
kel-métey-ha =nak =la'a yókxexma nekha ruta
DIST-burn-AMB.DECL =TC:VIS =TC:DUB country F.side road
'there are a lot of little fires dotted along the side of the road'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. [Context: In a school text book above a blank page for drawing]
Kólékmásesha xama tét yetlo ekyéxna
kol-ekmas-es-ha xama tét yetlo ek-yexn-a
2PL.IRR-copy-VAL-AMB one viñal with F.PART-fruit-NM:PV
'Draw a viñal tree with its fruit'

Schoolbook Grade 1

In the sense of repetitive action which the ambulative sometimes indicates, the time scale of the repetition can be quite variable, and can refer either to a single event or to more habitual action, dependent upon the context. For example, the stem *-palle'-* 'fall' is used for a number of bodily functions, including urinating and spitting. With the ambulative suffix, *ekpalleykha* can have a range of meanings depending upon which bodily function is being referred to. *Ekpalleykha yegmen egagkok* (literally 'The repeated falling of our water') refers to a constant need to urinate, or a weak bladder, while *ekpalleykha egyamánog* ('the constant falling of our spit') means to drool, as a single event and not necessarily a recurring condition.

Like the complexive (§10.3) with which it has some semantic overlap, the ambulative can be used to indicate plurality of semantic arguments, although further study is needed to determine the regularity of this.

(12.33) galletitas **éxeyha**
galletitas ey-exey-ha
cookies 1SG-sell-AMB.DECL

'I'm selling cookies'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The semantic addition or modification this suffix confers on bases is sometimes very lexically specific and the semantic compositionality is not terribly transparent. Some examples are given in table 12.10. Like many stem-forming affixes, it is often unclear if a specific, routinized meaning for a particular base-suffix combination does or does not exclude other interpretation which might be more semantically transparent.

Root/base	Meaning	AMB.NM:PV form	Meaning
-apt-	to pluck, uproot	negapteykha	pulling up plants one by one
-aqh-	to kill	negaqheykha	to give a beating
-aqkahas-	to honk at	negaqkahassaseykha	to honk at several times
-aqn-	stand (plural)	negaqneykha	to be gathered in a group, standing
-aqxeg-	to move	negaqxegeykha	to change location
-tasqap-	to pierce, stab	nentasqapeykha	to walk with a crutch (pierce the ground)

Table 12.10: Semantic modifications with the ambulative

12.3 AM and participant structure

The relation between the semantic argument structure of a lexical verb and that of its associated motion event is not always straightforward. Like the valency increaser *-es*, there is some evidence that the associated motion marker *-wa'* has significant effects on semantic argument structure, with the ability to have multiple different alignments between the participant structure of the arrive event and the main verb event.

In the large majority of cases, the S argument of the associated motion event is identical to S/A argument of the head verb. For example, in (12.34), *apyáp* 'your father' is both the A argument of the head verb *-eyx-* and the S argument of the associated motion.

(12.34) **apkeleyxwa'ak** xeyk apyáp **so**

apk-el-eyx-wa'-ak =xeyk ap-yap =so
M-DIST-wait-ARR-DECL =TC:HOD M.POSS-father =PROX

'your father came here to wait for you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, the S/A s-argument of the main verb does not align with the S/A s-argument of the motion event. For example, in (12.35), the participant indicated by the pronominal prefix is the first person and the main verb event is reprsented by *-wetas-* 'to find for someone'. The motion marked by the 'arrival' suffix is not associated with this 'finding', but rather is a separate agentive action by the benefactor of the verb.

(12.35) **ekwetásse'ek** xeyk aptamheykha

ek-wet-**ás**-se'-ek =xeyk ap-tamh-eykha
1SG-see-VAL-ARR-DECL =TC:HOD =TC:PST M.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV

'I found work for him when he got here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (12.36), the main verb base *-pey-* 'spread out' is part of a common compound *ekpayheykekxa' egwaxok* 'the spreading out of our innermost', which Enxet speakers most commonly translate as 'happiness'. The verb in this example is causative, and therefore the *agent* is Peter and the *patient* is *ewaxok* 'my innermost'. However, the associated motion on the verb, a combination of the ARR and CISL suffixes, indicates a motion event taken by the first person 'I', a motion event re-iterated analytically with the latter temporal clause *sekwakto exagkok* 'when I returned home'. However, the first person 'subject' or agent of the motion event indicated by the associate motion on the verb is not part of the semantic argument structure of the main lexical verb — it is not even indicated by the single pronominal prefix slot, as the hierarchical selection process normally dictates (§5.2.3).

(12.36) **appeykessa'akteyk** ewaxok Pedro sekwakto exagkok

ap-pey-kes-sa'ak-t-eyk e-waxok Pedro
M-spread.out-VAL-ARR-CISL-DECL 1SG.POSS-innermost Pedro
sek-wak-t-o e-xagkok
1SG.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP 1SG.POSS-house

'Pedro made me happy when I got back home'

Skype Notes 10-4-19

In (12.37a), the base *-teyg-* 'fall' is not known to be dyadic, normally having a single semantic argument. However, here, there is pronominal marking of a first person patient, which indicates a semantic goal argument of the associated motion event. Similarly, in (12.37b), *xama anmenáto* 'a drunkard' is the goal of an associated motion event, but receives no indication on the verb.

(12.37) a. etyegwakteyk ko'o meteymog

e-tyeg-wak-t-eyk ko'o meteymog
1SG.PAT-fall-ARR-CISL-DECL 1SG stone

'A rock fell on me'

Skype Notes

b. xama anmenáto **kesagwokmok** ámay

xama anmenáto k-esag-wok-m-ok ámay
one drunkard F-dawn-ARR-TERM-SCND road

'A drunkard was sleeping in the road until dawn', literally 'It dawned arriving upon the drunkard, in the road'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (12.38), the associated motion suffix *-wokm* [ARR+TERM] indicates a change of state in the patient, rather than agent. Although the verb stem in this instance, *-lek-* 'emit' has somewhat ambiguous participant roles and semantics, the *agent* or *experiencer* of the two verb roots is different based on the pronominal marking at the beginning of the verb.

(12.38) eklekwokmo'

ek-lek-wok-m-o'
1SG-release-ARR-TERM-INTS.DECL

'I persuaded him.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In some rather remarkable cases, the head verb and associated motion appear to have no overlapping arguments whatsoever. In (12.39a), the feminine S argument of the verb stem *-exchaha-* 'north wind blows' is marked in the pronominal prefix, but the associated motion has a second person singular masculine S argument. The only way we could argue for overlap between the argument structure of the two events is if *xép* 'you (M)' is somehow a patient of the 'wind blows' verb, but there is no indication that this verb can take a second semantic argument, absent of the applicative effect of the associated motion suffix.

(12.39) a. **kaxchahagwok** sa' xép

ka-xchahag-w-ok =sa' xép
F.IRR-north.wind-ARR-NM:PO =TC:FUT 2SG.M

'You will arrive with the wind blowing against you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **kettawónegwákxeyk** sekxegakxa

k-ettawóneg-**wá-kx**-eyk sek-xeg-akxa
F-deep-ARR-DUP-DECL 1SG.PART-GO-NM:OB

'the water became deeper as I went there'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In (12.39b), the main verb means 'deepen', again with no possibility of a second s-argument, and the agent of the associated motion event is the first person 'I', as indicated by the redundant analytical element *sekxegakxa* 'in my going there'. However, unlike

(12.37a) above, where a first person goal of the associate motion event is indicated by a first person patient pronominal prefix, there is no indication of the first person agent of the associated motion event in *kettawónegwákxeyk*.

12.4 Directions for Further Research

Associated motion's effects on and interactions with semantic argument structure and the indication of participants is very interesting in Enxet Sur, and stands to contribute significantly to the typology of Associated Motion. The AM systems of some languages involve different morphology to indicate explictly the relationship between the participants of the primary verb event and those of the AM event. Enxet Sur lacks such explicit indicators, but, as the data here suggests, such relationships in the participant structure of multiple events encoded within a single verb do effect pronominal prefixes and interact in interesting ways with the hierarchical argument selection process.

Furthermore, Dir/AM morphology almost certainly figures heavily into information structure and reference tracking in discourse, and it would be of typological value to study more closely the ways that speakers employ Dir/AM morphology to this end.

Part VI

Complex operations

Chapter 13

The Noun Phrase

13.1 Overview of Noun Phrases

The noun phrase (NP) can be defined cross-linguistically in a number of ways. Krasnoukhova (2012, p. 13), in her study of noun phrases in South American indigenous languages, defines the NP using the three following criteria:

- an NP is a series of words with a noun as its central constituent
- it behaves as a single syntactic unit
- it functions as an argument in a sentence

I have explained my views on the complications of using the notion of 'grammatical argument' to describe the function of Enxet Sur nouns in §5.1. In place of Krasnoukhova's third criteria, I would instead define the Enxet Sur NP based on its ability to act as a dependent of a clausal PREDICATE rather than as an "argument" in particular, keeping in mind that any kind of noun or NP would also be able to serve as a clausal PREDICATE by itself.

As for the second criterion, Enxet Sur syntax provides a single basic test (with a couple of variations) for the syntactic cohesion of a possible NP: can it appear as a unit in a pre-TAME position, either as a nominal PREDICATE (§5.2.1) or as the focus element in dependent focus construction (§5.2.4). The examples in (13.1) show complex NPs in this position.

(13.1) *Complex NPs in pre-TAME positions, either as focus elements or nominal predicates*

a. **profesora ahagkok** axta Señorita Juana
   profesora ahagkok =axta Señorita Juana
   teacher 1SG.POSS =TC:PST Señorita Juana
   'Señorita Juana was my teacher'

EDP enx038

b. **Xama wégke apwanyam** axta pekenák néseksa taxa...

xama wegke ap-wany-am =axta ø-pekken-ak neseksa taxa
one pot M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV =TC:PST F-place-SCND amidst fire
'He placed a large pot in the fire

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c. hakte **énxet'ák menaqtawáseykha aqsok** axta m'a
hakte e:nxet-'ák m-e-naq-tawas-eykha
because man-PL NEG-M.IRR-PL.ABS-control/contest-ABOUT.PART
aqsok=axta=m'a
thing=TC:PST=DMSTR
'... because they were trustworthy men.' (literally 'Because they were men who did not fight over things')

EDP enx039

d. **termo ahagkok** ekwakta', sekyense axta
termo ahagkok ek-w-akt-a' // sek-yens-e =axta
thermus 1SG.POSS 1SG-arrive-RH-SCND // 1SG.PART-dispense-INF =TC:PST
'I've come to look for my thermus, the one I left here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **pók énxet** sa' eyaqmagkasek
pók énxet =sa' e-yaqmagkas-ek
other.M man =TC:FUT M.IRR-pay-NM:PO
'Another man will pay you'

EDP enx047 23:68

Despite constructions like these in Enxet Sur, Kalisch (2009, p. 136) suggests that there is no such thing as a complex noun phrase in closely related Enlhet Norte, and that words which provide additional information about a nominal referent (adjectives, quantifiers, etc.) are always appositional — Kalisch has told me (pc) that in his view, where multiple words act as a unit with the appearance of a complex noun phrase in Enlhet Norte, these are lexicalized compounds. Such an analysis would not be so out of step with regional trends, as several Indigenous languages in Lowland South America appear to not make use of a complex NP, according to the review of available descriptions in Krasnoukhova (2012).

While the examples in (13.1) provide fairly solid evidence for the existence of the productive complex NP in Enxet Sur, Kalisch's characterization of Enlhet Norte seems plausible as representing a conservative, ancestral pattern in Enxet Sur, based on a number of features of nouns and the ways nominal referents are used and specified in discourse.

There are no nominal determiners in Enxet Sur (§7.5), leaving only quantifying expressions, adjectives, elements of possession, and deverbal nominalizations (functional equivalents of relative clauses, §15.1) to act as dependent modifiers of nouns. However,

every single one of these elements which can co-occur with a noun can also occur independently and function as the head of an NP on its own. Given the ways that lexical nouns can also be used as modifiers of a head noun in quantifying expressions (see §13.3 below), it seems entirely plausible that the basis of the complex noun phrase in Enxet Sur is a series of co-referential nominal expressions which have been reinterpreted as a single cohesive unit.

The only element in noun phrases which would not function as a co-referential expression with the head noun would be the possessor of a possessed noun, although, as described below, there is reason to question the degree to which the possessor nouns function as part of the noun phrase.

enx041 yetneyk ketcheyetsek nelxegexma

The fact that nouns and erstwhile dependents are semantically like co-referential nouns leads to the appearance of "discontinuous noun phrases". A noun phrase might be considered discontinuous when material assumed to be part of it "are separated from each other by intervening material that does not belong to the noun phrase" (Maier, 2015, p. 4). For example, in (13.2), *axáye' ekxega* 'the one that goes later' might be seen as somehow modifying *colectivo* 'bus', and the whole "noun phrase" means 'the bus that goes later'.

(13.2) **axáye' ekxega** sa' aleyxek **colectivo**

[[axáye' ek-xeg-a] =sa' a-l-eyx-ek] [colectivo]
[[later F.PART-go-NM:PV] =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-DIST-wait-NM:PO] [bus]

'I'm going to wait on the one that goes later, the bus'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Although discontinuous noun phrases of some form or another occur in many language families around the world (Fanselow and Féry, 2006), they figure prominently in the description of many languages in the Americas (Hastings, 2020, Payne, 1993) and in Australian aboriginal languages (Schultze Berndt and Simard, 2012, Louagie and Verstraete, 2016), often associated with other "non-configurational" syntactic features. Various treatments attempt to assert the underlying syntactic cohesion of discontinuous noun phrases in some of these languages. However, given the highly paratactic profile of Enxet Sur in general, and the fact that any possible modifier can also just be its own noun phrase and therefore its own nominal PREDICATE, it seems more likely that the appearance of a discontinuous noun phrase, like the further examples in (13.3), is just a by-product of the often paratactic but co-referential relationship between the elements of an erstwhile noun phrase.

(13.3) *Discontinuous "noun phrases"*

a. **apqátek** axta chá'a appathetchásak **pók**
apq-átek =axta chá'a ap-pathetch-ás-ak pók
M-head =TC:PST always M-hug-VAL-SCND other.M
'Each one grabbed *the head of the other*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Agwet: **Ekyexna** egwanchek anyenek **egmenek** segaqha enxoho hem
agwet // ek-yexn-a eg-wanch-ek an-yen-ek
yvy'a.root // F.PART-fruit-NM:PV 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-drink-NM:PO
e-egmenek seg-aqh-a =enxoho hem
F.POSS-juice 1PL.PAT.PART-kill-NM:IP =TC:CONJ sun
'Yvy'a: We can drink the *juice of its fruit* if we are thirsty [lit. 'if the sun is killing us']'

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c. máxa **yámet cedro** sa' etnehek yektog **élámha nak Líbano**
maxa yamet cedro =sa' e-tneh-ek y-ektog
like tree cedar =TC:FUT M.IRR-be-NM:PO M.IRR-grow.NM:PO
el-amh-a =nak Libano
F.PART.DIST-nm:ob.plant-NM:PV =TC:VIS Lebanon
'It will grow like a *cedar standing in Lebanon*'

Psalm 92 12

This chapter first describes the use of restrictive modifiers like adjectives and nominalizations which function like relative clauses in §13.2, followed by a description of quantifiers in §13.3, possessive constructions in §13.4, and some notes on what might constitute a nominal comopund in the language.

13.2 Property modifiers

Formally, property denoting or restrictive modifiers of a noun can be from one of four lexical word classes: 1) nominalized verbs, 2) true adjectives, 3) nominalized semiverbs, and 4) lexical nouns. Generally, all such modifiers occur after the noun and NOUN-MODIFIER is the unmarked order. Several examples are given in (13.4).

(13.4) a. apmeyákxeyk axta m'a **ságe étkok**
ap-meya-kx-eyk =axta =m'a sage e-etkok
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR lake F.STAT-little
'He went to the *little lake*'

EDP enx006 03:23

b. Apchágkek sakcha'a **kyáye apketkok**
apch-agk-ek sakcha'a kyaye apk-etkok
M-give-DECL child GOURD M.STAT-little
'They gave out *little gourds* to the children'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. Cháxa keñamak eyeyméxko nak chá'a kólyetmok **vino axnagkok** ma'a **yempehek axnagcha'ák** nak
cháxa k-eñam-ak ey-eyméxk-o =nak chá'a
that F-come.from-DECL F.PART-need-NM:IP =TC:VIS always
kól-yetm-ok vino a-xnagkok =ma'a yempehek
IMPR.IRR-pour.liquid-NM:PO wine F.STAT-new =DMSTR skin
a-xnagcha'-ák =nak
F.STAT-new =TC:VIS
'That is why new wine must be poured into new wineskins'

TA Luke 5:38

d. wakteyk axta **yegmen ekyáwe**
ø-wak-t-eyk =axta yegmen ek-yaw-e
F-arrive-CISL-DECL =TC:PST water F.PART-big-NM:PV
'The flood [big water] came'

EDP enx005 33:05

e. negyekxassáseykegkek sakcha'a ektawa enxoho **pánaqte ekmaso**
neg-yekx-as-sas-eyk-eg-kek sakcha'a ek-taw-a =enxoho
1PL-vomit-VAL-VAL-TI-COMPL-DECL child F.PART-eat-NM:IP =CONJ
panaqte ek-m-a-s-o
medicine F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV
'We make the children vomit if they eat a poisonous plant'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. **yelpa' ekyátekto**
yelpa' ek-yatek-to
mud F.PART-yellow-NM:PV
'yellow mud'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. yetneyk **kelasma étsapma**
yetneyk kelasma ey-etsap-m-a
EXIST fish F.PART-die-TI-NM:PV
'There are dead fish'

EDP enx005 32:55

h. Tekkek axta **negmasé ekmaso ekwesey negmase nelyephe**

ø-tek-kek =axta neg-mas-se ek-m-a-s-o
F-come.out-DECL =TC:PST 1PL.PART-deplete-NM:PV F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV
ek-wesey neg-mas-se nel-yeph-e
F.PART-name 1PL.PART-deplete-NM:PV 1PL.DIST.PART-swell-NM:PV

'There came a bad disease called smallpox [literally 'disease where we swell up']

López Ramírez (1996)

Where it appears that a modifier occurs before the noun it modifies, this usually means that the apparent modifiers is in fact the head of the NP. For example, in (13.5), *mók* appears to be a modifier 'another' of *moto* 'motorcycle'. However, *mók* is actually an irregular inalienably possessed noun 'its other/companion/kin' with a full paradigm (*emók*, *egmók*, *pók*), and so *moto ahagkok* is actually its possessor, thus making *mók* the head of the NP. See §13.3 for a similar treatment of quantifiers.

(13.5) amekxak sa' **mók moto ahagkok**

a-m-ekx-ak =sa' mók moto ahagkok
1SG.IRR-have-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT other.F motorcycle 1SG.POSS

'I will buy another motorcycle', literally 'I will buy my motorcycle's other'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In other cases, property words might occur before and adjacent to an NP, but as a PREDICATE to which the NP is a subject, as in (13.6).

(13.6) samma! **yetsek ekpaqneyam** mepa

samma // yets-ek ek-paqney-am mepa
stink // bitter-DECL F.PART-mist-TERM.NM:PV bat

'Ugh! The bat's stench is horrible'

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13.3 Numerals and quantification

This section describes the ways in which nominal number, through numerals and quantifiers, is expressed as part of the noun phrase, and also how some constructions which appear to present as quantifiers within the NP are not so. I use "quantifier" primarily as an indicator of semantic value, and it should not be taken as indicating a particular syntactic arrangement, since quantifiers in many languages are realized as dependent modifiers of a head noun.

In general, all Enxet Sur numerals and quantifiers are themselves nouns. They are not lexical nouns, but instead they are either nominalizations of verbs which have quantity

semantics, or they belong morphologically to the adjective class, whose members syntactically function like nouns and could be referred to as adjectival nouns. Furthermore, rather than quantifiers acting as dependent modifiers of a nominal head, the quantifier is the head of the noun phrase and the noun that it quantifies acts syntactically as a modifier of the quantifier — this is why quantifiers are always to the left of nouns while modifying adjectives or other dependent modifiers come to the right. In this way, there is consistent symmetry across all nominal modification types, with nominal heads to the left and their modifiers to the right (which itself mirrors the basic PREDICATE –COMPLEMENT order of the clause).

That quantifiers act as nominal heads with modifying nominal dependents is especially clear with items which have quantification semantics in some configurations but not in others. For example the adjectival noun *ketsék*[1] 'small, few' has a range of uses. In (13.7a[2]-13.7d) it occurs to the left of a lexical noun or nominalization and has apparent quantifying semantics. When occurring to the right of a noun, it instead indicates that the noun to its left is 'small', as in (13.7e-13.7g). A minimal pair of the two orders and their semantics can be seen in (13.7h). Without a co-occurring, coreferential noun, *ketsék* can be a PREDICATE as in (13.7i-13.7j), act as the s-argument of a lexical verb as in (13.7k), or act as a non-s-argument modifier of a PREDICATE as in (13.7l-13.7m).

(13.7) a. negwet'ak makham **ketsék yegmen** se'e
neg-wet'-ak makham **k-etsek yegmen** =se'e
1PL-see-DECL still F-few water =PROX
'We still see a little water here'

EDP enx009

b. wakteyk axta **ketsék mámeye**
wak-t-eyk =axta k-etsék mámeye
arrive-CISL-DECL =TC:PST F-small rain
'a little bit of rain came'

EDP enx002

c. eksekkenchessessa'akteyk xeyk **ketsék égmenek moto**
ek-sekkench-ess-es-sa'-akt-eyk =xeyk k-etsék a-yegmenek moto
1SG-drip-VAL-VAL-ARR-CISL-DECL =TC:HOD F-small F.POSS-water motorcycle
'I'll give you a little fuel when I come back here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

[1] *Ketsék* has the basic morphosyntactic qualities of an adjective — nominal distribution, stative first person pronominal prefixes, and an *-e'*/*-ek* ending — but it is morphologically irregular in other ways. This includes an unusual *-ey* plural element, as in *ketsék* 'small one' vs. *keyetsek* 'small ones', and an additional *et-* formative in the non-feminine forms, as in the masculine *apketchetsék*.

[2] Strictly speaking, in (13.7f), *ketsék* is not a dependent modifier but a distinct PREDICATE, as indicated by the attached TAME clitic. As described in the overview for this chapter, there is often ambiguity regarding whether a noun and coreferential adjective are in some dependency relationship when at the right edge of utterances, but if the adjective has a TAME clitic, this indicates apposition rather than syntactic cohesion.

d. maxta eyke kamak apwanmagko hakte yetneyk **ketsék apkelyetmeykha**
m =axta =eyke ka-m-ak ap-wanmagk-o hakte yetneyk
NEG =TC:PST =TC:ASR F.IRR-have-SCND M.PART-silent-NM:PV because EXIST
k-etsék apk-el-yetm-eykha
F-small M.PART-DIST-fill.liquid-AMB.NM:PV
'but he couldn't get his spirit be cause he had only a little bit of training' (*apkelyetmeykha* is literally 'his pouring a lot of liquid' which refers to the making of potions as a shaman is trained')

EDP enx006 08:41

e. yetneyk sekxegexma apketchetsék
yetneyk sek-xegexma apketch-etsék
EXIST 1SG.PART-companion M-small
'I have my little companion'

Skype 11.20.2019

f. ekpaqmetchesek ko'o xama **kelán'a ketsék** agko'
ek-paqmet-ches-sek ko'o xama **kelan'a k-etsek** =agko'
1SG-chat-VAL-DECL 1SG one woman F-small =F.DEG
'I'm talking to a very short woman'

Skype 11.20.2019

g. kelánexkok ságe, **ságe ketsék**
kel-án-exk-ok ságe // ságe k-etsék
DIST-make-MID-INTS.DECL lake // lake F-small
'All of this is lake, it's a small lake'

EDP enx009

h. agwethok kelasma, yetneyk **kelasma keyetsek**, yetneyk **ketsék kelasma'**, hawe elyawe
ag-wet-hok kelasma // yetneyk kelasma k-ey-etsek // yetneyk
1PL.IRR-see-INTS.NM:PO fish // EXIST fish F-PL-small // EXIST
k-etsék kelasma' // hawe el-yaw-e
F-small fish // NEG F.PART.DIST-large-NM:PV
'We see fish, there's some small fish, there's a few fish, they aren't big'

EDP enx009

i. *Context: talking about catching fish in nets*
keyetsek agke', egwanchek negko'o anyenyekxa'
k-ey-etsek =agke' // eg-wanch-ek negko'o an-yeny-ekx-a'
F-PL-small =TC:COND // 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL 1PL.IRR-toss-DUP-NM:PO
'if they are small ones, we can throw them away'

EDP enx002

j. magwahaxanmak cha'a sektamheykencha'a, **ketsék eykhe** sekxawe

ma-gwa-haxanm-ak cha'a sek-tamhey-kencha'a // k-etsék
NEG-1SG.IRR-obstacle-SCND always 1SG.PART-work-AMB.NM:IP // F-small
=eykhe sek-xaw-e
=TC:FRUST 1SG.PART-amass-NM:PV

'Although he paid me little, I worked nonetheless', literally 'I was not deterred in my working, though my earnings were small'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

k. *Context: talking about nátekhet, the native chili pepper*
kayehe', **ketsék** ampekkenek nento
ka-yehe' // k-etsék am-pekken-ek nen-t-o
F.IRR-strong.DECL // F-small 1PL.IRR-place-NM:PO 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV

'It's strong, we put a little bit in our food'

EDP enx001 10:46

l. egwayók negko'o **ketsék** exchahayam ekyennaqte
eg-way-ók negko'o k-etsék exchahayam ek-yennaqt-e
1PL.PAT-arrive-INTS.DECL 1PL F-small north.wind F.PART-strong-NM:PV

'The intense north wind affected us a little bit'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

m. ekpaqmetchessek ko'o **ketsék** kelán'a
ek-paqmetch-es-sek ko'o k-etsék kelán'a
1SG-chat-VAL-DECL 1SG F-small woman

'I'm talking for a little bit with the woman'

Skype 11.20.2019

The various uses of *ketsék* as a rightward dependent and as an independent NP by itself show that its basic meaning is 'small thing', and thus it functions like a quantifier in *ketsék yegmen* 'a small amount of water' because it acts as the nominal head 'a small amount' with *yegmen* 'water' as a dependent modifier.

This is not fundamentally different from the quantification of mass nouns in a language like English (i.e. 'a little bit of water') or languages which make use of numeral classifiers, like Japanese or Yucatec Maya. The quantifier in such constructions is the head of the noun phrase, and the quantified noun is a modifier there of. Mass nouns in a language like English or, arguably, all nouns in a language like Japanese are typically understood as designating 'substances' in opposition to individuated objects. This is somewhat similar to the fundamentally predicative nature of all Enxet Sur nouns, in that they do not fundamentally denote an object, but rather express the idea of 'being' of a certain type or form in the world.

The nominal analysis for quantifiers is also supported in some cases by the fact that numeral or quantifier formatives can be pluralized. For example, in (13.7h) the plural form *keyetsek* is used as a dependent modifier to indicate plurality of the 'small things', but the plural form is not used when in quantification use because *ketsék* simply denotes a small mass which is not plural. This would make little sense for conventional dependent

quantifiers, but is would not be so unusual if the quantifiers and numerals are themselves seen as independent nouns.

The nominal analysis for quantifiers also accounts for their frequent paratactic relationship with the nouns they quantify, and the lack of semantic distinctions which occur with different syntactic configurations. Compare, for example, the different orders in (13.8a-13.8b), which do not have different semantic interpretations. Both are composed of two distinct clauses, with the demonstrative *xa* as the right edge of the first clause in both examples. In (13.8a), the latter clause is a nominal PREDICATE 'they are two men/two of the men' which defines the implicit patient of the previous verb. In (13.8b), *apqánet* is a dependent of the PREDICATE verb *élweteyak* 'I know them', and *énxet* is the nominal PREDICATE of the following clause which provides further information of the referent of *apqánet* 'two of them'.

(13.8) a. élweteyak ko'o **xa apqánet** énxet nak
[el-wet-ey-ak ko'o =xa] [apq-anet enxet =nak]
[1SG.DIST-see-COMPL-DECL 1SG =DMSTR] [M-two man =TC:VIS]
'I know those two men' or 'I know two of those men'

Skype 2 5 2020

b. élweteyak ko'o **apqánet xa** enxet nak
[el-wet-ey-ak ko'o apq-anet =xa] [enxet =nak]
[1SG.DIST-see-COMPL-DECL 1SG M-two =DMSTR] [man =TC:VIS]
'I know those two men' or 'I know two of those men'

Skype 2 5 2020

Both constructions have the same ambiguous interpretation between 'two of those men' and 'those two men' — similar ambiguous readings with different orders of demonstrative and quantifier hold for other non-numeral quantifiers as well. This suggests that there is not a substantial semantic difference between a bound numeral and one in a paratactic, appositional relationships to its co-referential noun.

The remainder of this description treats numeral and non-numeral quantifiers separately, followed with some further information about the ways that verbs express quantifying semantics outside of NPs.

13.3.1 Numerals in the NP

Numerals are quantifying expressions which are associated with a discrete numerical value like 'one', 'five', 'one hundred', etc. Numerals in Enxet Sur occur to the left of the noun that they quantify. For example, with the numeral *xama* 'one', the [NUMERAL NOUN] order holds for all types of nouns: non-related nouns (13.9a), related nouns (13.9b), deverbal nominalizations (13.9c), and loan words (13.9d).

(13.9) a. wánxa **xáma ámay**, méko mók ámay
wanxa **xama amay** // meko mok amay
only one road // NEG.EXIST other.F road

'There's only one road, there aren't other roads'

EDP enx009

b. **Xama aktek** hekñat katnehek, kenhan ekxámokma ekyexna
xama a-aktek =hek =ñat ka-tneh-ek // kenhan ek-xamok-ma
one F.POSS-seed =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.IRR-be-NM:PO // and F.PART-many-INF
ek-yexn-a
F.PART-fruit-INF
'There would be one seed, and many fruits'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. mopwanchek ewak **xama apmope**
m-op-wan-chek e-w-ak **xama ap-mop-e**
NEG-M-able-DECL M.IRR-arrive-NM:PO one M.PART-white-NM:PV
'A white man couldn't come here'

EDP enx004 19:51

d. neyke asanta' John **xama walda**
n =eyke a-sant-a' John **xama walda**
TC:VIS =TC:ASR 1SG.IRR-bring.here-SCND John one bottle
'But looks like I didn't bring a bottle for John'

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Numerals maintain the initial position in the noun phrase even in instances of great complexity, as in (13.10a), where the base compound noun *hówenaq apxagkok* 'basket'[3] is followed by an adjective and two nominalized verbs with their own dependents, but it is preceded by the numeral *ántánxo* 'three'.

(13.10) *Numerals with complex NPs*

a. ewanméssek xeyk ko'o **ántánxo hówenaq apxagkok étkok kélxata kelpasmaga apkelmópeyo séxna epátek**
e-wanm-es-sek =xeyk ko'o **a-antanxo** [howenaq apxagkok]
1SG.PAT-dream-CAUS-DECL =TC:HOD 1SG F-three basket
e-etkok kél-xat-a kelpasmaga apk-el-mopey-o
F-small IMP-fill-INF biscuit M-DIST-white-INTS.NM:PV
se-exn-a e-patek
1SG.PAT.PART-place.high-NM:IP 1SG.POSS-head
'I dreamed that there were three baskets of white bread above my head'

[3]Literally 'like the house of the *wenaq* bird.

-xama	'one, some'
-ánet	'two'
-ántanxo	'three'
hawok nekha	'four (side is the same)'
xama emek	'five (one of my hands)
xama emek xama	'six (one of my hands, one)
xama emek ánet	'seven (one of my hands, two)
xama emek ántanxo	'eight (one of my hands, three'
xama emek hawok nekha	'nine (one of my hands, four)'
sohok emek	'ten (my hands are all used up)'

Table 13.1: Numeral terms in Enxet Sur; items above 'three' not in general use in the modern language

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ánet elennayha'a kenyenhan **ánet yámet elpéwomo**
a-anet el-ennay-ha'a kenyenhan a-anet yamet
F-two F.PART.DIST-split-AMB-NM:PV and F-two tree
el-pew-omo
F.PART.DIST-straight-INTS.NM:PV
'two forked logs and two straight ones'

10C Yen

Native Enxet Sur lexical numerals are generally limited to *-xama* 'one', *-anet* 'two', and an apparent derivation of the root for 'two', *-antanxo*[4], which means 'three'. Spanish numerals are used for four and above. Native terms for up to twenty are recorded in Powys (1929) and many older Enxet Sur can list of some variation of the counting list, but there is not much evidence in the corpus for their use as numerals in NPs the way the numbers for 'one' through 'three' are. This does not mean they could not have been more commonly used in this way previously, just that they are not in the modern language. For example, Powys (1929) wrote that autochthonous terms for 'one' through 'five' were still in general use in the early twentieth century, and that some older speakers at that time preferred *sohok émek* 'my hands are complete' to *diez* for 'ten'. These native Enxet numerals are presented in table 13.1.

Across Lowland South America, it is not uncommon for languages to have small numeral inventories (Adelaar, 2008, p. 24), and for the few numerals in the language to be either etymologically transparent or imprecise, such that they do not discretely refer to a particular number (Krasnoukhova, 2012, p. 111). This is generally true of Enxet Sur

[4]The *-ant* portion of *-antanxo* 'three' is pretty clearly related to *-anet* 'two', but the source of the *-anxo* element is debatable. In Sanapaná, 'three' is *kanet na hlema*, transparently just 'two and one', and this is probably the source of Enxet Sur *-ántanxo*, the *-xo* element coming from *-xama*, an example of the common reduction of //ama// to [o] (§2.4.6). However, because of the reduction, it would not be accurate to say that modern Enset Sur *-ántanxo* is transparently 'two and one', and instead constitutes a wholly unique lexeme.

as well, as multiple consultants have suggested that *xama* can be used to mean 'some' instead of 'one', and the root *-anet* for 'two' appears related to through morphological derivation to the word for *-antanxo* 'three' and *-antawok* 'a few'.

Morphologically, the commonly used native numerals for 'one' through 'three' are more or less adjectives (Ch. 8) but they have some peculiarities. The morphological similarities to adjectives I describe here only apply to the numerals 'one' through 'three' and not to any of the other attested numerals for 'four' and above. Largely because of this morphological difference between the basic numerals and those higher than three, I do not believe that the higher numerals actually ever had the same morphosyntactic behaviors as the low true numerals, even if they were in more common usage historically[5].

All three numerals take some form of the stative pronominal prefix paradigm, most notable in that they both take the first person plural prefix *eg-/en-*. The base *-anet* 'two' takes the stative feminine *a-* while *xama* 'one' has a null feminine prefix (not uncommon for adjectives, see §8.2). A first person singular pronominal prefix is not possible with either — semantically unsurprising since 'one me/two mes' is only passable in some languages under very specific circumstances.

The two speech act participant prefixes — first person plural *eg-/en-* and second person plural *kél-* — yield the readings 'one/two of us' and 'one/two of y'all', respectively, as in (13.11). The masculine and feminine markers, which can indicate singular or plural third person[6], can then be interpreted the same way: 'one/two of them'.

(13.11) a. helhanches hana sekto **kélxama**

hel-han-ches =hana sek-t-o kel-xama
1SG.PAT.DIST-cook-BEN.IMP =PLZ 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV 2PL-one
'One of y'all make me some food please.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **enxama** negmáxche negyaqpásegkok

en-xama neg-m-axch-e neg-yaqpas-egk-ok
1PL.STAT-one 1PL.PART-have-MID-NM:PV 1PL-bather-COMPL-SCND
'We bathe one at a time'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is an important non-distinction in numeral morphosemantics here. *Kélqánet* can either mean 'y'all two' or 'two of y'all', and the same non-distinction applies across all numeral person inflections. The pronominal prefix points to a referent, and the numeral

[5]To be clear, this means that such higher "numerals" would have been used as independent, appositive predicates, i.e. 'I want sweet potatoes, (there are) eight of them'. This would be in line with the appositive uses of other kinds of semantic modifiers. This is speculative, however, and requires further investigation.

[6]Hypothetically, I presume these could be used for second person singular referents as well, but have never seen numerals used in such a context and am not sure what semantic context would yield a numeral with a second person singular pronominal prefix.

root provides numeral semantics, but there are multiple configurations of the relationship between the semantic indices of the two morphological components of the numeral word.

While other lexical adjectives generally end in *-e'*/*-ek*, and numerals do not, it is arguable that they have similar pluralizing behaviors with a suffix resembling the intensive *-awo'*/*-o'* (§8.5). Plurality is indicated on adjectives through such a suffix, such that *apketkok* is 'a young person' and *apketkók*/*apketkawok* is 'young people'. The idea of pluralizing numerals is, admittedly, unusual, but it appears that *-antawok* 'a few' is an intensive plural form of *-anet* 'two', and that *-xámok* 'many' may be an intensive plural form of *-xama* 'one'. In both cases, especially the latter case with *-xámok* 'many', the addition of the intensive is lexicalized and somewhat irregular, but it is, nonetheless, another possible component of the morphological similarity between the basic numerals and more prototypical adjectives.

Like true adjectives, they cannot be derived[7], and without derivation they can act as NPs without a co-occurring lexical noun, as in (13.12a). They may also occur in positions where they are adjacent to a co-referential NP with which they have no syntactic cohesion. For example, in (13.12b), a linear analysis might see *xama* 'one' as part of a single complex NP *xama apkemha apmonye Lengua* 'one person who stands ahead of the Enxet', but there is a clear prosodic break, and the separate utterances should be seen as two distinct clauses, with the NPs *xama* 'one' and *apkemha apmonye Lengua* 'one who sands ahead of the Enxet' are in a coreferential but appositive relationship.

(13.12) a. apkelxegkek axta anhan **apqánet**
apk-el-xeg-kek =axta =anhan apq-ánet
M-DIST-GO-DECL =TC:PST =AND M-TWO
'And the two of them left'

EDP enx006 00:29

b. yetneyk **xama**, apkemha apmonye Lengua
yetneyk xama // apk-emh-a ap-monye Lengua
EXIST one // M.PART-stand-NM:PV M.POSS-front Enxet
'There was one, he was a leader of the Enxet'

NNE190 07:16

Numerals can also be used as PREDICATES. For example, in (13.13a), the numeral *xama* 'one' acts as a PREDICATE 'was one' for a subject *apketche kelwána* 'his female child', and the whole construction might best be literally translated as 'his female children numbered one'. A similar construction with *ánet* 'two' can be seen in (13.13b), where the nominalization *elleykha náxapop* 'those on the ground' is the subject of *ánet* 'be two' rather than its nominal head.

(13.13) a. **Xama** hekñat nahan **apketche kelwána**

[7] If, as I suggest, *xámok* 'many' is etymologically related to *xama* 'one', then perfective nominalized forms like *ekxamokma* would complicate this claim, although I do not believe that the forms are really productively related in the modern language.

xama =hek =ñat =nahan apk-etche kelwána
one =TC:REP =TC:RPST =AND M.POSS-child F.female
'And he had one daughter'

LC Amya'a Neptana

b. **anet** nahan **elleykha náxapop**. Anet anhan elleykha kañe' xapop
a-anet =nahan el-l-eykha na-xapop // a-anet
F-TWO =AND F.PART.DIST-be.around-AMB.NM:PV NM:OB-earth // F-two
=anhan el-l-eykha kañe' xapop
=AND F.PART.DIST-be.around-AMB.NM:PV inside earth
'Two were on the ground. Two were under the ground.'

López Ramírez (1996)

While PREDICATE numerals behave in rather transparent ways, as in (13.13) above, they also behave in some rather complicated ways within the broadly paratactic Enxet Sur syntax. §5.1 describes two important qualities of Enxet Sur syntax: 1) that semantic arguments of a PREDICATE are often identified by paratactic, independent nominal PREDICATE clauses, and 2) that TAME clitics and dependent adverbs identify their hosts/heads as PREDICATES of independent clauses. These two points should inform the analysis of apparent quantifier NPs where numerals host TAME clitics or take adverbs as modifiers.

For example, in (13.14a), the numeral *xáma* is modified by the adverb *makham* 'still, again', such that with the semantically constituent noun *tamayawhan*, the whole string means 'yet another Tamayawhan'. Similarly, in (13.14b), *xama* is followed by the conjectural TAME clitic *enxoho*, followed by the complex NP *apkelane aqsok ektaqmela* 'one who does good things'.

(13.14) a. teyekmek axta **xáma makham tamayawhan**
ø-teyek-m-ek =axta xama makham tamayawhan
F-fall-TERM-DECL =TC:PST one still demon
'Yet another Tamayawhan fell from (from the sky)'

EDP enx006 04:45

b. Méko kaxwo' **xama enxoho apkelane aqsok ektaqmela**!
meko kaxwo **xama** =**enxoho** apk-el-an-e aqsok
NEG.EXIST NOW one TC:CONJ M.PART-DIST-do-NM:PV thing
ek-taqmel-a
F.PART-good-NM:PV
'There is no one who does good'

Psalm 53 3

In both examples in (13.14), we could analyze the bolded portions as constituent quantifier NPs that happen to have further modification on the numeral *xama*, including a TAME clitic *enxoho*, and that these quantifier NPs are dependents of the PREDICATES that preced them. However, this would break with the previously stated generalizations that adverbs and especially TAME clitics are associated with the PREDICATES of independent clauses.

An alternate analysis — one that is somewhat opaque but is consistent with the characterizations of Enxet Sur syntax presented elsewhere in this dissertation — is to view *xama makham tamayawhan* in (13.14a) not as a quantifier NP dependent of *teyekmek* 'fall', but as an independent clause comparable to that in (13.13a). (13.14a) might then be translatable as something like 'It fell, Tamayawhan was again one'. Keep in mind that a felicitous representation of the Enxet Sur construction in English is near impossible since a noun like *tamayahwan* in Enxet Sur is a set noun whose definiteness cannot be explicated — it might be even more accurate to render the construction as 'those which are Tamayawhans were (numbered) again one'. The interpretation of TAME clitics and adverbs with numerals that might otherwise simply be seen as modifiers within a dependent NP is an important avenue for further study.

These instances where we have a numeral PREDICATE and then a NP quantified by that numeral in the nominal COMPLEMENT position mirror the structure described for non-PREDICATE numeral NPs. The numeral is the head of the NP and the lexical noun its modifier, just as with PREDICATE numerals, the noun which is quantified is in the loosely defined modifier position of the nominal COMPLEMENT.

Finally, these numerals are also used in one of the few instances of reduplication in Enxet Sur, where *xama xama* is 'one by one' and *ánet ánet* is 'two by two', as in (13.15). This is more an interesting lexical idiosyncrasy than it is indicative of any broader grammatical process.

(13.15) **xama xama** apmákpok apkelxega wokma'ak

xama	xama	ap-má-kp-ok	apk-el-xeg-a	wokma'ak
one	one	M-have-MID.M-SCND	M.PART-DIST-go-NM:PV	boy

'The boys were taken one by one'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

13.3.2 Non-numeral Quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers are a morphologically heterogeneous class whose different members are united only by semantics. Unlike the basic numerals described in the previous section, non-numeral quantifiers come from a number of different morphological word classes — adjectives, deverbal nominalizations, and an related noun/positional noun. Similar to numerals, however, it is sometimes abundantly clear and in all cases entirely plausible to see the quantifying expression as the head of the NP, with the lexical noun it quantifies acting as a modifying dependent. The lexical set, which is relatively small, is presented in table 13.2.

Quantifier	Gloss	Nominal Interpretation
-xamokma	'many'	'a large group of it'
-yokxoho	'all'	'the entirety of it'
-etsék	'few'	'a small amount'
-antawok	'few'	'a small number of it'
nekha/napakha	'some'	'a side of it'

Table 13.2: Non-numeral adnominal quantifying expressions, their translational gloss (when treated as a dependent quantifier), and an alternative nominal gloss which reflects their status as nouns

As with numerals, non-numeral quantifiers always occur to the left of the noun which they quantify, because they are nominal heads and the lexical nouns they quantify are dependent modifiers. Where the opposite order occurs, this is because the quantifier and the quantified noun are appositive and not part of a single NP. Some examples of the [QUANTIFIER NOUN] order are given in (13.16).

(13.16) a. Kennaqte Appeywa aptawa axta ekseykha pánaqte **yókxoho tegma**
Kennaqte Appeywa ap-tawa =axta ek-s-eykha panaqte
Kennaqte Appeywa M.POSS-spouse =TC:PST F.PART-carry-AMB.NM:PV medicine
yokxoho tegma
all house
'Kennaqte Appeywa's wife brought medicine to *all the houses*'

EDP enx047 35:20

b. [*Context: Describing medicinal preparation of* teyt *'viñal'*]
eghékok étkok kolyetmok **kétsek yegmen** kenye kólagkok ektaha ekháxamax-che'
[egheykok étkok] kol-yetm-ok **k-etsek yegmen** kenye
pitcher IMP.IRR-fill.liquid-NM:PO F-few water then
kol-agk-ok ek-tah-a ek-háx-am-axche'
IMP.IRR-give-NM:PO F.PART-be-NM:IP F.PART-curved-TI-MID.NM:PV
'A little bit of water is poured in the jar then it is given to those who are sick'

10C Yen

c. **nekha aktek** axta pálwokmok ámay awáxok
nekha a-aktek =axta pál-wok-m-ok ámay a-wáxok
F.side F.POSS-seed =TC:PST fall-ARR-TERM-SCND road F.POSS-inside
'some seeds fell in the middle of the road'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. yetneyk **apqántawok sekxegexma**
yetneyk apq-ántawok sek-xegexma
EXIST M-few 1SG.PART-companion

'I have few friends'

Skype 4.20.2020

e. hakte negwet'ak chá'a **xámokxoho náta**
hakte neg-wet'-ak cha'a **xamokx-oho nata**
because 1PL-see-DECL always many-INTS bird
'Because we always see *lots of birds*'

EDP enx009

Numerous examples of *ketsék* 'few, a small bit' are given above in the introduction to this section on numerals and quantifiers, although a semantically similar form *-ántawok* 'few, a small amount' exists as well. Morphologically both behave like irregular adjectives, taking different variations of the stative pronominal prefix paradigm. At least etymologically *-ántawok* 'few' is an intensive form of the numeral adjective *-anet* 'two'. Perhaps related to this numeral derivation, it appears that *-ántawok* is used more for count nouns and *ketsék* is used for mass nouns. As seen in the examples in (13.17) below and in (13.7) above, *ketsék* is typically used for quantifying liquids, values, or amounts of things like food and swarms of bugs, while *-ántawok* is used to quantify people and larger animals, or other countable items like pages in a book or years.

(13.17) a. alnapok sa' ko'o **ántawok taqalqal**
a-lnap-ok =sa' ko'o a-antawok taqalqal
1SG.IRR-kill.many-NM:PO =TC:FUT F.STAT-few turkey
'I will kill a few turkeys'

Skype 6.10.2020

b. **ántawók áwa'** weykcha'áhak
a-antawók a-awa' weykcha'áhak
F.STAT-few F.POSS-leaf book
'the book has very few pages'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Similar to the PREDICATE uses of *ketsék* in (13.7) above, *-antawok* is very often used as a PREDICATE 'be a few' instead of as the head of a dependent quantifier NP.

(13.18) *Ketsek and antawok as predicates*

a. **antawók** kaxwo', ekmeyókasekme' wokma'ák
a-antawók kaxwo' // ek-meyók-asek-m-e' wokma'ák
F.STAT-few now // 1SG-protect-VAL-TERM-DECL boy
'There's only a few now, I'm guarding them for the boys'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **ántawóya** weyke La Patria?
a-antawó =ya weyke La Patria
F.STAT-few =TC:Q cow La Patria

'Are there just a few cows at La Patria?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The positional noun (§9.2.1) *nekha* (or *nápakha* in the masculine) means 'its side', but can be used in a quantifying function to mean 'some', as in (13.19a). It does not necessarily indicate a small number, as with *ketsék* or *ántawok*, but examples of it are relatively few in the corpus, so more data is needed to determine how exactly in contrasts with some of the other non-numeral quantifiers. It agrees in gender with that which it quantifies, although it can also take first person or second person plural pronominal prefixes to mean 'some of us/y'all', as in (13.19b).

(13.19) a. almok sa'

nápakha

kelpasmaga

a-l-m-ok =sa' nápakha kelpasmaga

1SG.IRR-DIST-have-NM:PO =TC:FUT M.side biscuit

'I'll take some biscuits'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **Kélnápakha'**

kélnápakha'

kélnápakha'

2PL.side

some of y'all

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Quantifying expressions formed from *-xamok* 'many' and *-yokxoho* 'all' are quite similar, in that:

- the most common form of both is a clearly nominalized form with participial pronominal prefixes (*ekxamokma* and *ekyokxoho*, respecitively)
- they both have reduced adnominal forms (*xamok* and *yokxoho*, respectively) which have more of the flavor of a dependent quantifier, but which are regarded by some as being grammatically unsavory or reminiscent of missionary speak
- Despite having nominalized forms, neither has a fully functioning (morphologically regular) declarative verb counterpart — no declarative verb in the case of *yokxoho* and a (presumably) morphologically deficient one for *xamok*

The form *xámok* is generally a PREDICATE which quantifies a nominal complement, as in (13.20a-13.20b). Because it has nominalized forms, it is clearly a verb and not an adjective, but as a verb its right edge is morphologically irregular, without a clear, regular declarative suffix.

(13.20) a. **apxámok sakpa'ay** naxma
ap-xámok sakpa'ay naxma
M-many woodpecker woods
'There are many woodpeckers in the woods'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. wa' primavera sa', **xámok sa yamyawhena**
wa' primavera =sa' // ø-xamok =sa' yamyawhena'
LOOK spring =TC:FUT // F-many =TC:FUT honey.bee
'Next spring, there will be many honey bees.'

EDP enx001 46:47

In some cases where *xámok* and a noun are adjacent and in isolation, as in (13.21), there is the appearance of a dependent modifer *xámok* 'many' with a head noun, but there is no reason to distinguish constructions like (13.21) from those in (13.20a-13.20b), and (13.21) can still be treated as a clause with a verbal PREDICATE 'Palo santo are many'.

(13.21) yetneyk mémog, **xámok mémog**
yetneyk memog // ø-xamok memog
EXIST palo.santo // F-many palo.santo
'There's palo santo, **lots of palo santo**'

EDP enx008 11:01

Generally, to act as a quantifier within an NP, either as a standalone NP or along with a lexical noun that it quantifies, as in the examples in (13.22), *-xamok* must occur as a perfective form nominalization with a participial pronominal prefix and a perfective suffix, either as *-ma* or as *-xoho* in the intensive form. Like other quantifiers, it is often used with a first person plural pronominal prefix to mean 'many of us'.

(13.22) Use of nominalized forms of *-xamok* 'be many'
a. Kenhan eñak hekñat ekpeywa **ekxámokxoho aksok**
kenhan e-ñ-ak =hek =ñat ek-peywa
and M.IRR-listen-NM:PO =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.PART-words
ek-xamok-xoho aqsok
F.PART-many-INTS.NM:IP thing
'And they would listen to the words of many things'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Makhetchek nahan, apmelásek **apxámokxoho énxet'ák**

ø-makhet-chek =nahan // ap-mel-as-ek **ap-xamok-xoho** **enxet-'ak**
F-ripen-DECL =AND // M-fat-VAL-DECL M.PART-many-INTS.NM:IP man-PL
'They [potatoes] would get ripe, and so many men would get fat'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. negweykásegkek námok nélchánta **nenxámokma**
neg-wey-kas-egk-ek namok nelch-ant-a
1PL-sink-VAL-COMPL-DECL canoe 1PL.PART.DIST-mount-NM:IP
nen-xamok-ma
1PL.PART-many-NM:IP
'Many of us got in and sank the canoe'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. ascha'ak negko'o egqatkok **nenxámokxoho**
a-ascha-'ak negko'o eg-qatk-ok nen-xámok-xoho
F.STAT-painful-PL 1PL 1PL.POSS-head-PL 1PL.PART-many-INTS.NM:PV
'Many of us have headaches'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. Apkelnapchek sakhem weyke kelennay'awók ma'a, tén han weyke étkók, tén han **apxámokma m'a nepkések**
apk-el-nap-chek sakhem weyke kel-ennay'-awok =ma'a // ten han
M-DIST-kill.many-DECL today COW F.DIST-male-INTS =DMSTR // then AND
weyke e-etkok // ten han ap-xamok-ma =m'a nepkesek
COW F.STAT-young // then AND M.PART-many-NM:IP =DMSTR sheep
'Today he has killed cattle there, and calves, and many sheep'

1 Kings 1 25

In other contexts, as in (13.23a-13.23b), it appears that *xámok* acts like a quantifier within an NP. It should be noted that examples like those in (13.23a-13.23b), which lack participial prefixes or clear nominalizing suffixes, were described as "missionary Enxet" by one consultant, who said that only the participial forms like that in (13.22a) are truly grammatically acceptable. It was suggested that speakers use the non-participial forms in a simplified Enxet used with non-native speakers, like missionaries, but nonetheless such forms are used in the corpus in different kinds of texts, and, anecdotally, I have heard speakers using such forms in conversation.

(13.23) a. chéhek ektémakxa agko' kyá'a ko'o sekweté **xámok aqsok**
chehek ek-tem-akxa =agko' cha'a ko'o sek-wet-e **xamok**
MED F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB =F.DEG always 1SG 1SG.PART-see-NM:PV many
aqsok
thing

'Like that, I always see lots of things'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kaxwok han ekwet'ak **apxámok énxet**
kaxwok =han ek-wet'-ak **ap-xamok enxet**
now =AND 1SG-see-DECL M-many man
'Now I see many people'

EDP enx028 04:34

A similar variation exists with *-yokxoho* 'all', which typically takes participial pronominal prefixes, as in the examples in (13.24), but these prefixes are often dropped in natural speech. Unlike the various forms of *-xamok*, however, there are no alternations in the right edge of this word similar to the declarative/nominalized forms of *-xamok*.

(13.24) a. antók negko'o nento **ekyokxoho yámet**
an-t-ok negko'o nen-t-o ek-yokx-oho
1PL.IRR-eat-NM:PO.INTS 1PL 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV F.PART-all-INTS.NM:IP
yamet
tree
'We eat food from all the trees'

EDP enx004 11:03

b. pero apyenyókek **apyókxoho xapop**
pero ap-yenyo-kek ap-yokx-oho xapop
but M-throw.away-DECL M.PART-all-INTS.NM:IP earth
'But they sold all the land'

EDP enx037

c. pekkenmeyk axta nahan awáxok María **ekyókxoho xa amya'a nak**
ø-pekken-m-eyk =axta =nahan a-waxok Maria ek-yokxoho
F-place-TI-DECL =TC:PST AND F.POSS-innermost Maria F.PART-all.NM:IP
=xa amya'a =nak
=DMSTR story =TC:VIS
'Maria kept all of these stories in her heart'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. hawe **ekyókxoho**, wánxa en parte
hawe ek-yokxoho // wanxa en parte
NEG F.PART-all.NM:IP // only in part
'Not all of it, only part'

EDP enx009

e. heltennásekxoho **ekyókxoho**, ná éxakpoho
hel-tenn-as-ekx-oho ek-yokoxho // na
1SG.PAT.IRR.DIST-tell-VAL-DUP-INTS F.PART-all.NM:IP // PRHB
e-exak-p-oho
M.IRR-hide-M.MID-INTS
'Tell me everything, don't hide anything'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. **negyókxoho** kémexchek kalchetmok egwáxok
neg-yókxoho k-émexch-ek ka-lch-etm-ok eg-wáxok
1PL.PART-all F-lack-DECL F.IRR-DIST-search-NM:PO 1PL.POSS-innermost
'All of us need to think' (literally 'For all of us, the searching of our innermosts is needed')

EDP enx039

g. **apyókxoho** axta apkelxénak ekyetna élya'asakxaxma keñe melmahágko apchaqneyekxa
ap-yókxoho =axta apk-el-xén-ak ek-yetn-a élya'asakxaxma keñe
M.PART-all =TC:PST M-DIST-show-SCND F.PART-lie-NM:IP reason then
m-e-l-mahágk-o apch-aqn-ey-ekxa
NEG-M.IRR-DIST-head.to-NM:IP M.PART-stand.PL-DUP.NM:PV
'All of them said they had reasons for not going to the meeting.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Despite properties that show a clear verbal etymology, there is no productive verb stem like *-yokx-* which can be contrasted with the nominal and adnominal usages of *-yokxoho*. There are some related forms however that can point to the original meaning of the verb stem. Both with the intensive suffix, as *-yokxoho* or without it, as *-yókxa*, this word is used to refer to the body. Kidd (2000b) suggests that while the related noun *-empehek* 'skin' refers to the physical body, *-yókxa* or *-yókxoho* refers to the entirety of the person, including their innermost (*-wáxok*) and levels of the spirit (*-wanmagko*), and is therefore literally 'one's everything'[8]. While the intensive form can be used to refer to the body and as a quantifier, the non-intensive form only ever refers to the body. Another word *yókx-exma* 'open country' is composed of this *-yokx-* element and *exma* 'space, environment'. These forms suggest an original meaning of something like 'to extend outward', maybe later developing the sense of 'all inclusive'.

[8]It is likely that this usage of *-yókxoho* as 'whole person' is a semantic calque for 'person' introduced by missionaries, since no readily comparable concept existed natively in the language. This use of 'all' as 'whole body, person' does not appear in other EE languages, including Sanapaná (pc: Hannes Kalisch, Jens van Gysel).

13.3.3 Verbal means of quantification

Although not strictly a topic within the domain of NP structure, it should be noted here that quantification semantics are very often accomplished through verbs and other kinds of PREDICATES rather than through quantifiers inside the NP. Some of these issues have been raised in the previous sections, but this section presents some additional examples of verbs and other prototypical PREDICATES which have a quantification function.

One of the more basic "quantifiers" *-xamok* 'many', behaves like a verb, albeit with some irregularities, and its canonical function is as a PREDICATE, as in (13.25a). In order to modify an NP, it has to be in a participial form, as described in §13.3.2, and it also has a oblique nominalization form, as in (13.25b).

(13.25) a. *Context: explaining why a dog cannot go pig hunting*
hakte apxámok, yaqhek sa'
hakte ap-xámok // y-aqh-ek =sa'
because M-many.DECL // *m.irr*-kill-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'because there are a lot [of wild pigs], they will kill it'

EDP enx009

b. nátewes ekwesey **ekxámokxa** enxoho tewes
ná-tewes ek-wesey ek-xámok-xa =enxoho tewes
LOC-algorrobo F.PART-called F.PART-many-NM:OB =TC:CONJ algorrobo
Natewes is the name for a place with lots of algorrobo trees

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Likewise, the semiverb *-sexte'* 'be few' is fundamentally a PREDICATE but semantically indicates quantity, as in (13.26).

(13.26) a. **asextók** kaxwo' ekmámeye
a-sext-ók kaxwo' ek-mámey-e
F.STAT-few-INTS.DECL NOW F.PART-rain-NM:PV
'there's little rain right now'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **eyesextexa** xapop
ey-e-sext-exa xapop
F.PART-VBLZ-few-NM:OB earth
'place with little land'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. kelánexkok ekho' neyseksa ságe Makxawe, **asexte'** tappo
k-el-án-exk-ok ekho' neyseksa ságe Makxawe //
F-DIST-make-MID-DECL cattail amongst estuary Makxawaya //
a-sext-e' tappo
F.STAT-few-DECL cane

'Cattails predominate in the estuary at Makxawaya, there's very little cane'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There are a number of different ways to express 'all' through the use of verbal constructions. One is DIST-make-MID, *kelánexkok* in the feminine and *apkelánekpok* in the masculine. This construction might be literally translated to English as 'it is made of X', and means that the argument indicated by the pronominal prefix is composed predominantly or entirely of the complement of the predicate. There are some instances where this construction implies the vast majority, rather than strictly all, as in (13.26c) above.

(13.27) a. **kelánexkok** pómap apkelmeta
k-el-án-exk-ok pámap ap-kel-met-a
F-DIST-make-MID-DECL board M.PART-DIST-dig-NM:PV
'These are all holes dug by boars'

EDP enx009

b. **apkelánekpok** yátnáxeg apwetep
ap-kel-án-ekp-ok yátnáxeg ap-wetep
M-DIST-make-M.MID-DECL horse M.POSS-owner
'They are all horse owners'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The verb base *-sawhe'-* means 'to complete or exhaust a finite quantity of something', and therefore often communicates the notion of 'all' without the need for nominal quantification, as in (13.28).

(13.28) **asawhegwak** sa' ko'o sokmasche ekyexna
a-sawheg-w-ak =sa' ko'o sokmasche ek-yexn-a
1SG.IRR-exhaust-ARR-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG citrus F.PART-fruit-NM:PV
'I will come here and sell all of my pomelos'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

13.4 The Possessed NP

There are two true morphological possession types in Enxet, the basic morphology of which is described in the noun chapter (§4.4.1 and §4.5.2). One involves the possessive pronominal prefix of related nouns, as in (13.29), and the other the use of a possessive pronoun for non-related nouns, (as in (13.30)). A possible third type, involving possession-like semantics with nominalized verbs, as in (13.31), is discussed in the chapter on nominalization (§15.1).

(13.29) táta aptáwa'

tata ap-tawa'
my.father M.POSS-spouse

'My father's wife'

Skype 1.27.2020

(13.30) táta silla apagkok

tata silla apagkok
my.father chair M.POSS

'My father's chair'

Skype 1.27.2020

(13.31) Juan aptahano

Juan ap-tahan-o
Juan M.PART-be.over-NM:PV

'Juan's chair'

Notes 2015

In all such cases, there is no grammatical requirement for the possessor to be explicitly marked as an independent pronoun or NP, as the possessor is indicated by the pronominal prefix of the related noun or the possessive pronoun. In general, it is much more common that the pronoun or noun indicating the possessor is omitted. Some of the data presented in this section raises questions about the nature of possessor noun within the NP, and there are some clues that, at least historically, the possessor was not rendered as a true dependent of the possessed noun — this would be in keeping with the lack of assignation of grammatical roles in dependency structures in the language.

13.4.1 Inalienable possession

We can refer to the type of possession marked on the class of related nouns as inalienable possession, although, as described in Ch. 4, bound possessor prefixes and the class of nouns which take them are categorically linked, regardless of whether we approach the issue as one of possession types or one of word class. Inalienably possessed nouns have pronominal prefixes which indicate their possessor (their form is described in §4.4), and therefore related nouns very often occur as simple NPs with no overt possessor. However, when both the possessor (R) and the possessed noun (D) occur within a single constituent NP — usually if the R is new information or if the R NP is necessary for disambiguation — the most common and apparently unmarked order is [R D], as in the examples in (13.32).

(13.32) *Inalienably possessed NPs with the unmarked R D order*

a. seykekxa **énmaga aktek** nahan nento
sey-kekxa énmaga a-aktek nahan nen-t-o
carry-DUP.NM:PV gun F.POSS-seed AND 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV
'They were carrying bullets [lit. 'gun's seeds'] and food'
NNE190 05:21

b. apwakhak axta énxet **Sáp'ag apxagkok**
ap-wakh-ak =axta enxet Sap'ag ap-xagkok
M-surround-DECL =TC:PST Enxet Sanapaná M.POSS-house
'The Enxet surround the Sanapaná's house'
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c. apyakpasek hek **máleg áye'** kelegcham'ay hakte pálwokmek hek áye'
ap-yakpas-ek =hek máleg a-aye' kelegcham'ay hakte
M-smear-DECL =TC:REP fox F.POSS-feces woodpecker beecause
pál-wok-m-ek =hek a-aye'
fall-ARR-TERM-DECL =TC:REP F.POSS-feces
'The woodpecker was covered in the fox's feces because the feces fell onto him'
Schoolbook Grade 1

d. méko moto, méko camion, yaqwayam anxog negko'o **pánaqte axagkok**
meko moto // meko camion // yaqwayam an-xog
NEG.EXIST motorcycle // NEG.EXIST truck // for 1PL.IRR-go.NM:PO
negko'o **panaqte a-xagkok**
1PL medicine F.POSS-house
'There's no motorcycles, no trucks for us to go to the hospital ['medicine house']'
EDP enx001 42:03

e. wa' yetneyk **náta' axagkok**, **seye' axagkok**
wa' yetneyk nata a-xagkok // seye' a-xagkok
LOOK EXIST bird F.POSS-house // stork F.POSS-house
'Look, there's a birds nest, a seye's nest'
EDP enx008 26:33

f. haxko ekwánxa kilometro **ko'o exagkok**
haxko ek-w-an-xa kilometro ko'o e-xagkok
where F.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB kilometer 1SG 1SG.POSS-house
'How many kilometers is my house?'
EDP enx008 36:25

g. **tat'a áwa'** eyaptak

tat'a a-awa' ey-apt-ak
chicken F.POSS-feather 1SG-pluck-SCND
'I plucked the chicken's feathers'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The opposite order, [D R], does occur occasionally, as in the examples in (13.33). A fuller accounting of when and why this marked order occurs would be interesting, but I can provide some explanations for at least some of these examples here. In some cases, it may just be a matter of pragmatics — the possessed noun comes before the possessor when it is more salient or newsworthy. This appears to be the case in (13.33a-13.33c). (13.33b) in particular is somewhat difficult to parse, since *aptekpogekha apma'ák kelegcham'ay máleg awokmo'* could be rendered as 'the woodpecker's beak's hitting of the fox's stomach' or 'the woodpecker's hitting of the fox's stomach with its beak' — it is not clear whether or not *apma'ák kelegcham'ay* is actually a constituent NP or not, since Enxet Sur grammar does not make overt distinctions between oblique nominal expressions and core argument ones (§5.1, §9.1).

(13.33) *Inalienably possessed NPs with a D R order*

a. CONTEXT: *looking at a raccoon print in the mud*
amnek kelpayhamék, cháxa ektémakxa
a-mnek kelpayhamék // cháxa ek-tém-akxa
F.POSS-foot raccoon // DEM F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB
'It's a raccoon's footprint, that's what it's like'

EDP enx025 19:40

b. káyhek agkok hek aptekpogekha **apma'ák kelegcham'ay** máleg awokmo'
k-áyh-ek =agkok =hek ap-tekpog-ekha ap-ma'ák
F-strong-DECL =TC:F.DEG =TC:REP M.PART-hit-AMB.NM:PV M.POSS-beak
kelegcham'ay máleg a-wokmo'
woodpecker fox F.POSS-stomach
'The woodpecker was pecking the fox's stomach very hard with its beak'

Schoolbook Grade 1

c. negyagqaxqatchesso **aheykok sakcha'a**
neg-yagqaxqat-ches-so a-heykok sakcha'a
1PL-pierce-VAL-NM:PV F.POSS-ear child
'to pierce a child's ear'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Máxa **eyáxeg ko'o** m'a!
maxa e-yaxeg ko'o =m'a
like 1SG.POSS-younger.sibling 1SG =DMSTR

'he is like my brother'

1 Kings 20:32

e. axta entahak eyáneya **étche keso kelán'a**
axta en-tah-ak ey-aney-a e-etche keso kelan'a
TC:PST F-be-SCND F.PART-put-NM:IP F.POSS-child this woman
'...so said this woman's child'

López Ramírez (1996)

The latter examples, (13.33d-13.33e), are probably explainable through different grammatical features. In (13.33e), *étche keso kelán'a* is a semantically cohesive unit 'this woman's child', but it really is not syntactically constituent, since demonstratives do not form cohesive units with nouns that follow them (§7.5), and this utterance is something more like 'so said her child, this one, the woman'.

In (13.33d), the NP is actually part of a complex PREDICATE *máxa eyáxeg ko'o* 'is like my brother', and possessive NPs in PREDICATE positions often present some complicated problems (see §13.4.4 below). In this particular case, it may be clearer for the pronoun *ko'o* to be in a typical post-PREDICATE position (§5.2.2) than inside the NP 'my brother', since the pronoun position does not indicate any particular grammatical function of the pronoun, only that the utterance concerns a Speech Act Participant, and the other order *máxa ko'o eyáxeg* might be interpretable as 'my brother is like me'. Here again, this amounts to saying that the D and R nouns are not actually part of a constituent NP, and this is why they are not in the unmarked, typical order.

Any of these explanations about observed [D R] orders require further investigation, but for now we can say that [R D] orders are typical, and [D R] orders only arise in certain pragmatic contexts, and in cases where the syntactic constituency of the D and R nouns is questionable.

13.4.2 Possessive pronouns in the NP

The primary possession strategy for non-related nouns is the use of the possessive pronouns, which have a base form of *-agkok* along with a pronominal prefix[9] which generally corresponds to the possessive pronominal prefixes of related nouns (§4.4). The form of these possessive pronouns is described more fully in §4.5.2. This section describes their use within the noun phrase.

Complex NPs that use possessive pronouns have three components: possessor (R), possessee (D), and the possessive pronoun (Pro). However, because possessive pronouns indicate the possessor through person marking, the possessor is very often dropped. With NPs that contain only the possessed noun and the possessive pronoun, it is very clear that the unmarked order, perhaps the only possible one, is [D Pro]. Examples (13.34) do not

[9]To simplify the gloss, I do not segment the identifiable pronominal element from the rest of the possessive pronoun, such that *ahagkok* 'mine' is glossed as *1sg.poss*, and is not segmented as *ah-agkok*, even though such a segmentation is not unreasonable.

have overt possessor nouns, and the [D Pro] order is clear. Given that possessive pronouns can be the heads of NPs on their own, this order likely indicates that the possessive pronoun acts a dependent modifier of the D noun to its left, since this is the typical position for all other dependent modifiers except numerals/quantifiers.

(13.34) a. *Context: Speaker is talking about trade goods and possessions that modern Enxet have that they did not previously*
apwet'ak han **almacen apagkok**
ap-wet'-ak =han almacen apagkok
M-see-DECL =AND store M.POSS
'He also sees (has) his store'

EDP enx047 10:31

b. yetneyk aptáwa **familia apagkok**
yetneyk ap-táwa familia apagkok
EXIST M.POSS-spouse family M.POSS
'He'll have his spouse, his family'

EDP enx041

c. wokma'ak apketkok apkelyenyeyasak **moto ahagkok**
wokma'ak apk-etkok apk-el-yenyey-as-ak moto ahagkok
boy M-young M-DIST-wash-VAL-SCND motorcycle 1SG.POSS
'It was the two boys who washed my motorcycle'

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d. tásek kaxwo' sektete **táma ahagkok**
ø-tasek kaxwo sek-tet-e tama ahagkok
F-good now 1SG.PART-tie-NM:PV trap 1SG.POSS
'I've tied my trap well just now'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. sawhegkok pa'at **yókxexma ahagkok** weyke
ø-sawh-egk-ok pa'at yokxexma ahagkok weyke
F-exhaust-COMPL-DECL grass country 1SG.POSS cow
'The cows have eaten all the grass on my land'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. kasponak sa' **computadora ahagkok**
ka-spon-ak =sa' computadora ahagkok
F.IRR-extinguish-NM:PO =TC:FUT computer 1SG.POSS
'My computer is about to die'

Skype 11.20.19

Some nominal constructions may create the illusion that a [Pro D] order is possible. For example in (13.35) there is a Pro before a coreferent D, but the structure here is a PREDICATE *ko'o ahagkok* 'is mine' with a subject noun *xapop* 'land'. The two are not, then, part of a single constituent NP.

(13.35) **ko'o ahagkok xapop**, yaqwatakxoho kélheykha eyke aqsa kéxegke kañe' nak

ko'o ahagkok xapop // ø-yaqwat-akx-oho kel-h-eykha =eyke
1SG 1SG.POSS earth // F-short-DUP-INTS.DECL 2PL.PART-sit-AMB-NM:PV =TC:ASR
=aqsa kexegke kane =nak
=JUST 2PL inside =TC:VIS

'The land is mine, and you all are here for a short time'

Leviticus 25 23

It is considerably less clear what the unmarked order is when all three components are used and an overt possessor is included. There are almost no documented examples of the possessor coming between the possessee and the pronoun [D R Pro], except for the title of a story seen in (13.36).

(13.36) aptemakxa **amyep yohoxma apagkok**

ap-tem-akxa amyep yohoxma apagkok
M.PART-be.TI-NM:OB garden shaman POSS.M

'Customs of the yohoxma's garden'

LC Aptemakxa

Why this order occurs in this one instance is unclear, but in general, the possessed noun and possessive pronoun, [D Pro], constitutes a solid unit that cannot be broken up, and variations in order concern whether the R noun comes before or after the [D Pro] unit. There is fairly equal occurrence of [R D Pro] and [D Pro R].

First, (13.37) provides some examples of the [R D Pro] order. If we consider the D noun and the Pro to be a consituent unit, this [R D Pro] order appears to conform more to the unmarked order in inalienably possessed NPs [R D]. In isolated, elicited possessive NPs, as in (13.37a-13.37c), [R D Pro] is always the order of constituents, although I think we should be cautious about assuming that this means it is the default, unmarked order. This order also occurs with dependent NPs, as in (13.37d-13.37e).

(13.37) *NPs with a R D Pro order*

a. **táta silla apagkok**
tata silla apagkok
my.father chair M.POSS

'My father's chair'

Skype 1.27.2020

b. **semheg pelota agkok**
semheg pelota agkok
dog ball POSS.F
'The dog's ball'

Skype 1.27.2020

c. Takha' póte apagkok
takha' póte apagkok
thunder axe M.POSS
'metorite/falling star/lightning' (literally 'the thunder's axe')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. yetneyk **hápog ámay apagkok**
yetneyk hapog amay apagkok
EXIST ant road POSS.M
'There is an ant path' or 'The ant has a path'

EDP enx001 49:14

e. kaxwo' negmaha negko'o **waley anzuelo apagkok**
kaxwo' neg-m-aha negko'o waley anzuelo apagkok
now 1PL-have-AMB.SCND 1PL Paraguayan fishhook POSS.M
'Now we use Paraguayan fishhooks'

EDP enx007 01:51

The other order, [D Pro R], appears just as often and is equally common in discourse. It is observed in isolated/appositive conditions as in (13.38a), with stative intransitive predicates as in (13.38b-13.38d), and as the argument of a participial verb (13.38e-13.38f). I have not, however, come across this order in dependent NPs which denote the patient of a dyadic verb, as with the observed [R D Pro] order in (13.37e) above. This is probably coincidental — NPs with all three elements are rare in general — and I know of no other language where constituent order in NPs is dependent upon semantic or even grammatical role.

(13.38) *NPs with a D Pro R order*

a. keso lugar mopmenye' hakte yetneyk planta medicinal, **panakte apagkok enxet**
keso lugar mop-menye' hakte yetneyk planta medicinal // panaqte
this place NEG.STAT.M-want because EXIST plant medicinal // medicine
apagkok enxet
POSS.M Enxet

'This place we don't like [to burn], because there are medicinal plants, the Enxet's medicine'

EDP enx005 06:49

b. yetneyk **tiempo apagkok pomap**
yetneyk tiempo apagkok pomap
EXIST time POSS.M boar
'There is the boar's time [that it comes out]'

EDP enx009

c. xámok agko' **historia apagkok énxet**
ø-xamok =agko' historia apagkok enxet
F-many =DEG.F history POSS.M Enxet
'There is a lot of Enxet history"

EDP enx009

d. yetneyk **takhaxpop apagkok Makxawe** dos ingles akketsapma
yetneyk takhaxpop apagkok Makxawe dos ingles
EXIST graveyard POSS.M Makxawaya two Englishmen
apk-etsap-m-a
M.PART-die-TI-NM:PV
'In the Makxawaya graveyard there are two Englishmen who died'

EDP enx037

e. Xama ekhem hekñat apwa'a Sáp'ag **yókxexma apagkok énxet**
xama ekhem =hek =nat ap-wa'-a Sap'ag yokxexma
one day =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-arrive-NM:IP Sanapaná country
apagkok enxet
POSS.M Enxet
'One day the Sanapaná arrived in the Enxet's territory'

López Ramírez (1996)

f. kaxwo ageyxhok sa ektémakxa **cuento apágkok énxet** apkelwesey énxet sur
kaxwo ag-eyx-hok =sa ek-tem-akxa cuento apagkok enxet
now 1PL-hear-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB story POSS.M Enxet
apk-el-wesey enxet sur
M.PART-DIST-name Enxet Sur
'Now we will hear about a story of the Enxet, those called Enxet Sur'

EDP enx006 00:06

In the absence of a clear numerical tendency for one order over the other, and lacking any grammatical reasoning to view one order as more basic than the other, it is reasonable to assume that the variation in order has to do with whether the R or the D noun is more salient or newsworthy in the context of the discourse, in much the same way that the order of s-argument nouns of a PREDICATE are ordered based on discourse factors. In the natural speech examples above with a [R D Pro] order, (13.37d-13.37e), the R noun is new information in the discourse, whereas in the natural speech examples with a [D Pro R] order, the R noun is already an activated referent within the discourse.

We can also investigate constituent order in contexts with no overt D noun — in other words, constructions where the possessive pronoun acts as a true possessive pronoun (e.g. 'mine', 'yours', etc.) with an overt possessor. The possessor occurring before the possessive pronoun [R Pro] appears to only occur when the possessive NP is the PREDICATE of the sentence, as in (13.39a-13.39b), or when it is the subject of a negative identity PREDICATE *háwe*, as in (13.39c) . Otherwise, the order appears to typically be [Pro R], as in (13.40). Note, however, that these examples are mostly from the Bible translation — it is not so clear that this kind of construction is particularly common in the spoken language (it may be, it just does not show up in the corpus used for this dissertation).

(13.39) a. **Juan apagkok** ya xa
Juan apagkok =ya =xa
Juan M.POSS =TC:Q =DMSTR
'Is that Juan's?'

Notes 2015

b. **xép apagkok** ma'a ekhem
xep apagkok=ma'a ekhem
2SG.M M.POSS =DMSTR sun/day
'yours is the day'

TA Psalm 74:16

c. Háwe **ko'o ahagkok**, háwe han **xeyáxa agkok**
háwe ko'o ahagkok // háwe=han xeyá=xa agkok
NEG 1.SG 1SG.POSS // NEG=AND 2.FEM=AND F.POSS
'It won't be mine and it won't be yours either'

TA 1 Kings 3:26

(13.40) háweya **apagkok xép** ma'a selyaqye?
hawe =ya apagkok xep =ma'a selyaqye
NEG =TC:Q POSS.M 2SG.M =DMSTR money
'Is that money not yours?'

TA Acts 5:4

13.4.3 Possessive classifiers?

Some sources have described Enxet Sur or related languages as having nominal possessive classifiers (see Campbell and Grondona (2012, p. 647), though the same data has been cited elsewhere). Such claims are based on a reading of very simple data in Grubb (1911) or Sušnik (1977) which some have taken to be evidence of possessive classifiers, an analysis which is promoted as much by the fact that possessive classifiers occur in neighboring Guaycuruan and Matacoan languages as it is by actual EE data. I think this is likely overstated — the forms identified as possessive classifiers are pretty transparently just perfective form nominalizations (§3.4.3, §15.4), although they do have somewhat distinct syntactic properties that suggest they could be analyzed as something like a possessive classifier, or maybe that they have been lexicalized and modeled after possessive classifiers in neighboring languages with which Enxet speakers have contact.

The most commonly cited example is a supposed domesticated animal classifier *-tosso* or its older form *-toskama* (the [k] has assimilated to [s] and the [ama] string has reduced to [o], both common productive processesses), with pronominal prefixes that indicate the "possessor" of the animal — several examples are given in (13.41). This *-ama/-o* ending, especially the fact that it has undergone this innovative and morphologically restricted phonological process, along with the participial prefixes, indicates without doubt a recent etymology in a perfective form verb. Functionally, then, it is not much different than any other deverbal nominalization, and can be used either as a modifier of a head noun or as an independent noun (head of an NP) on its own.

(13.41) a. wásesagkok sa' yegmen **aptósso semheg**

w-as-es-agk-ok =sa' yegmen ap-tosso
1SG.IRR-give.water-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT water M.PART-domestic
semheg
dog

'I will give water to your dog'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. xámok **nennaqtósso taqalqal** tén han tat'a

ø-xamok nen-naq-tosso taqalqal ten =han tat'a
F-many 1PL.PART-PL-domestic turkey then =AND chicken

'We have many turkeys and chickens'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ayaqkasamhok sa' netno' **sektósso ta'aw'ay**

a-yaqkas-am-hok =sa' netn-o' sek-tosso
1SG.IRR-place-TERM-INTS.NM:PO above-INTS 1SG.PART-domestic parrot
ta'aw'ay

'I will put my parrot up high'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Wáphássesek sa' xama **yát'ay apketkók sektósso**
w-aphas-ses-ek sa? xama yát?ay ap-ketko:k
1SG.IRR-send-BEN-FUT TC:FUT one goat M-little
sek-to:sso
1SG.PART-domestic.animal
"I will send you one of my little goats"

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. axta agkok ko'o axñak, megkatsepek axta **semheg sektosso**
axta =agkok ko'o a-xñ-ak // me-gka-tsep-ek =axta semheg
TC:PST =TC:COND 1SG 1SG.IRR-go-SCND // NEG-F.IRR-die-SCND =TC:PST dog
sek-tosso
1SG.PART-domestic.animal
'If I had not left, my dog would not have died'

Notes 8-20-2018

f. háxko elyáqtamakxa **apnaqtósso**?
haxko el-yaqtamak-xa ap-naq-tosso
where *f.part.dist*-graze-NM:OB M.PART-DIST-domestic.animal
'Where are your animals grazing?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

However, the notion that *-tosso* has grammaticalized as something else/more than a perfective form nominalization is not entirely without merit, based on two features. First, it does not contain an otherwise productive verb stem. It probably derives from the stem *-tawas-* 'to dominate' (thus, *sektosso* 'that which I dominate') or possibly from the causative form of *-taw-* 'eat' (thus, *sektosso* 'that which I feed'), but the productive, regular perfective forms of these verb stems are *-tawasso* and *-tókasso*, respectively. Thus, the erstwhile stem has reduced phonologically — indicative of lexicalization/grammaticalization — or it comes from a totally different stem which no longer exists in the language, which also means that it is not really a regular verb. However, lexicalizations and irregularities produce similar single-form stems (i.e. only a potential form or perfective form, but no others), which do not prompt an analysis of some special grammatical status.

Second, *-tosso* typically comes to the left of the possessed noun, whereas the more typical position for nominalizations in modification use is to the right of a head noun. This is not a hard and fast rule, however, although it is probably a significant tendency. This may be an indication of *-tosso* being in a special grammatical category of "genitive classifier", but there are probably other better explanations.

There is a functional difference between *-tosso* and other kinds of possessive constructions, since *-tosso* as an independent noun (without a co-occurring lexical "possessed" animal noun) already has a very limited set of interpretations, only referring to a handful of domesticated animals, and therefore the referent of such a noun is already highly

restricted compared to a possessive pronoun like *ahagkok* 'mine'. Whereas possessive pronouns act as dependents of lexical nouns to restrict their reference (i.e. 'which bag?', 'my bag'), the opposite is probably true of complex NPs with *-tosso* — in *sektosso semheg* 'my dog', *semheg* 'dog' is probably acting as a dependent modifier and specifying the referent of *sektosso* 'my domesticated animal'. This would account for the difference in order compared to other noun-nominalization complexes, and the fact that the order is variable — either of the two constituents can be the head with the other being the restrictive modifier (i.e. 'a dog which is my domesticated animal' or 'my domesticated animal which is a dog').

Other items may give the impression of a possessive classifier in the way that *-tosso* does, with similar distributions, but these are all unambiguously productive perfective nominalizations. This includes items like *seyánte* 'my ride/mount', *sekya* 'my drink', or *sekto* my food, perfective forms of *-ant-* 'to mount, get on top', *-yen-* 'drink', and *-taw-* 'eat', respectively. These items typically co-occur with lexical nouns to their right and are either the only way to express possession of such lexical nouns, as in (13.42), or they indicate a different type of possession than the use of the simple possessive pronoun, as in (13.43). Like with forms of *-tosso*, any of these can be used on their own without a complement "possessed" noun.

(13.42) a. **seyánte** yátnáxeg
sey-ánt-e yátnáxeg
1SG.PART-mount-NM:PV horse
'my horse'

b. **yátnáxeg **ahagkok**
yátnáxeg ahagkok
horse 1SG.POSS
**'my horse'

(13.43) a. **sekya** yegmen
sek-y-a yegmen
1SG.PART-drink-NM:PV water
'my water' (that I drink)

b. yegmen **ahagkok**
yegmen ahagkok
water 1SG.POSS
'my urine'

Again, I would argue that the most accurate analysis for such items is that they are regular deverbal nominalizations which can take lexical nouns as rightward modifiers to specify their reference when necessary, and not that they constitute a type of possessive classifier. One could see how the system might further grammaticalize into an elaborated possessive classifier system, but at the present stage of the language, I do not believe such claims are merited.

13.4.4 Possessive NPs as predicates

This description of possessors in the NP has mostly taken a conventional approach to the nature of their constituency, but when possessive NPs are used as PREDICATES, there are some unusual behaviors which raise questions about the nature of the constituency of nouns and their possessors. Generally speaking, possessed NPs do not fill the predicate position as a single, complex NP, and instead their semantic constituents are split by TAME clitics, as in (13.44). By semantic constituents, I mean the possessor, possessee, and possessive pronoun which would be rendered as a complex NP, but whose syntactic cohesion is questionable in these cases.

For example, in (13.44a), the identity predicate, semantically, is 'was Nenito's father', but Nenito's father is not rendered as a cohesive NP in the pre-TAME PREDICATE position (i.e. ***apyápma Nenito axta*. Instead, the possessed noun is in the PREDICATE position while the possessor is, apparently, a dependent of the PREDICATE (presumably a nominal COMPLEMENT, see §5.1.3).

(13.44) *Nouns and their possessors split by TAME clitics*

a. **apyápma** axta **Nenito**
ap-yápma =axta Nenito
M.POSS-father =TC:PST Nenito
'He was Nenito's father'
NNE190 07:22

b. Háwe waley anmen, wánxa **apagkok** apagko' **énxet**
háwe waley anmen // wánxa apagkok =apagko' énxet
NEG Paraguayan alcohol // only M.POSS =TC:DEG.M Enxet
'It wasn't Paraguayan alcohol, it was only the Enxet's'
López Ramírez (1996)

c. **Kéxegke**ya **kélketche** s'e?
kéxegke =ya kél-ketche =s'e
2PL =TC:Q 2PL.POSS-child =POSS
'Are these your children'
TA John 9:19

d. **xeyep**ya **apagkok**
xeyep =ya apagkok
2SG.M =TC:Q M.POSS
'is it yours?'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Which of the semantic constituents of the NP is in the PREDICATE position does not appear to matter. The alternate orders in (13.45) are apparently semantic equivalents, although I would imagine in practice their are pragmatic factors that would determine which goes in the PREDICATE position.

(13.45) a. ko'o axta etánegken Ceferina
ko'o =axta e-tánegken Ceferina
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law Ceferina
'Ceferina was my daughter in law'

Skype 4.20.2020

b. etánegken axta ko'o Ceferina
e-tánegken =axta ko'o Ceferina
1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law =TC:PST 1SG Ceferina
'Ceferina was my daughter in law'

Skype 4.20.2020

c. ****etánegken ko'o** axta Ceferina
**e-tanegken ko'o =axta Ceferina
1SG.POSS-daughter.in.law 1SG =TC:PST Ceferina
'Ceferina was my daughter in law'

Skype 2 5 2020

In line with the observations about the tight constituency of a possessed noun and the possessive pronoun made above, these two elements do not get split across the TAME clitic boundary.

(13.46) keso **táxa apagkok** axta **énxet**

keso táxa apagkok =axta énxet
this fire M.POSS =TC:PST Enxet

'This was the Enxet's fire'

López Ramírez (1996)

There are occasional exceptions to this phenomenon, and possessors and their possessed nouns occasionally occur as a unit in the PREDICATE position — see the examples in (13.39) above. However, the fact that this splitting of the possessed noun and its possessor is the more common pattern suggests that, in fact, possessors do not typically form strong syntactic constituencies with possessed nouns. Thus, when they occur in adjacent positions, they are probably in the same kind of paratactic, appositive syntactic relationship typical of most apparently complex structures in Enxet Sur. Given that Kalisch (2009) definitively says this is the case in Enlhet Norte, I am inclined to believe that exceptions to the patterns observed in this section are recent innovations, likely contact effects, and that the ancestral pattern in Enxet Sur does not configure possessor NPs as dependents of a head noun within a noun phrase.

13.4.5 Multiply embedded possession

Because there are multiple morphological possession types, the combination of different types in multiply embedded possessive noun phrases is at times quite interesting and occasionally non-intuitive. Some of the behaviors point to similar conclusions as the previous section — that apparently possessive complex NPs do not really have syntactic cohesions and coherent phrase or dependency structure.

First, to establish some terminology, take the example in (13.47).

(13.47) Carlos apyáp silla apagkok

[[Carlos ap-yap] silla apagkok]
[[Carlos M.POSS-father chair M.POSS]

'Carlos' father's chair'

Skype 1.27.2020

Here, there are two possessive relations — an *inner* one 'Carlos' father' and an *outer* one 'father's chair', so named because in a phrase structure analysis, the inner relation is below the level of or within the outer relation [[Carlos' father]'s chair]. We can identify the inner relation as an example of inalienable possession (IA) (bound possessive prefix) and the outer relation as an example of non-related possession (AN) (possessive pronoun). In this instance with an inalienable inner relation and an alienable outer relation, the constituent order intuitively fits the pattern of AN NPs — the IA NP *Carlos apyap* 'Carlos' father' fits as a unit into the typical unmarked position for the possessor of the AN NP. This type of embedding appears treats the inner NP as any ordinary NP, and word order proceeds as normal.

Constituent order becomes more marked from there on out. In inalienable possession, the unmarked basic order is [R D]. However, when both outer and inner relations are inalienable, the order for the outer relation appears to always be [D R], and in some cases the order of the inner constituency is also [D R]. Although the constituent order flips, word order still maintains adjacency of the inner constituency.

(13.48) a. ahóxekcha'ák **áwa' Juan aptáwa'**
a-hóxek-cha'ák [a-awa' [Juan ap-táwa']]
F.STAT-long-PL [F.POSS-hair [Juan M.POSS-spouse]]
'*Juan's wife's hair* is long'

Skype 3.14.2020

b. kelyaqwatawok **apaktegak étche' Wilma**
kel-yaqwat-awok [ap-akteg-ak [e-etche' Wilma]]
DIST-short-INTS.DECL [M.POSS-arm-PL [F.POSS-child Wilma]]
'*Wilma's son's arms* are short'

Skype 3.14.2020

c. ketsék [átog [apxagkok Juan]]

k-etsék [a-atog [ap-xagkok Juan]]
F-small [F.POSS-mouth [M.POSS-house Juan]]

'*The door of Juan's house* is small'

Skype 3.14.2020

While this reversal of the outer relation reflects a common trend in the NP — complex constituents get moved to the right — the reversal occurs even in embedded possession without an (overtly) complex inner possessive NP. For example, in (13.49), the possessor of *apwáxok* 'his insides' is also a possessed noun *étche* 'your child', but there is no overt possessor, and still the order of the outer relation is [D R].

(13.49) mékóya elleykha **apwáxok étche**?

meko =ya el-l-eykha [ap-waxok [e-etche]]
NEG.EXIST =1 F.PART.DIST-roam-AMB-NM:PV [M.POSS-inside [F.POSS-child]]

'Your child has no parasites?' (literally 'There are no parasites in *your child's insides*?')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

At least in elicitation, these complex multiply embedded possessive NPs *can* function like a single unit, appearing together in the pre-verbal focus position as in (13.50). This example has an AN outer relation and an inner relation with the "possessive classifier" *-tosso*.

(13.50) **Juan aptósso qames pelota agkok** ekwetakxak

Juan ap-tósso qames pelota agkok ek-wet-akx-ak
Juan M.PART-domestic.animal cat ball F.POSS 1SG-see-DUP-SCND

'I found Juan's cat's ball'

Skype 3.14.2020

However, in some cases, multiply embedded NPs do not actually appear to have a coherent internal structure. In (13.51), the inner relation is an AN possession *Juan semheg apagkok* 'John's dog' and the outer is an IN possession *semheg épakyek* 'dog's tail', but the actual construction, from a bracketing perspective, places the semantic outer relation inside of the inner relation. If 'John's dog' is the possessor of 'tail', we would expect either ***Juan semheg apagkok épakyek* [R D] or ***épakyek semheg apagkok Juan* [D R], but instead we get the order in (13.51) which does not appear to order the elements in a way which reflects the relative semantic scope of the elements.

(13.51) ahóxek Juan semheg épakyek apagkok

a-hóxek [Juan [semheg é-pakyek] apagkok]
F.STAT-long [Juan [dog F.POSS-tail] M.POSS]

'Juan's dog's tail is long'

Skype 3.14.2020

Multiply embedded possession, especially with overt possessors, is rare in the discourse of any language, and based on the syntactic profile of the language presented in this description and in the Enlhet Norte description of Kalisch (2009), I am suspicious that these structures would actually get used in real speech. Nonetheless, the available data presents some interesting patterns and problems. Further study should confirm the grammaticality and felicitousness of such constructions with a broader range of speakers and attempt to find them in naturally occurring (i.e. non-elicited) speech.

13.4.6 Possession by simple adjacency

Some apparent possessive constructions involve simple juxtaposition of possessor and possessee with no overt morphological indicators of possession. These juxtapositions can occur in either order (R–D or D–R), and are most often used for a possession of general association rather than ownership or discrete relationship. For example, in (13.52), there is a semantic possessor *waley* 'Paraguayan' and possessee *anmen* 'alcohol', but there is no use of the possessive pronoun. This does not refer to alcohol belonging to a particular Paraguayan, but instead the type of alcohol made by Paraguayans.

(13.52) Háwe **waley anmen**, wánxa apagkok apagko' **énxet**

háwe waley anmen // wánxa apagkok =apagko' énxet
NEG Paraguayan alcohol // only M.POSS =TC:DEG.M Enxet

'It wasn't Paraguayan alcohol, it was only the Enxet's'

López Ramírez (1996)

A similar phenomenon involves the establishment of association by paratactic PREDICATES. For example, in (13.53), *xapop* 'land' is the subject of the first PREDICATE *awanhek* 'it is big', and then a secondary nominal PREDICATE *énxet* asserts some kind of relationship between *énxet* and *xapop*, even though it is not really established by any overt morphosyntactic mechanism. Even if one chooses to analyse *énxet nano'* as some kind of dependent instead of an independent clause, this would still be an example of association or possession established by adjacency instead of any formal possession mechanism.

(13.53) awanhek xapop énxet nano'

[a-wanhek xapop] [énxet nano']
F.STAT-large earth Enxet old

'The Enxet's territory was large back then', literally 'The land was big, it was back then the Enxet'

EDP enx037 10:43

13.5 Noun compounding

The primary kind of noun compounding in Enxet Sur is noun-noun compounding, where two non-related nouns are put together to form a single noun. For example, in (13.54), two non-related nouns — *tetet* 'ibis' and *yámet* 'tree, plant' — are put together to form the name of an herb *tetet yámet*, known in Spanish as *yerba de lucero*.

(13.54) **Tetet yámet** ekteme xáma panaqte negmawána agmáha

tetet yámet ek-tem-e xáma panaqte neg-m-a-wán-a
ibis tree F.PART-be.TI-NM:PV one medicine 1PL.PART-TI-VBLZ-able-NM:PV
ag-máha
1PL.IRR-have-AMB.NM:PO

'The Ibis Tree (Spanish *yerba de lucero* is a medicine we can use'

Schoolbook Grade 4

This is largely a lexical process, meaning that noun compounding is most prevalent as a means of creating names for plants and animals, and that probably, like much of the nominal morphology, it is not a conventionally productive process so much as it is a means by which new terms are coined. However, I include it in this chapter because it is a process by which lexical nouns can act as modifiers of other lexical nouns, and the degree to which this kind of compounding is "productive" is very much an open question worthy of further investigation.

In general, the more common pattern is that the first noun is a descriptor of second, as in the examples in (13.55). For example, *yaqtépa yámet* 'squash tree/plant' is a kind of *yámet* 'tree' and not a kind of *yaqtépa* 'squash'.

(13.55) a. wa' yetneyk han **yaqtépa yámet**, atse'
wa' yetneyk =han yaqtépa yámet // ats-e'
SO EXIST =AND squash tree // sweet-DECL
'There's a Squash Tree, it's tasty'

EDP enx007 13:31

b. ko'o sekteme **Makxawé énxet** ahagko'
ko'o sek-tem-e Makxawé énxet =ahagko'
1SG 1SG.PART-be.TI-NM:PV Makxawaya Enxet =TC:1SG.DEG
'I'm a true Makxawaya Enxet'

EDP enx028 06:42

However, a minority of such noun-noun compounds display the opposite order, as in (13.56), where the latter noun is a descriptor of the first. For example, *náta semheg* is a kind of *náta* bird and not a kind of *semheg* 'dog'. These examples present plant and animal names, but their order is that used in more productive uses of nouns as modifiers of other nouns, described in §15.1.1

(13.56) a. Náta semheg

náta semheg
bird dog

'Black necked stilt (bird, *Himantopus mexicanus*)'

b. mokwa naxma'

mokwa naxma'
peanut woods

'manduvirã plant (*Ruellia sp.*)

Finally, it should be noted that possessive NPs with related nouns are commonly lexicalized, as seen in the names of many plants and animals.

(13.57) echaha askok

echaha askok
black.algarrobo bug

'type of ant with a flat head'

(13.58) peyópaskok

peyem ap-askok
lizard his.bug

13.6 Directions for further research

Issues of noun phrase constituency and their relationship to appositional modifiers and discontinuous noun phrases is a topic deserving of further study, which can draw from work on other languages in other regions that show similar features. In such languages, the reasons why it can be difficult to decide whether elements form one nominal expression "include word order flexibility, the absence of a clear-cut noun-adjective distinction, as well as the ubiquitous use of nominal forms in a wide range of grammatical roles" (Reinöhl, 2020, p. 77), all of which are prominent issues in Enxet Sur and presumably other EE languages as well. Many treatments of noun phrase discontinuity in other languages involve prosodic investigations, and therefore a better understanding of the prosodic inventory of the language would be useful for understanding constituency issues related to the noun phrase.

Investigating the noun phrase also presents and interesting data problem. Discontinuous noun phrases or appositional modifiers are very hard to elicit, and can really only be observed in natural speech. However, as described here, several kinds of complex noun phrases are relatively rare in discourse and so there are relatively few examples which can be compared. Constructions like these which are difficult to elicit are only going to be better understood with more natural speech data, which means more language documentation and better systems of intonational annotation.

Chapter 14

Negation

14.1 Overview of Negation

This chapter is the primary location within this dissertation for the description of all negation types. Other chapters which reference negation defer to this one for fuller description. This is so that negation, as a ubiquitous feature contrastively available to most construction types, can be understood holistically rather than in a piecemeal fashion. Negation in Enxet Sur presents a number of typologically interesting associations, as it is connected in a number of ways with irrealis marking, focus constructions, and nominal expressions/nominalization, and the special negation focus construction provides a cross-linguistically rare example of negation established without an overt negator morpheme, as described in §14.2.4. Furthermore, §14.5 provides some interesting historical data to suggest that negation was once a feature directly morphologically accessible to lexical nouns.

The negation of lexical verbs described in §14.2 is multifaceted, with multiple indices of negation distributed across a handful of different negating constructions, including a special negation focus construction. Semiverb negation is described separately, as it is morphologically distinct from the negation of verbs. Both of these negation types are realized primarily through morphological means, and except for the negation focus construction, they do not have any readily apparent affects on syntactic structure. The lack of substantial syntactic effects in verbal negation is perhaps unsurprising, given the large degree of parataxis within Enxet syntax (§5.1) — there simply is not a lot of complex structure that negation could affect.

The other two major negation types, the identity negative *háwe* and the existential/possessive negative *méko* (§§14.3 and 14.4, respectively), are the primary means of negating non-verbal predicates. In contrast to the morphological indicators of negation on verbs/semiverbs, these non-verbal negation types are syntactically rather interesting, since they fill the PREDICATE POSITION and place the negated nominal predicate in the DEPENDENT position.

14.2 Verbal negation

Enxet Sur Standard Negation (SN), or the unmarked negation strategy for finite, declarative verbs (cf. Miestamo 2008) has three morphological components: 1) the affixation of a negative formative *m(e)-* to the left edge of a verb followed by 2) an irrealis pronominal prefix, and 3) an inflectional suffix which is either homophonous or identical to the SCND ending described in §3.4.1. A basic example is given in (14.1).

(14.1) **megkaxenak** egwáxok agyo'ókxak negko'o xa

m-**egka**-xen-**ak** eg-wáxok ag-yo'-okx-ak negko'o
NEG-F.IRR-show-SCND 1PL.POSS-innermost 1PL.IRR-obey-DUP-NM:PO 1PL
=xa
=DMSTR

'We don't think to obey it' (literally 'Our innermost doesn't tell us to obey it')

EDP enx039 37:27

Verbal negation, however, takes a number of different forms which only use one or two of these indicators of negation, or rely on other indicators to construct non-standard negation types. Whatever morphological indicators of negation are used, negated verbs maintain their basic inflectional distinctions — declarative, imperative, potential, perfective, imperfective, and oblique nominalization forms are all still distinct when negated. The only morphological distinction lost in negation is that between the initial and second position declarative forms.

In general, there do not appear to be major syntactic effects of verbal negation vis à vis the affirmative clause, especially not for SN, and most negation types simply involve morphological changes to the verb. Only the negation focus construction, exclusively accessible to declarative verbs, involves significant syntactic effects, but these may be considered more a product of a focus construction than of negation.

14.2.1 Negative prefix and pronominal marking

The vast majority of negated verb forms begin with a combination of a negative morpheme (glossed in this dissertation as a prefix, but its boundedness is up for debate) and a pronominal prefix from the irrealis paradigm (see §3.3.3). The irrealis pronominal prefix is used for all negated verbs, regardless of which kind of pronominal prefix the affirmative counterpart would use (declarative, irrealis, or participial). Compare the affirmative forms in (14.2a,14.3,14.4) with their negated counterparts in (14.2b,14.3b,14.4b), respectively.

(14.2) a. **apxegkek** axta
ap-xeg-kek =axta
M-GO-DECL =TC:PST
'He went'

b. **mexñak** axta
m-**e**-xñ-**ak** =axta
NEG-M.IRR-go-NEG =TC:PST
'He didn't go'

(14.3) a. **alanok** sa'
a-l-an-ok =sa'
1SG.IRR-DIST-attend-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT
'I'll look'

b. **malanók** sa'
m-a-l-an-ók =sa'
NEG-1SG.IRR-DIST-attend-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT
'I won't look'

(14.4) a. ...axta táhak **ekpaqmeta** ekyennaqte s'e
axta ø-tah-ak ek-paqmet-a ek-yennaq-te =s'e
TC:PST F-be/say-SCND F.PART-chat-NM:IP F.PART-strong-NM:PV =PROX
'...she said while speaking forcefully'

b. **megkapaqmeta** enxoho xama enxoho
m-egka-paqmet-a =enxoho xama =enxoho
NEG-F.IRR-chat-NM:IP =TC:CONJ one =TC:CONJ
'...without speaking to one another'

There are two overt negator prefixes. The prefix *m(e)-* is used for the negation of declarative, potential, and nominalized verb forms, while the prohibitive[1] *na-* is used to negate imperative verbs. A list of the combinations of negator and irrealis pronominal prefix is given in table 14.1. There are no prohibitives documented in the first person singular or plural, because there are no first person singular imperatives and first person plural commands (i.e. 'let's do it') are generally accomplished with potential rather than imperative form verbs.

Person	Negative indicative	Prohibitive
1SG	ma-	—
1PL	mag-	—
F	megka-	nagka-
M	me-	ná e-/ nágy-
2PL/IMPR	megkól-	nágkól-
1SG.PAT	mehe-	ná he-
1PL.PAT	meheg-	ná heg-

Table 14.1: Negative and prohibitive prefixes in combination with irrealis pronomial prefixes; presented in orthographic standard

[1] I use here the terminology from van der Auwera, Lejeune, and Goussev (2013).

It is important to note that the prefixing morphology for negated verbs listed in table 14.1 is multimorphemic and agglutinating — the forms are entirely predictable based on their component parts. For both negative forms, the negative prefix simply attaches to the irrealis form of the pronominal prefix. This is fairly transparent across the paradigm, except that the velar nasal, written <g>, that appears before the *k* in the feminine and impersonal form is in fact preserved from the underlying/earlier form of these pronominal prefixes[2], and appears in other forms where a morpheme is phonologically bound/cliticized in front of the feminine or impersonal irrealis.

The construction of the prohibitive is fairly straightforward[3], since there is never any possibility of an intervening morpheme between the imperative negator *ná* and the imperative form verb that follows it, and there are no differences in verb ending to consider.

A remaining outstanding question involves the boundedness of either of the negating formatives[4]. The prohibitative *ná-*, for one, exhibits some properties which are unusual for bound verbal morphology. Phonologically, it takes a long vowel, which indicates some sort of prosodic prominence that other bound morphology generally does not have. Orthographically, speakers typically write the prohibitative *ná-* as a separate word before the first person inverse prefixes and the masculine prefix in the form [e-].

(14.5) *Prohibitative as independent orthographic word*

a. ná etwasap nepyeyseksa apnamakkok

ná= e-twás-áp n-ep-yeyseksa ap-namakkok
PROH= M.IRR-control-M.MID NM:OB-M.STAT-amongst M.POSS-kin.PL

'Don't quarrel amongst your family'

EDP enx039

b. ná hetekkes!

ná= he-tek-kes
NEG 1SG.PAT.IRR-leave-CAUS

'Don't take my photo!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ná hẽllegássesagkoho aqsa eñama nenlane xa mólya'assáxma nak

ná= hẽl-leg-ás-ses-agk-oho =aqsa eñama
NEG 1PL.PAT.IRR.DIST-sense-CAUS-BEN-COMPL-INTS.IMP =JUST come.from
nen-l-an-e =xa mol-ya'as-sa =xma =nak
NEG.1PL.IRR.DIST-know-INF =AMB =TC:VIS

[2]In EE languages which permit word-initial consonant clusters, like Enenlhet (Unruh et al., 2003), the feminine irrealis prefix is [ŋka-].

[3]The only apparent irregularity in the available data is a dictionary entry in Rojas and Curtis (2017), *nák hetekkes!* 'don't take my photo', in which the prohibitive is given as *nák* instead of *ná*. It is unclear if this is different or just an idiosyncratic pronunciation difference.

[4]Although its a somewhat interesting question in its own right, I have not found any other constructions whose analysis rests on whether or not the negators are bound or not.

'Don't hold our sins against us' (literally 'Do not make us suffer for our actions committed in ignorance')

TA Numbers 12:11

It is written as part of the orthographic word along with the verb with the impersonal and feminine prefixes, as well as masculine prefixes in the form *y-*, which occurs with vowel-initial verb bases. All of these have a nasal *g* which ultimately is part of the irrealis pronominal prefix, but which would not be written word initially, as it would create a phonologically non-permissable initial cluster.

(14.6) Nágkóle' aqsa!

ná=	gkol-e'	=aqsa
PROH	2PL.IRR-fear	=JUST

'Don't be afraid'

TA Deuteronomy 7.18

(14.7) nágkapekhé kélwáxok

ná=	gka-pekhe:	ke:l-wáxok
NEG=	F.IRR-force	2PL.POSS-innermost

'Don't lose your cool!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(14.8) nágyésáp etwaksek!

ná=	gy-e:s-áp	e-twaks-ek
NEG=	M.IRR-conceal-M.MID	M.IRR-control-NM:PO

'Don't give up! Play with all your might!'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Given the limited syntactic operations available to imperatives, however, there are not really any other tests which could help discern the boundedness of the prohibitive. The boundedness of the standard negator *m(e)-* is also up for debate, but this is related to its ability to act as an independent head in the negation focus construction described in §14.2.4 below.

There are also a handful of conditions in which the irrealis pronominal prefix alone indicates negation without the need of the overt negator morpheme. For example, some nominalized verb forms are clearly semantically negated but lack the *m(e)-* negator. In (14.9a), the verb *-yenna'-* is in a negated perfective form, *keynnaqte* 'which isn't strong'.

This negation, however, is indicated only by the use of the feminine irrealis prefix *ke-*[5], and there is no explicit negator. The negation is indicated by the co-occurrence of the irrealis with a participial ending. Because participial endings, namely the perfective, would only have irrealis pronominal prefixes when negated, the negator *m(e)-* is rendered redundant, and the irrealis pronominal prefix alone is enough to indicate negation.

(14.9) a. **Kennaqte** appeywa
ke-ennaq-te ap-peyw-a
F.IRR-strong-NM:PV M.PART-speak-PART
'He speaks softly' (literally 'his words are not strong', Enxet name for a missionary at Makxawaya in the 1940's)
EDP enx047 08:48

b. **Kamopwána**
ka-m-op-wan-a
F.IRR-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:PV
'a mute man, man who cannot speak'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ekwet'ak xeyk yátnáxeg **kamopyemente**
ek-wet'-ak =xeyk yátnáxeg ka-m-op-yement-e
1SG-see-DECL =TC:HOD horse F.IRR-TI-VBLZ.M-tame-NM:PV
'I just saw a wild ['not tame'] horse'

This negation strategy, however, appears to be restricted to highly lexicalized constructions in the perfective form (no known examples in the imperfective or oblique nominalization), and is not particularly productive. It may be related to the diachronic process of nominalization described in the noun chapter (§4.3), which involves perfective form nominalizations loosing their initial pronominal prefixes. It has also only been observed in the feminine, not with other pronominal prefix categories, further underscoring that it is not a generally productive process[6].

Something similar can be see in the negated paradigm for the verb stem *-h-*INTS 'be the same'. Here, the paradigm is regular, except that in the feminine, there is no overt negator *m(e)-*.

(14.10) a. maghawok
m-ag-h-awok
NEG-1PL.IRR-sit-INTS.DECL
'We are different [not the same]'

b. mexnok

[5]See §3.3.3 for information about allomorphy; this prefix is typically *ka-*.

[6]Sanapaná reportedly has a grammaticalized use of the feminine irrealis in some negated future verb constructions which is used for multiple different person categories (pc: Jens van Gysel). The fact that it is only the feminine being used in such instances is likely related ti the fact that it is the unmarked, neutral pronominal category across the EE family.

m-e-xn-ok
NEG-M.IRR-sit-INTS.DECL

'He is different [not the same]'

c. **kaxnok**
ka-xn-ok
F.IRR-sit-INTS.DECL

'She/it is different [not the same]'

This use of the feminine irrealis prefix as a sole negative indicator is not nearly as common with declarative verbs like *kaxnok* as it is with lexicalized perfective forms. For example, the declarative paradigm for *-yenna'-* 'strong', which is also highly irregular, has *kayhe'* 'she is strong' in the feminine, with the *ka-* feminine prefix, yet it does not indicate a negated verb in this context.

14.2.2 Negative verb endings

While nominalized verbs are only indicated for negation with the prefixes described in the previous section, negated declarative and potential verbs take distinct suffixes, and thus, despite the fact that all negated forms take irrealis pronominal prefixes, a distinction in affirmative verbs between declarative and potential forms is maintained in negation. For example, in (14.11a), the verb *-etsap-* 'die' takes the SCND suffix for an indicative, non-future proposition, while in (14.11b) the negated 'die' event is hypothetical, and is therefore marked with the potential suffix.

(14.11) *Negation of potential and declarative -etsap- 'die'*

a. tépegkek eykel'a ko'o moto, **megkatsapak**
ø-te:p-eg-kek =eyke =l'a ko'o moto // m-egka-tsap-**ak**
F-go.out-COMPL-DECL =TC:ASR =TC:DUB ko'o moto // NEG-F.IRR-die-SCND

'But I think my motorcyle is running fine, it hasn't died'

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b. axta agkok ko'o axñak, **megkatsepek** axta semheg sektosso
axta =agkok ko'o a-xñ-ak // m-egka-tsep-**ek** =axta semheg
TC:PST =IF 1SG 1SG.IRR-go-SCND // NEG-F.IRR-die-NM:PO =TC:PST dog
sek-to:s-so
1SG.PART-control-NM:PV

'If I hadn't left, my dog wouldn't have died'

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The negative declarative and potential forms of several verb stems are given in table 14.2. The negated declarative has a grammatical suffix that is identical to the SCND

suffix which declarative verbs use when they are non-initial in constituent-focus constructions. Like the *scnd* suffix, whose morphology and allomorphy is described in §3.4.1, it is most clearly distinguished from the initial declarative suffix in verbs that show a DECL *-kek/-chek/-eyk* contrasting with a SCND *-ak*. However, like the affirmative SCND suffix, the contrast at times involves different vowels, as in *aptókek/metwok* 'eat', and in the case of glottal stop final bases or many of the stems containing stem-forming morphology, there is no contrast whatsoever. Therefore, for some verb stems, there is not a contrast in the endings of affirmative and negated declarative verbs, as in *apwet'ak/mét'ak* 'see'.

Stem	Gloss	DECL	NEG.DECL	NM:PO	NEG.NM:PO
-exe'-	'sell'	apkexakkek	mekxeyk	ekxak	mekxayhek
-wete'-	'see'	apwet'ak	mét'ak	étak	métyek
-taw-	'eat'	aptókek	metwok	etwok	metwehek
-xen-	'show'	apxenchek	mexénak	exének	mexének
-yekpelch-	'recognize'	apyekpelchek	mékpelchak	ékpelchek	mékpelkok
-yenyaw-	'toss'	apyenyókek	meyenyawak	énýok	meyenyewek

Table 14.2: Some declarative and potential verbs in the masculine, with their negated counterparts

The description of the SCND suffix in §3.4.1 more completely and adequately describes its form, but the question for negation is whether or not the negated ending and the SCND suffix in affirmative constituent-focus constructions are really one in the same, or just homophony. Furthermore, if they are really the same, what might be the motivation for the use of this morpheme in negated verbs?

Mere homophony between the two forms seems unlikely at first glance, given that the surface forms vary as greatly as they do — all of the allomorphs for the two types of endings are the exact same in all of the same environments, many of which do not appear to be strictly phonologically motivated. If there is something like homophony between two different forms, it is the product of an omission. The description of the SCND ending in §3.4.1 presents some evidence that, at least historically but maybe also in a modern productive sense, the DECL suffix **-eyek*[7] is compositional with a formative *-ey* that marks the verb as the focus or primary propositional content of the utterance, along with a generic *-ek* that marks the declarative form generally. A form like the latter *-ek* can be seen in the declarative form of most semiverbs, and possibly even adjectives and related nouns[8]. Under this analysis, the affirmative SCND verb ending and that found in negated declarative verbs are identical because both use a generic declarative *-ek* that is also found in initial affirmative DECL, but lack an assertive *-ey* unit. Their homophony, then, would simply be the result of their both lacking a unit found in initial affirmative DECL forms. This hypothesis would require a more complete understanding of the complex and possibly irregular phonology of these suffixes, as well as some comparative and likely reconstructive analysis.

[7]This could either be considered the "underlying" form or the historical, ancestral form.

[8]How exactly such a form contrasts with the potential *-ek* is unclear, since potential and SCND forms form most verbs are still distinct — this could, however, be resolved through a treatment of the difference through different phonological domains.

The alternative, that there is a discrete and distinct SCND morpheme that is equally used in affirmative constituent-focus constructions and in negated declaratives, raises the question of how some core function or semantics of the morpheme is appropriate to both conditions, or at the very least what a semantic pathway from one to the other might have been historically. Miestamo (2008), in a cross-linguistic typological review of asymmetries between affirmative and negative clauses, states that one strategy many languages use for negation is to have morphology which is used in the affirmative for focus constructions. In a diachronic sense, these secondary indices of negation arise as speakers use focus morphology to indicate that the negation, and not the verb event, is the primary propositional content. Following the well-attested Jespersen Cycle (van der Auwera, 2009), part of which involves non-obligatory, secondary emphatic indices of negation becoming obligatory to negated constructions, this focus-like morphology became part of the obligatory construction of Standard Negation. The fact that, in the modern language, a distinct negation focus construction exists (§14.2.4) does not present problems for a historical analysis that the focus morphology, the SCND suffix, became part of the obligatory Standard Negation morphology by way of an older negation focus construction.

The negated potential verbs — which like affirmative potential verbs can refer to future, hypothetical, or habitual situations — take a unique ending, with the apparent shape *-'ek* (more on its form below), and therefore they have two morphological asymmetries vis a vis affirmative potential verbs (since their pronominal prefixes draw from the same paradigm). Some examples are given in (14.12).

(14.12) *Examples of negated potential verbs*

a. etasqapagkok chá'a kelaphope yaqwayam **meyaqnenhe'**
   e-tasqap-agkok chá'a kelaphope yaqwayam
   M.IRR-pierce-COMPL.NM:PO always old.men for
   m-e-yaqnen-he'
   NEG-M.IRR-fall-NEG.NM:PO
   'Old men use walking sticks to not fall down'
   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **mehegwetyek** negkoo popyet, ampekkenek appáwa yokxoho
   meheg-wet-yek negko'o popyet // am-pekken-ek
   NEG.1PL.STAT-see-INDEF 1PL brocket.deer // 1PL.IRR-place-INDEF
   ap-páwa yo:kxoho
   M-clothes all
   'The deer won't see us, we put this (plant) all over our clothes'
   EDP enx005 04:25

c. yaqwayam **mehegwetyek** negko'o pomap
   yaqwayam me-heg-wet-yek negko'o pomap
   for NEG-1PL.IRR.PAT-see-NEG.NM:PO 1PL boar

'So that the boars won't see us'

EDP enx009

The form of the suffix is itself quite interesting. Like the regular, affirmative potential suffix, its form is generally something like *-ek*, but the negative potential has different phonological interactions with the verb stem than the affirmative potential. In some cases the ending of the neg. potential verb is non-distinct from its aff. counterpart, as in *exének/mexének* 'show' — this suggests that the form of both endings is underlyingly *-ek*. This is not always the case, however, and neg. potential ending may have an extra [h] or [y] not seen in the aff. counterpart. For example, compare the aff. and neg. potential forms of *-exe'-* 'sell', in (14.13)[9] The aff. potential ending behaves as expected, with an underlying //e-kexe'-ek// undergoing the common intervocalic glide/glottal reduction (§2.4.6) that changes the //e'e// sequence to surface [a][10]. In the negated form, however, there is an [h] before the final *-ek* suffix which prevents this reduction, triggering the base final //e'// to take have the surface form *-ay*. What these data suggest is that the affirmative potential and negative potential have the same underlying form, but they have different morphophonological relationships with verb stems, possibly not being in the same phonological domain relative to the verb base/stem. More complete data on the negative potential form and a fuller understanding of complex morphophonology would likely inform one another in this regard.

(14.13) a. ekxak
e-kx-ak
M.IRR-sell-NM:PO
'He will sell it'

b. mekxayhek
m-e-kxay-hek
NEG-M.IRR-sell-NEG.NM:PO
'He won't sell it'

In some cases, the negated potential verb is entirely homophonous with the negated declarative form of the same verb stem. Typically, such cases present little problem, since potential verbs are almost always used in constructions which doubly indicate the potential semantics — they take future markers, the habitual adverb *cha'á*, they follow *yaqwayam* and are therefore unambiguously purpose clauses, etc.

14.2.3 Negation of semiverbs

One of the defining features of semiverbs as a word class within Enxet Sur is their distinct negation paradigm, composed of fusional prefixes which indicate both negation and the

[9]This verb base shows an idiosyncrasy of some vowel initial bases where there is an inserted [k] (§2.4.3) followed by a vowel which is deleted through apocopoe (§2.4.2), thus the surface *-kx-* or *-kxay-* forms.

[10]This derivation would normally produce a long vowel, but the long vowel is, in this case, shortened because of its morphological position (§2.5.2).

inflectional person features of the semiverb's argument. The paradigm is listed in table 14.3, and some examples are given in (14.14)

Person	Aff.	Neg.
1SG	e-	mo-
1PL	eg-	mag-
F	a-	ya-
M	ap-	mop-
2PL	kél-	megkól-

Table 14.3: Stative pronominal prefixes for semiverbs in the affirmative and negative

(14.14) *Negated Semiverbs*

a. *Context: Speaker comes across smoldering tree, a sign that someone has claimed its wood to be used as firewood and they will return for it*
mowanchek asakxak exagkok
mo-wanch-ek a-sakx-ak e-xagkok
NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL 1SG.IRR-carry.back-NM:PO 1SG.POSS-house
'I can't take it back to my house'
EDP enx025 20:24

b. **magmenyek** negko'o limpieza naxma
mag-menyey-k negko'o limpieza naxma
NEG.1PL.STAT-like-DECL 1PL clearing woods
'We don't like to clear cut the forest'
EDP enx009

c. **mopyementakko** yatnáxeg
mop-yementak-ko' yatnáxeg
NEG.M.STAT-tame-DECL horse
'The horse is wild, untamed'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **yawanchek** moto
ya-wanch-ek moto
NEG.F.STAT-able-DECL motorcycle
'She can't [doesn't know how to] ride a motorcycle'
Elliott Notes 2015

e. **megkólsey'ak**
megkól-sey'-ak
NEG.2PL.STAT-lucky-PL.DECL
'Y'all aren't lucky'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Although the more recent (§3.3.1) second person plural form *megkol-* is identical to the negated prefixing indices for verbs, and is therefore arguable compositional, the other four negative semiverb pronominal prefixes either add a negative *m-* directly to the stative pronominal prefix (trigerring vowel changes in all cases, see §2.4.5) or, in the case of the negative feminine *ya-*, are entirely suppletive. Given that there are no suffix alternations involved with the negation of semiverbs, this means that negation is marked once on semiverbs, despite typically being indicated directly or indirectly by three different morphemes on regular verbs.

Furthermore, semiverbs have to take a derivational verbalizing prefix to be used in any form other than the declarative (§8.3). These derived verb stems then function like any other verb stem with regards to negation processes. While the verbalizing prefix inflects for subject, in what appears to be stem-internal stative pronominal prefix (§8.2), this verbalizer prefix does not get negated when there is negation of the whole verb — compare the affirmative and negative of the semiverb and verbalized forms of *-sam-* 'bad' in (14.15). Therefore, the negating prefix for semiverbs is only relevant to their declarative forms, and not to potential or participial forms.

(14.15) a. apsamchek
ap-sam-chek
M.STAT-bad-DECL
'he's evil'

b. mopsamchek
mop-sam-chek
NEG.M.STAT-bad-DECL
'he's not evil'

c. apkepsagkek
apk-ep-sag-kek
M-VBLZ.M-bad-DECL
'he's gone bad'

d. megyepsagkok
meg-y-ep-sag-kok
NEG-M.IRR-VBLZ.M-bad-SCND
'he hasn't gone bad'

There are a couple of attested exceptions to these generalizations, though they likely represent non-productive lexicalizations. For example, *yawana* 'mute woman, woman who cannot speak' has the perfective form suffix, and semantics consistent with nominalization, but instead of a verbalizing prefix and verbal negative prefixes, it simply takes the negative feminine semiverb pronominal prefix.

(14.16) Yawána
ya-wan-a
NEG.F.STAT-able-NM:PV

'a mute woman', literally 'one who is unable, has no power'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

14.2.4 Negation focus

A special negation focus (NF) construction exists for declarative verbs — it is not accessible to potential or participial verbs, or other kinds of negation. There are two variants on this construction, and since one rather clearly has developed diachronically from the other, and one is more associated with older speakers, I begin by describing the older, more conservative construction, exemplified by the use of *makke* in (14.17b), which is part of running dialogue following (14.17a). This example also shows a prototypical use of the NF construction, where the proposition it is used for runs counter to expectations. In this case, despite the fact that the speaker saw the event in question, he does not know the precise location where it happened.

(14.17) a. [*Context: Speaker is looking for the head of a tapir which was left at the kill site of a hunt which occurred a year prior*]
apkexneyk axta néten apqátek wokma'ák negaqhakxa axta napóxeg...
apk-exn-eyk =axta néten aq-qátek wokma'ák neg-aqh-akxa
M-place.high-DECL =TC:PST above M.POSS-head BOY 1PL.PART-kill-NM:OB
=axta napóxeg
=TC:PST tapir
'The boy put its head up high where we killed the tapir...'

b. **makke** ay'ásegko' haxko ekpayho
m =akke a-y'ásegk-o' haxko ek-payh-o
NEG =TC:ASR 1SG.IRR-know-SCND where F.PART-spread.out-NM:IP
'But I don't know where it is'

EDP enx025 04:14

From the morphology of the SN structure — negator morpheme, irrealis pronominal prefix, second position verb ending — the negation focus construction moves TAME clitics to attach directly to the negator morpheme, leaving the verb with irrealis pronominal prefix and second position ending in the post-TAME position. Therefore, aside from the fact that NF requires at least one TAME clitic and SN does not, all of the morphological components of SN are present in NF, but they are rearranged.

The more innovative, modern construction is the same except that the negator morpheme is absent or phonologically null. For example, compare the use of *maxta* in (14.18) to the initial *axta* in (14.19). In both cases, the TAME clitic *axta* comes to the left of the verb, which has an irrealis pronominal prefix and SCND ending — the only difference is that the *m-* negator is not there in (14.19).

(14.18) a. Háwe axta paktem aphápak, yagyáteyem axta aptegyeyásekxak apyetno neysekso alwáta.

háwe =axta paktem ap-hápak // yagyáteyem =axta
NEG =TC:PST k.o.tree M.POSS-corpse // giant.caiman =TC:PST
ap-tegyey-ás-ekx-ak ap-yetn-o neyseks-o alwáta
M-search-VAL-DUP-SCND M.PART-lie-NM:PV F.amongst-INTS river

'It wasn't a large tree trunk [in the water], it was the giant caiman they had be following, laying in the river.'

b. **Maxta ékpelchak énxet'ák**.

M =axta e-yekpelch-ak énxet-'ák
NEG =TC:PST M.IRR-recognize-SCND man-PL

'*But the men didn't recognize it*.'

López Ramírez (1996)

(14.19) **axta** ko'o **apéwegkohok** séxyekmo hem axta

axta ko'o a-péwegk-ohok sé-xyek-m-o hem =axta
TC:PST 1SG 1SG.IRR-straight-INTS.SCND 1SG.PART-return-TERM-NM:IP day TC:PST

'I didn't return directly back here yesterday'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Explicit evidence or use of the older construction with an overt negator morpheme is limited to a handful of TAME clitics — only the past tense *maxta* and the assertive *makke* are attested with any frequency in the corpus, and these are the only two that are actually used by some speakers within the EDP corpus.

Use of overt negators in an NF construction is attested in the RC dictionary with the interrogative *ya*, which appears as *may* in the example in (14.20)[11], as well as with the hodiernal *xeyk* and reportative HEK as *maxchek* and *maxnek*, respectively. Each of these exists as a single example, however, not found elsewhere in the corpus, although only *may* is marked in the dictionary as being an archaic form no longer in use.

(14.20) **may**hey'áseykmok eñama sektáhakxa exchek seyáneya sekweta exchek apha kóneg higo yámet?

ma-y-he-y'ás-eyk-m-ok e-eñam-a
NEG-Q-1SG.PAT.IRR-know-COMPL-TERM-SCND F.PART-come.from-NM:IP
sek-táhak-xa =exchek sey-áney-a sek-wet-a
1SG.PART-be/say-NM:OB =TC:HOD 1SG.PART-command-NM:IP 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP
=exchek ap-h-a kóneg higo yámet?
=TC:HOD M.PART-sit-NM:PV under fig tree

'Do you not believe me because I told you I saw him sitting under the fig tree?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

[11]Given the length and complexity, and the reference to a fig tree, I assume this is originally an older translation of a Bible passage — I also find it hard to parse, personally.

(14.21) **maxchek** amhagkok

m =axchek a-mhagk-ok
NEG =TC:HOD 1SG.IRR-head.to-SCND

'I didn't go'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(14.22) **maxnek ñát** eteyágweykmok powok

m =axnek =ñát e-teyág-wey-k-m-ok powok
NEG =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.IRR-fall-ARR-TI-TERM-SCND other.M

'He didn't find his friend'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The RC dictionary also has an entry for *en sa' agkok*, with future clitic *sa'* and the conditional *agkok*, which it lists as meaning 'if not' or 'unless', without any examples of its use. This is likely comparable to the other negator=TAME combinations, but it is not clear where *en* as a negator would come from, as such a negative morpheme does not exist anywhere else.

Other than this handful of expressions using the overt negator, all other TAME clitics which have been attested in the NF construction only occur *without* an overt negator morpheme. Given that this zero-negative NF construction appears only in Enxet Sur — it is not attested anywhere in the extensive text examples in the Enlhet Norte dictionary (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997) it is likely a recently developed phenomenon. Certain TAME clitics which have post-vocalic allomorphs, like reportative *exnek* instead of *hek* or hodiernal *exchek* instead of *xeyk*, take their post-vocalic forms in NF, despite the fact that no phonological content procedes them.

The following subsection provides examples of each clitic type that is attested in the NF construction, in the order of their occurrence within the TAME clitic ordering template (§6.1). After that, there is a brief note on some secondary syntactic effects of NF.

TAME clitics in Negation focus

Negation Focus (NF) is one of a handful of movement processes involving TAME clitics, and as such, it is useful to have an accounting of which TAME clitics can and cannot be used in this construction, since it helps define this lexical class and the variation within it.

The degree markers like *agko'* (§6.2.1) are not attested in NF, but they are not really attested in any verbal negation construction. The interrogative *ya* is very often used in NF, and, in fact, speakers appear to prefer NF to SN when using the interrogative, as in (14.23). This seems rather natural, since questions asked in the negative functionally have some kind of negation focus anyway.

(14.23) yagkapenchásamaxche' makham ámay?

ya gka-penchas-am-axch-e' makham amay
TC:Q F.IRR-finish-TI-MID-SCND still road

'Is the road still not finished?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

All of the evidential markers are attested in NF constructions, both on their own and in combination with other TAME clitics, as seen in (14.24)

(14.24) a. *Context: Said when one's host has not served them any tereré, generally considered rude*
nak agyenak ka'a?
nak ag-yen-ak ka'a
TC:VIS 1PL.IRR-drink-SCND ka'a
'So we aren't drinking tereré?'

Notes 8-15-18

b. **exnek** énnákxak don Martín
exnek e-enn-akx-ak don Martín
TC:REP M.IRR-strong-DUP-SCND
'They say don Martín has not recuperated'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **Enxoho** emhagkok Juan Rio Verde?
enxoho e-mhagk-ok Juan Rio Verde
CONJ M.IRR-head.to-SCND Juan Rio Verde
'Did Juan not go to Rio Verde?'

Notes 8-15-18

The deontic clitics are not known to occur in NF. *Hana* 'please' is mostly restricted to imperatives, and *anna* 'should have' does not occur in negatives at all, apparently. Therefore their absence in NF constructions is easily accounted for.

Tense markers are all attested, though there are some important qualifications to consider. The hodiernal *xeyk* only occurs in its *exchek* allomorph, which elsewhere occurs only after vowels, as in (14.25a). The remote past *ñat* is only attested co-occurring with the reportative *hek*, as in (14.25b)[12] but this is true of *ñat* in general, since for most speakers it only occurs with the reportative (see §6.2.5).

(14.25) a. exchek elmaxneyaha m'a
exchek el-maxn-ey-aha m'a
HDTC:PST 1SG.IRR.DIST-ask-EXT-NEG DEIC

[12]Despite the fact that the reportative alone occurs in the otherwise post-vocalic *exnek* form, when in combination with *ñat*, it occurs in the non-post-vocalic *hek* form. This is likely a product of lexicalization of *hekñat* as a clitic cluster. See §6.3.

'I just didnt want to ask you that'

b. **Hekñat agkok** hegwanmeyásak negko'o aqsok negyeta negko'o, manteweykxek hekñat sekxo' makham nento

hek =**ñat** =**agkok** heg-wanmey-as-ak negko-o
TC:REP =REMTC:PST =COND 1PL.STAT.IRR-silent/dream-CAUS-SCND 1PL
aqsok neg-yet-a negko'o // m-an-tew-eykx-ek =hek
thing 1PL.PART-put-PART 1PL // NEG-1PL.IRR-eat-DUP-SCND =TC:REP
=ñat sekxo' makham nen-t-o
=REMTC:PST first still 1PL.PART-eat-HEAVY.PART

'If the thing we had put (in the potion) back then didn't give us dreams, we would continue fasting'

The future *sa'* can only occur in NF when it co-occurs with the conditional *agkok*. There is a fairly straightforward explanation to this. Future *sa'* generally only occurs with irrealis verbs, either potential or imperative, which cannot be used in NF. The conditional *agkok* only occurs with declarative form verbs (§14.2.4), and when *sa'* and *agkok* co-occur (whether in negated or affirmative contexts), the *agkok* 'wins out', and the combination must select a declarative form verb. This means that *sa'* only occurs with declarative verbs, and therefore in NF constructions, when it co-occurs with *agkok*, as in the examples in (14.26).

(14.26) **sa' agkok** heyentamak, matwehe nak

sa' =agkok he-yentam-ak // m-a-tw-ehe =nak
TC:FUT =COND 1SG.PAT.IRR-lead-SCND // NEG-1.IRR-eat-NEG.NM:PO =TC:VIS

'If you don't take me there, I won't eat.'

The remaining epistemic modal clitics are in a somewhat more questionable position with regards to NF, and likely more data is needed to confirm some assumptions. The assertive *eyke/akke* actually appears to only occur in NF *with* the overt negator as *makke* if there are no other TAME clitics. However, it occurs in clusters as in (14.27a) or in the fused form *neyke* (see §6.3) in (14.27b). The frustrative *eykhe* is only attested in NF as part of the fused form *neykhe*, as in (14.27c). In general, the semantics of the frustrative are not particularly compatible with negation, since typically the frustrative indicates that the proposition it marks either failed to occur, complete, or hold, and its use with *neykhe* seems to have a more generalized epistemic meaning of 'unfortunately', as opposed to the more aspectual uses described in §6.2.6. The dubitative *kexa* is attested in NF, as in (14.27d), though it is not particularly common and this instance comes from elicitation. There are no examples with the *la'a* dubitative in NF, but this is likely an indication of rarity as opposed to incompatibility.

(14.27) *Epistemic modals in NF*

a. **Héxta eyke** emhagkok Rio Verde

héxta =eyke e-mhagk-ok Rio Verde
TC:REP.TC:PST =TC:ASR M.IRR-head.to-SCND Rio Verde

'Apparently, he didn't go to Rio Verde'

Notes 8-15-18

b. **neyke** asantak
neyke a-sant-ak
TC:VIS.ASR 1SG.IRR-carry.here-SCND
'I forgot to bring something' (literally 'clearly I didn't bring it')

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c. **neykhe** ólmahagkok cancha
neykhe ól-mahagk-ok cancha
TC:VIS.FRUST 1PL.IRR.DIST-head.to-SCND field
'We still haven't gone to the soccer field'

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d. **kexa** emhagkok
kexa e-mhagk-ok
TC:DUB M.IRR-head.to-SCND
'he didn't go, I think'

Notes 8-15-18

Secondary syntactic effects of negation focus

Personal pronouns, despite not being part of the TAME clitic class, are often moved ahead of the lexical verb along with TAME clitics in NF constructions, as in (14.28a-14.28b). This does not occur in all cases, however, as in (14.28c), where the pronoun remains in a canonical post verbal position.

(14.28) *NF constructions with Independent Pronouns*

a. enxa agkok **ko'o** ay'ásegkok
enxa =agkok ko'o a-y'ás-egk-ok
CONJ COND 1SG 1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND
'I guess I don't know'

b. axta **ko'o** wayásak sekpaqhetchesa
axta ko'o w-ayás-ak sek-paqhetch-es-a
TC:PST 1SG 1SG.IRR-permit-SCND 1SG.PART-chat-VAL-NM:IP
'I censored myself', literally 'I did not permit myself to say it'

c. nak ót'ak **ko'o**
nak o-ot'-ak ko'o
TC:VIS 1SG.IRR-see-SCND 1SG
'I really haven't seen it'

This same phenomenon occurs in affirmative focus constructions, as described in §5.2.4, and as seen in the examples in (14.29), although, again, it is optional and varies.

(14.29) *Independent pronouns with second position declarative verbs*

a. yegmen **ko'o** ekmagkaxnak
yegmen ko'o ek-magkaxn-ak
water 1SG 1SG-ask-SCND
'I'm asking for water'

b. sakcha'a ekmaxak **ko'o**

sakcha'a ek-max-ak ko'o
child 1SG-delouse-SCND 1SG
'I'm delousing the kid'

14.3 Identity negative *háwe'*

The negator *háwe* is used to negate nominal PREDICATE clauses, which are described in §5.2.1. Whereas in the zero copula construction an NP or adverbial phrase serves as a property denoting[13] predicate on its own, when negated with the negative identity predicate *háwe*, the NP or adverbial phrase becomes a complement of the predicate rather than the prediate itself. Compare the affirmative zero copula construction in (14.30a) with its negated counterpart in (14.30b).

(14.30) a. apchókxa axta
apch-ókxa =axta
M.PART-country =TC:PST
'It was his territory'

b. háwe axta apchókxa
háwe =axta apch-ókxa
NEG =TC:PST M.PART-country
'It wasn't his territory'

Most often, *háwe* occurs only with its nominal/adjectival/adverbial complement — that is, the non-verbal predicate which is being negated. Some examples are given in (14.31). The subject is typically inferred from context. Just like zero copula constructions, the complements of *háwe* can be non-related nouns (14.31a), related nouns (14.31e) deverbal nominalizations (14.31d), lexical adjectives, lexical adverbs (14.31c), or adpositions with or without complements.

(14.31) *Identity negatives with no subject NP*

a. yáméxem ekwesey, **hawe yexem**
yáméxem ek-wesey // hawe yexem
k.o.eel F.PART-called // NEG k.o.eel
'That's called *yáméxem*, it's not a *yexem* (eel)'

[13] Alternatively, we could call it an identity or categorizing predicate.

EDP enx008 07:39

b. sekwe ko'o se'e yókxexma nak, **háwe seyókxa**
sek-w-e ko'o =se'e yókxexma =nak // háwe
1SG.PART-arrive-NM:PV 1SG =PROX country =TC:VIS // NEG
sey-ókxa
1SG.PART-country
'I'm new to this country, it's not my country'

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c. apkeltémakxa ennamakkok nano', **hawe kaxwo'**
apk-el-tém-akxa en-namakkok nano' // hawe kaxwo'
M.PART-DIST-be/say.TI-NM:OB 1PL.POSS-other.PL old.time // NEG now
'That's how our kin did it back then, not anymore'

EDP enx005 25:58

d. kélyéssáseykha axta aptáwa, **háwe axta apmopmenyého**
kél-yéss-ás-eykha =axta ap-táwa // háwe =axta
IMPR.PART-choose-VAL-AMB.NM:PV =TC:PST M.POSS-spouse // NEG =TC:PST
ap-m-op-menyéh-o
M.PART-TI-VBLZ-want-NM:PV
'He was chosen by his spouse, she wasn't his choice (the one he wanted)'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **Háwe axta paktem aphápak**
háwe =axta paktem ap-hápak
NEG =TC:PST k.o.tree M.POSS-corpse
'It wasn't a *Paktem* trunk'

López Ramírez (1996)

The subject of the negative identity predicate can be indicated overtly, however, in which case it always comes to the right of the non-verbal predicate complement. When there is an overt NP subject of the negated non-verbal predicate, it can be of any NP type. (14.32a) shows a simple subject noun, (14.32d) shows a nominalized verb in the infinitve, and (14.32e) shows a imperfective-like subjunctive verb.

(14.32) *Hawe with overt subject NP*

a. hakte háwe axta neghóxama negko'o **Lengua Norte**
hakte háwe =axta neg-hóxama negko'o Lengua Norte
because NEG =TC:PST 1PL.PART-neighbor 1PL Lengua Norte
'Because the Lengua Norte were not [originally] our neighbors'

EDP enx028 03:01

b. háwe yéwa ekmaso ektakxa nak
háwe yéwa ek-m-a-s-o ek-takx-a =nak
NEG snake F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV F.PART-bite-NM:IP =TC:VIS

'It wasn't a poisonous snake that bit you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. háweya aptaxno apyetna nak so
háwe =ya ap-taxn-o ap-yetn-a =nak =so
NEG =TC:Q M.PART-enter-NM:PV M.PART-lie-NM:IP =TC:VIS =PROX
'It's not your shirt that's lying right here?'

López Ramírez (1996)

d. hawe kaxwok **apkelwegkyamékha énxet**, nanók agko'
hawe kaxwok apk-el-we-gkyamékha énxet // nanók =agko'
NEG recent M.PART-DIST-arrive-COMPL.AMB.NM:PV Enxet // old.time =DEG.F
'The Enxet's going about isn't recent, it's very old'

EDP enx009

e. háwe nak aqsok ektakmela **nelyetlawa**
háwe =nak aqsok ek-takmel-a nel-yetlaw-a
NEG =TC:VIS thing F.PART-good-NM:IP 1PL.PART.DIST-follow-NM:IP
'It's not a good thing that we've followed'

López Ramírez (1996)

f. Háwe eyke aksok ektakmela aptéyak
háwe =eyke aksok ek-takmel-a ap-t-éyak
NEG =TC:ASR thing F.PART-good-NM:IP M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
'But his food was bad (not a good thing)'

López Ramírez (1996)

This order, however, is complicated when we account for pronouns and topical demonstratives. Pronouns have a predetermined position in the clause, and therefore occur immediately to the right of the predicate and TAME clitics, regardless of their semantic function in the clause. For example, in (14.33a), *ko'o* 'I' is semantically the subject of the clause, even though with an NP this position would typically be the predicate complement. Demonstratives can indicate either the subject or the complement. In (14.33b), the demonstrative *so* is semantically more like the negated predicate ('is not this') than the subject, but in (14.33c), where the NP *ko'o ahagkok* 'mine' is more clearly the predicate complement ('is mine'), the demonstrative *se'e* seems to fill more of the function of the semantic subject. However, the distinction is not particularly meaningful since the semantics are equational and therefore essentially reversable (A=B is the same as B=A), and, as argued in Ch. 7, demonstratives do not really behave like NPs, and NPs are not generally ordered for grammatical roles anyway. Demonstratives in a clause headed by *hawe* can cataphorically refer to appositional NPs, as in (14.33a).

(14.33) *Háwe with demonstratives*

a. háwe ko'o m'a kélanagkama nak kéxegke atneyk

háwe ko'o =m'a kél-anagk-am-a =nak kéxegke
NEG 1SG =DMSTR 2PL.PART-think-TI-NM:IP =TC:VIS 2PL
a-tney-k
1SG.IRR-be/say-NM:PO
'I'm not what you all think I am'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hawe so, eyke xa
hawe =so // eyke xa
NEG =PROX // TC:ASR =DMSTR
'It's not this, it's that one'

EDP enx026 21:08

c. hawe ko'o ahagkok **se'e**
hawe ko'o ahagkok =se'e
NEG 1SG 1SG.POSS =PROX
'This isn't mine'

EDP enx025 20:31

Like elsewhere (see §5.1.3, §9.1), a noun or deverbal nominalization can be used in an adverbial capacity as an identity predicate without any overt morphosyntactic indication that it has an adverbial rather than s-argument function. For example, in (14.34), although the complement of *háwe* is a NP, *apátog apagko'* 'his own mouth', the negation involved is not really the negation of the assignation of a property value (not 'it isn't his own mouth'), but rather the negation of the source attribution to the NP ('not from his own mouth'). In such an instance, however, *hawe* may be negating identity between *apatog apagko'* and *éñama* 'its coming from, where it comes from', since the latter is a nominalized form.

(14.34) axta aptahak ma'a éñama Tásek Amya'a keso, **háwe apátog apagko'**

axta ap-tah-ak =ma'a é-ñam-a Tásek Amya'a keso //
TC:PST M-be/say-SCND =DMSTR F.PART-come.from-NM:IP Good Story this //
háwe ap-átog =apagko'
NEG M.POSS-mouth =M.DEG

'...so he said, this came from the Bible, not from his own mouth'

EDP enx047 02:01

Because *háwe* is the negator for the nominal PREDICATE construction, it is also used to negate the event protagonist construction. As described in §15.3, the event protagonist is the use of a perfective form nominalization in copular clauses for a non-restrictive participant denotation which often works as a kind of agent focus.

(14.35) *Negated event protagonist constructions with háwe*

a. háwe axta eyke m'a apchaqneykha enxoho énxet

háwe =axta =eyke =m'a apch-aqn-eykha =enxoho énxet
NEG =TC:PST =TC:ASR =DMSTR M.PART-stand.PL-AMB.NM:PV =CONJ man

'But the people didn't just stand around'

EDP enx047 37:12

b. háwe apyaqhakkasso apagko' apyespok, kélyaqhakkassesso
háwe ap-yaqhakk-ass-o =apagko' ap-yespok //
NEG M.PART-soften-VAL-NM:PV =M.REFL M.POSS-throat //
kél-yaqhakk-ass-ess-o
IMPR.PART-soften-VAL-VAL-NM:PV

'He didn't choke, he was strangled'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

By comparison, (14.36) shows negation of a event protagonist construction that uses the copular verb *-teh-* as opposed to the zero copula construction which is negated with *háwe*. In (14.36), the negation is on the perfective form nominalized verb, as opposed to the *háwe* constructions above.

(14.36) antéhek sa' negko'o mehegaqtasso xama aqsok

an-téh-ek =sa' negko'o me-heg-aqtass-o xama aqsok
1PL.IRR-be/say-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL NEG-1PL.PAT.IRR-move-NM:PV one things

'We will not be moved', literally 'We will be that we are not moved by a single thing'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Háwe, given its semantics as a negator of non-verbal predicates, is a solid test for nominalization. It can take nominalized verbs as its complement (negated predicate), and exhibits the nominal properties of some other entities, like *yaqwayam* 'in order to' and *(ek)wanxa* 'only', as in the examples below.

(14.37) Háwe yakwayam egkések naksa pók aksok

háwe yakwayam e-gkés-ek naksa pók aksok
NEG for M.IRR-give-NM:PO JUST other.M thing

'This wasn't in order to give his friends things'

López Ramírez (1996)

(14.38) Háwe ekwánxa énxet apmopwána eyenyawok aptáwa

háwe ek-wá-n-xa énxet ap-m-op-wán-a e-yenyaw-ok
NEG F.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB man M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:PV
ap-táwa

'It wasn't just men who could divorce their spouses.'

López Ramírez (1996)

Finally, *hawe'* does not, in fact, need an explicit argument at all if one is understood from context, as in (14.39).

(14.39) Q: apagkok yaʈa? á **hawe'**, táta pagkok

apagkok =ya ='á // hawe' // táta apagkok
M.POSS =TC:Q =DIST // *neg* // my.father M.POSS

'Q: Is that over there yours? á It's not, it's my father's'

Notes 2015

The use of *háwe* appears to be a relatively new development in the language. There is no cognate negator in Enlhet Norte. Rojas and Curtis (2017) cites it as coming from an apparent nominalized verb form *ekhawe*, which may be based on a note in Powys (1929) regarding <ikhawe> 'not', which is not described any further beyond a translation. The verbal etymology for *ekhawe*, apparently a perfective form verb, is unclear. Powys (1929, p. 75) and Sušnik (1977, p. 119) describe identity negation as occurring with the form *katnaha*, an imperfective form of the copular verb *-teh-* which shows the use of the irrealis *ka-* as a negator without the need of an overt negator *me-* (§3.3.3).

(14.40) Original orthography: kȧtnâha ī̄ngmôwok
Presumed modern transcription: katnaha egmók

ka-tnah-a eg-mok
F.IRR-be/say-NM:IP 1PL.POSS-other

'He's not our friend/kind'

In modern Enxet Sur, copular property expressions can use the copular verb *-teh-*, but these are negated just like any other verb. *Katnaha* still exists in the language as an emphatic 'no!', and the negative uses of the feminine irrealis prefix show up in other lexical items (§3.3.3), but it is no longer productive as an identity negative.

14.4 Existential/Possessive negative *méko*

The existential negative *méko* is the suppletive negative counterpart to the existential/possessive *yetneyk* (§3.3.4, §5.2.1). Along with *hawe*, it is one of two means of negating non-verbal predicates. Several initial examples are given in (14.41).

(14.41) a. kaxwo' **méko pélten**, eñama yephope néten

kaxwo' méko pélten // e-ñam-a yephope néten
now NEG.EXIST moon // F.PART-come.from-NM:IP cloud sky

'Now, there's no moon, because there are clouds in the sky'

EDP enx009

b. **méko xáma wátsam**, **méko montaña**, kelánexko' se'e naxma'
méko xáma wátsam // méko montaña // k-el-án-exk-o'
NEG.EXIST one river // NEG.EXIST mountain // F-DIST-make-MID-INTS.DECL
=se'e naxma'
=PROX woods
'There's no rivers, no mountains, all of this is woods'
EDP enx009

The negated possessive construction with *meko* is structurally the same as the affirmative with *yetneyk*, in that the typical order of NPs places the possessed noun as the NP complement to the predicate (the NP to the immediate right), with the possessor as an appositive NP to the right. However, if the possessor is a speech act participant represented by a pronoun, this comes closest to the predicate.

(14.42) a. meko negko'o camion
meko negko'o camion
NEG.EXIST 1PL car
'We don't have cars'

b. meko selyaqye apagkok waley
meko selyaqye apagkok waley
NEG.EXIST money M.POSS Paraguayan
'The Paraguayan doesn't have any money'

It is not uncommon that instead of using a standard negation construction to negate a finite, declarative verb, speakers will use *méko* with an event denoting nominalized verb form, as in (14.43), which pragmatically seems to have some greater degree of negation focus than standard negation does.

(14.43) *Uses of méko with event denoting nominalization arguments*

a. méko eklo semheg
méko ek-l-o semheg
NEG.EXIST F.PART-mad-NM:PV dog
'The dog is tame' or literally 'The dog doesn't have its anger'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. méko negkeneykekxa keso año nak hakte yentexek
méko negk-eney-k-ekx-a keso año =nak hakte yentex-ek
NEG.EXIST 1PL.PART-plant-TI-DUP-NM:PV this year =TC:VIS because heavy-DECL
'We haven't planted anything this year because it's been difficult.'
EDP enx028 04:08

c. Xámok apmeneykmasama axta'a, méko apteyenma
Xámok ap-meneykmas-ama axta'a // méko ap-teyen-ma
many M.PART-sing-NM:PV night // NEG.EXIST M.PART-sleep-NM:PV

'They sang all night, they didn't sleep'

López Ramírez (1996) *Apneweykha*

Most TAME possibilities are available to be used in conjunction with *méko*, including the degree marker *agko'*, which generally cannot be used in most other negative contexts.

(14.44) *Uses of méko with TAME marking*

a. *Context: Walking on the outskirts of the village after a jaguar sighting*
méko agkok arma awanchek hegaqhek
meko =agkok arma // a-wanch-ek heg-aqh-ek
NEG.EXIST =COND weapon // F.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.PAT.IRR-kill-NM:PO
'If we don't have a weapon, it can kill us'

EDP enx009

b. wa kaxwo yamakkak negko'o s'e, méko agko' kaxwok yegmen
wa kaxwo yamakk-ak negko'o =s'e // meko =agko' kaxwok yegmen
LOOK NOW dry-DECL 1PL =PROX // NEG.EXIST =DEG.F NOW water
'Right now it's all dried up for us here, there's really no water right now.'

EDP enx025 15:01

c. Context: Checking out a wild hive of *yawhan* bees
aplamchek, méko eyke apma'ák
ap-lam-chek // méko =eyke ap-ma'ák
M-mad.TI-DECL // NEG.EXIST =TC:ASR M.POSS-teeth
'It's angry, but it doesn't have a stinger'

EDP enx025 26:20

d. méko nak xeyep apyekwe yegmen
méko =nak xeyep ap-yekw-e yegmen
NEG.EXIST =TC:VIS 2SG.M M.PART-carry.liquid-NM:PV water
'You don't have anything to carry water with'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Unlike the identity negative, *méko* has some productive verbal qualities, and has perfective and oblique nominalization forms — *meyke* and *meykexa*, respectively. The denotations of these nominalized forms do not vary significantly from the general properties of perfective and oblique nominalization forms as described in Ch. 15. Examples of *meyke* and *meykexa* are given in (14.45) and (14.46), respectively.

(14.45) *Uses of perfective nominalization meyke*

a. apwetagwokmek axta yegmen, na ektaqmela agko', **meyke áteg**

ap-wetag-wok-m-ek =axta yegmen // na ek-taqmel-a =agko' //
M-see-ARR-TERM-DECL =TC:PST water // SO F.PART-good-NM:IP =DEG.F //
meyke ateg
NEG.EXIST.NM:PV pond.scum

'They came across some water, it was very nice, without pond scum'

EDP enx006 01:02

b. yetneyk néllegeykegkoho negko'o **meyke yegmen, meyke nento, meyke námyep**
yetneyk nél-legey-k-egk-oho negko'o //
EXIST 1PL.PART.DIST-hear/sense-TI-COMPL-INTS.NM:IP 1PL //
meyke yegmen // meyke nen-t-o //
NEG.EXIST.NM:PV water // NEG.EXIST.NM:PV 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV //
meyke námyep
NEG.EXIST.NM:PV plantation

'We have a lot of suffering, without water, without food, without fields to plant'

EDP enx028 03:38

(14.46) *Uses of oblique nominalization* meykexa

a. alnahakkasha sa' apnaqtósso **meykexa** ótep
a-l-nahak-kas-ha =sa' ap-naq-tos-so
1SG.IRR-DIST-kill.PL-CAUS-AMB.NM:PO =TC:FUT M.PART-PL-control-NM:PV
meykexa o-otep
NEG.NM:OB F.POSS-owner

'I will hit the dogs when their owners aren't here.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. meykexa kelwesse'e keso lugar nak se'e
meykexa kel-wesse'-e keso lugar =nak =se'e
NEG.NM:OB PL-leader-PL this place =TC:VIS =PROX

'...when there were no rich people in this place."

EDP enx037

The nominalization paradigm — verbs typically have a imperfective, perfective, and oblique nominalization form — is in fact rounded out by the base form *méko* itself, which appears to be a imperfective form verb. For example, in (14.47a), the negated existential phrase *méko yegmen* 'not having water' serves as the argument of the stative verb *awanhek* 'it's big'.

(14.47) *Méko as imperfective form nominalization*

a. [*Context*: looking at a lake bed reduced to mud during a drought]
méko kaxwok yegmen... **awanhek méko yegmen**

me:ko kaxwok yegmen // a-wanhek me:ko yegmen
NEG now water // F.STAT-big NEG water

'There's no water now, there's really no water' (literally 'great is the lack of water')

EDP enx033 05:09

b. megkaneykesók batería **méko enxoho** panel solar
'My battery won't last if it doesn't have a solar panel'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The highly productive *meko* and its perfective and oblique nominalization forms appear to derive from a historical verb base *-meyk-* 'to lack', which is not really fully productive in the modern language. These nominalized forms lack pronominal prefixes, even in varieties of the language where speakers do not generally drop pronominal prefixes — this absence suggests a degree of grammaticalization. There are no known uses of *-meyk-* in the declarative. Use in the potential form is either in the negative (14.48a), or in complement positions where it takes a fixed archaic form *agkameykehek*, with the archaic **egka-* feminine prefix, as in (14.48b). The negated form of the imperfective, *megkaméko* is used to mean 'always' with nominalized verbal complements, as in (14.48c)

(14.48) *Other uses of the base -meyk- 'to lack'*

a. **megkameykehek** sa' selyaqye apagkok
megka-meyk-ehek =sa' selyaqye apagkok
NEG.F.IRR-lack-NEG.NM:PO =TC:FUT money M.POSS
'you won't be without money'

b. mopwanchek **agkameykehek** ka'a
mop-wanch-ek agka-meyk-ehek ka'a
NEG.M.STAT-able-DECL F.IRR-lack-NM:PO tereré
'He can't go without tereré

c. **megkaméko** negko'o sẽlmaxneyeykha énxet
megka-mek-o negko'o sẽl-maxney-eykha enxet
NEG.F.IRR-lack-NM:IP 1PL 1PL.PAT.PART.DIST-ask-AMB.NM:PV man
'The people always ask us questions', literally 'we do not lack people asking us questions'

Méko also appears to be a rather recent development in Enxet Sur, since it is unattested in other EE languages, including Enlhet Norte[14], and does not appear in Powys (1929) despite being documented in Sušnik (1977). The difference between Powys and Sušnik is quite instructive in this case, indicating that Enxet Sur *méko* developed sometime between

[14]Enlhet Norte uses an existential negative *paej*, which also does not have cognates in other EE languages, but which is used in an almost identical fashion to Enxet Sur *méko*.

Powys' description in the 1920's and Sušnik's, based on fieldwork starting in the mid 1950's[15].

14.5 Directions for Further Research

Throughout this description of Enxet Sur, mention has been made not only of the structural (§7.4) and discursive (§5.1, §5.2.1) importance of nominal predicates, but also of other Enlhet-Enenlhet descriptions and cross-linguistic typological notions that suggest we could view lexical nouns in Enxet not as fundamentally referring expressions, but as fundamentally type-denoting, property-attributing predicates. Further evidence that this is the ancestral pattern in Enxet Sur comes from a negation construction that only appears in historical documents and previous descriptions. Sušnik (1977) presents the following datá:

(14.49) *Nominal negation from Sušnik (1977)*

a. åksok // måksok mā // y**a**ksok [p. 113]
aqsok // maqsok ma'a // yaqsok
aqsok // m-aqsok =ma'a // y=aqsok
thing // NEG-thing =DMSTR // TC:Q=thing
'thing' // 'not a thing, nothing' // 'what thing?'

b. m'ēnçlī̄t mā // maškyēkya mā [p. 119]
ménxet ma'a // maskyékya m'a
m-enxet =ma'a // ma-skyekya =m'a
NEG-man =DMSTR // NEG-child =DMSTR
'no man, no one' // 'there's no children' (cf. modern *sakcha'a* 'children')

c. måpānkok // makyėlpānkok
mapagkok // makélpagkok
m-apagkok // ma-kelpagkok
NEG-M.POSS // NEG-2PL.POSS
'not yours' // 'not y'alls'

d. kī̄lāna måpt^{a}wa
kelán'a maptáwa'
kelan'a m-ap-tawa'
woman NEG-M.POSS-spouse
'A woman without a husband'

e. mānko åknàklāwa // mānkok nī̄ngmo^{o}k
mágko eknaqláwa // mágkok negmók

[15]Powys indicates that existential predicates are negated by using the feminine irrealis negative pronominal prefix with the existential *yetneyk* (§5.2.1)

m=ágko ek-naqláw-a // m=ágkok neg-mók
NEG=DEG? F.PART-breastfeed-NM:PV // NEG=COMPL? 1PL.POSS-other
'she's not breastfeeding anymore' // 'he is not our friend'

In most of these examples, we see the negative formative *m(V)-*, which in the modern language only affixes to verbs, being affixed directly to non-related nouns, related nouns, and possessive pronouns. The semantic values this negator seems to affect upon these nouns includes both identity, existential, and possessive negatives, filling the roles of modern *hawe* and *meko* by directly negating nouns.

Some consultants, when I have discussed these data with them, have indicated that this sounds like "something a *Chanawatsam* speaker would say", which means these types of direct nominal negation may still be present in some dialects of Enxet Sur. However, as mentioned in §1.1.4, speakers often attribute any kind of unusual speech to such dialectical differences — this might amount to saying that it "sounds funny". Further investigation is very much warranted.

Chapter 15

The Grammatical function of nominalization

15.1 Overview of nominalization

Nominalization in Enxet Sur is not only a substantial lexical process, but is a highly productive and consequential grammatical process which fills the same semantic and pragmatic function as clausal subordination. The four nominalized verb forms can be seen in a range of syntactic environments in the examples below: potential (15.1a), imperfective (15.1b), perfective (15.1c), or oblique nominalization (15.1d). The morphology of these forms is described in the chapter on verbal morphology, and this chapter is instead dedicated to an understanding of their semantic and grammatical functions.

(15.1) *Potential, imperfective, perfective, and oblique nominalizations*

a. ná askehe' **agmok yamyawhéna'**
   na a-askeh-e' ag-m-ok yamyawhena'
   so F.STAT-painful-DECL 1PL.IRR-have-NM:PO honey
   'It's difficult *to gather honey*'

   EDP enx027 00:11:05

b. natámen ma'a **appenchesa**, negchaqnakxeyk néten
   natamen =ma'a ap-penches-a negch-aqn-akx-eyk neten
   after.F =DMSTR M.PART-finish-NM:IP 1PL-standing-DUP-DECL above
   'So then *when he finished*, we all stood back up'

   EDP enx047 00:05:55

c. wa' yetneyk kaxwok waley **apkelane ruta**
   wa' yetneyk kaxwok waley apk-el-an-e ruta
   look EXIST now Paraguayan M.PART-DIST-make-NM:PV road
   'There are now Paraguayans *who make roads*'

EDP enx037 00:02:02

d. xama axta eyagketwokmo m'a **apchaknáxexa axta énxet**, wóneyha axta makham
xama =axta ey-agket-wok-m-o =m'a
one =TC:PST F.PART-get.close-ARR-TERM-NM:IP =DMSTR
apch-akn-ax-exa =axta enxet ø-woney-ha =axta makham
M.PART-standing-MID-NM:OB =TC:PST man F-cry-AMB.DECL =TC:PST again
'Once she got close to *where the people were gathered*, she called out to them'

Schoolbook Grade 1

When such nominalizations act as dependents of a PREDICATE or of a nominal expression (including other nominalizations), we can easily view them as being something like a subordinate clause, since they have something like an internal clausal structure and are in a dependent position. Thus, from the perspective of subordination, we can make the following important generalizations: subordination in Enxet Sur *never* involves the use of a subordinating conjunction and *always* involves deranking of the subordinate verb in the form of deverbal nominalization. A deranked verb is defined by Shagal (2019, p. 45) as a verb form with "some degree of morphosyntactic deviation from the prototypical predicate of an independent sentence". For Enxet Sur verbs, the prototypical verbal PREDICATE is a declarative form verb. Declarative form verbs are distinct in several ways from the nominalized verb forms, the primary one being that they *never* occur in constructions where they could be construed as grammatical dependents.

Deranking is also closely associated typologically with the notion of the "participle", a form of a lexical verb which can be used as a modifier of a noun or to introduce a headed relative clause, assuming that the verb form itself is the locus of subordination marking, and the deranking morphology is regular and general enough to be considered more inflection-like than derivation-like. All of these features are true of Enxet Sur nominalizations, and cross-linguistically, many languages make no formal distinction between participles and nominalizations (Shagal 2019, p. 41-44, Shibatani 2019). Participles, unlike nominalizations, cannot be the head of a nominal expression.

While the four verb forms discussed in this chapter have a clear relationship to typological and descriptive concepts like 'subordination' and 'participle', distinctions between such concepts and nominalization are often gradient, unclear, or irrelevant in many languages. Here, I define these forms as nominalizations based on the following language-internal criteria:

- Syntactically while both nominalizations and lexical nouns can be PREDICATES, NOMINAL COMPLEMENTS, or adnominal modifiers, declarative finite verbs can only be PREDICATES, and therefore these verb forms pattern with nouns in opposition to declarative verbs
- While verb forms used as the "objects" of a dyadic predicate might be analyzed as finite subordinate clauses (i.e. complement clauses), the same forms are used as "subjects" of monadic verbs, which cross-linguistically are typically viewed as event-denoting nominalizations and not subordinate clauses

- Nominalizations can be the PREDICATES of fully independent clauses, which would make little sense if such forms are thought of as "subordinate" forms; there are no subordinating conjunctions which would serve to distinguish subordinate from non-subordinate forms
- Pronominal prefixes on nominalized verb forms are distinct from those in the finite declarative verbs; cross-linguistically, non-finite and nominalized verbs have distinct pronominal forms, although the Enxet Sur pronominal forms on nominalizations are not discretely *possessive*, as is common in many languages (e.g. *he died* versus *his death*)
- Perfective forms are a major diachronic source of lexical nouns (§4.3), which would be unlikely if the perfective form was a finite subordinate form; furthermore, perfective forms alternate with imperfective and potential forms based on temporal and modal properties of verbs, and therefore while it is only perfective forms which become lexicalized as nouns, all three forms have the same distribution as productive grammatical nominalizations
- Perfective forms which denote entities like resultant products or instrumentals (§15.3 below) — entities which can be construed as neither semantic nor grammatical arguments of verbs — can only really be analyzed as nominalizations
- Oblique nominalizations could possibly be construed as relative clauses, but this would require an analysis that most are headless relative clauses with a relative noun that can never actually be construed as a lexical noun in a semantic or syntactic argument role
- If these forms are *not* nominalizations, then there would be *no* morphological nominalization process in the language at all; while I have never seen any hard universal claim like "all languages have a morphological deverbal nominalization process", I do not know of one that does not and the lack of such a process would be highly unusual

Deverbal nominalizations in most languages take nominalizing morphology which specifies or limits which element of the verb event is denoted by the particular nominalizing form. For example, the *-er* nominalizer in English typically denotes either the agent of the nominalized verb or an instrument used to accomplish the verb. An *eggbeater* is typically an instrument used to beat eggs, but can also be a person who beats eggs if, for example, you are on a group competitive cooking show and must quickly delegate tasks and decide "*who is going to be the eggbeater?*".

The Enxet Sur oblique nominalization has a similarly restricted set of denotations relative to the verb semantics (it mostly denotes where/when the verb event occurs). However, the primary nominalization forms (potential, imperfective, and perfective) are typologically unusual in that the distinction between them is strictly aspectual and modal, rather than a distinction between different denotations like agent nominalization versus patient nominalization or event nominalization. In terms of their denotation, they act like "all-purpose" nominalizations. Furthermore, these nominalizations are typologically

unusual in that they involve alternations in aspectual and modal values that are not available to the finite declarative verb forms — the imperfective and perfective forms have the aspectual values their labels denote, and the potential form indicates an irrealis mood for the verb.

The following extended overview of nominalizations and their grammatical function is divided into three parts. §15.1.1 overviews the various denotational possibilities of nominalized verb forms and their possible syntactic positions. §15.1.2 describes the modal and aspectual properties of these forms which are not available to declarative verbs. §15.1.3 discusses the degree to which nominalizations can be used to embed clausal structures within phrases.

The rest of the chapter is divided as follows. §15.2 describes the uses of nominalizations which denote events, facts, and states. §15.3 describes the uses of nominalizations which denote neither events or the participants of an event, like resultant products. §15.4 describes the use of participant denoting nominalizations, which function in some ways like conventional relative clauses. Finally, §15.5 describes the uses of the oblique nominalization form, which primarily has the function of denote the place or time where a verbal event occurs.

15.1.1 Metonymy and grammatical nominalization

The relationship between clausal subordination and deverbal nominalization in the indigenous languages of South America is the subject of a growing body literature, and the pragmatic function of subordination is accomplished in many languages of South America, and Lowland South America in particular[1], through nominalizing morphology (Campbell 2012, p. 278–79Van Gijn, Haude, and Muysken 2011, p. 3, Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999, p. 9, Overall and Wojtylak 2018).

In other descriptions of languages which use nominalizing morphology as a mechanism for clausal subordination, discussion often begins with a description of *lexical nominalization* — the lexical process of creating nouns from non-nominal items (Comrie and Thompson, 1985) — followed by a description how the same morphosyntactic structures can be applied to clause-like structures to make them function referentially like nouns — what Shibatani (2019) calls *grammatical nominalization*.

It is not, however, so clear that such a distinction can or should be made for Enxet Sur. The most likely candidates for the products of a process of lexical nominalization are single words (not phrases) which are unambiguously entity-denoting, and which are formed from perfective form verbs. For example, several forces of nature are represented in the Enxet Sur lexicon as verb stems which can be nominalized to serve as verbal s-arguments, as in the examples in (15.2). Of course, the ease with which such words are viewed as 'lexical nominalizations' may come from the fact that in languages like English these forces of nature are primarily represented nominally rather than verbally.

[1]Interestingly, despite the larger trends across both the South American highlands and Amazonia for subordination to be accomplished through nominalization, this is generally not the trend in other languages of the Chaco region, where subordinating conjunctions take finite verbs, or subordinated verbs are simply paratactic (Campbell, 2012, p. 279) (Golluscio, Hasler, and de Reuse, 2019). Enxet Sur, and EE languages by (presumed) extension, go against the local Chaco areal trend.

(15.2) *Nominalizations of weather phenomena*

a. apwanchek hekñat etekkesek **ekmámeye** ennapál'a meyk
ap-wanch-ek =hek =ñat e-tek-kes-ek
M.STAT-able-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.IRR-go.out-CAUS-NM:PO
ek-mámey-e en-nap-á =l'a meyk
F.PART-rain-NM:PV F.PART.DIST-kill.many-NM:IP =TC:DUB hunger
'They could summon *the rain* if they were hungry'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. wánxa aptéma aksok empe'ék apkelaklamap nepyeseksa **apyeyam**
wánxa ap-tém-a aksok e-mpe'ék apk-el-akl-amap
only M.PART-be.TI-NM:IP thing F.POSS-skin M.PART-DIST-wrap-MID.M.NM:PV
nepyeseksa ap-yey-am
amidst.M M.PART-south.wind-TERM.NM:PV
'There were only animal hides to cover them during the *south wind* (cold time)'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. kenmánte' **exchahayam**
k-enm-án-t-e' e-xchahay-am
F-stand-COMPL-CISL-DECL F.PART-north.wind-TERM.NM:PV
'The *north wind* is weakening'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Another semantic category of possible lexical nominalizations includes the single-word names for tools or occupations which are composed of the perfective form of the verb which indicates what the tool does, what is done to the tool, or the actions associated with an occupation, like the examples in (15.3). However, because of pronominal prefixes, these items already indicate a semantic argument structure. Nominalized forms take participial pronominal prefixes, and while the *sek-* first person prefix in (15.3a-15.3b) could be loosely construed as a 'possessive' prefix ('my chair', 'my shirt'), such an interpretation is really not possible for *sẽlpextétamo* 'soldier', where the pronominal prefix indicates the patient, rather than agent of the verb. Therefore, single word items like *sektaxno* 'my shirt' have an internal semantic structure 'I enter it', which in the nominalized form denotes the patient of a nominalized clause.

(15.3) *Nominalizations as names for objects and people*

a. émenyeyk ko'o **sektaháno** ekyettagko nak
e-menyey-k ko'o sek-tahan-o ek-yettagk-o =nak
1SG.STAT-want-DECL 1SG 1SG.PART-be.over-NM:PV F.PART-soft-NM:PV =TC:VIS
'I want a soft *chair* (lit. 'that which I get over/on top of')'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hemakhésesha hana **sektaxno** néten hópen yámet
he-makh-és-es-ha =hana sek-taxn-o
1SG.PAT.IRR-back.forth-VAL-VAL-AMB.NM:PO =TC:PLZ 1SG.PART-enter-NM:PV
néten hópen yámet
above barbed.wire tree
'Please hang up my *shirt* (lit. 'that which I enter') on the barbed wire fence'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. axyánegkesek sa' **sẽlpextétamo**
a-xyan-eg-kes-ek =sa' seg-el-pextet-amo
1SG.IRR-lose-COMPL-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL.PAT.PART-DIST-WRAP-INTS.NM:PV
'I will hide from the *soldier* (lit. 'those who tie us up')'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In that sense, most of what might be described as lexical nominalization in Enxet Sur is not particularly distinct from something more like grammatical nominalization, where in a nominalized verb form has overt s-arguments, like the perfective form examples in (15.4). In other words, where a language like English formally distinguishes lexical nominalizations like *killer* or even so-called compounds like *mouse-killer* from grammatical nominalizations (alternatively, relative clauses) like *that which kills mice* or *the one that killed the mouse*, Enxet Sur makes no such formal distinction and it is difficult if not irrelevant to attempt to distinguish between a lexical process of nominalization and nominalizations which maintain a semantic argument structure.

(15.4) [NM:PV] *Grammatical nominalizations with overt arguments and modifiers*

a. wánxa aptepa **apkelane hópen yámet**
wanxa ap-tep-a apk-el-an-e hópen yamet
only M.PART-go.out-NM:IP M.PART-DIST-make-NM:PV barbed.wire tree
'Only *the people who laid the barbed wire fences* were going out'

NNE190 04:51

b. amonye' **ektaxno ekhem**

a-monye' ek-taxn-o ekhem
F.STAT-before F.PART-enter-NM:PV sun
'At sunset', literally 'before *the entering of the sun*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Similar parallels can be seen with the oblique nominalization form. Oblique nominalizations often denote the place where an action occurs or the time when it occurs. While

single word oblique nominalizations might pass as lexical nominalizations, as in (15.5), the same forms can just as easily take overt s-arguments, as in (15.6).

(15.5) [NM:OB] *nm:obative form nominalizations as common names*

a. Mók ekhem hekñat entemek ekpáwagwa hekñat nata **aphakxa** apwányam
mók ekhem =hek =ñat en-tem-ek ek-páwag-w-a
F.other day =TC:REP =TC:RPST F-be/say.TI.DECL F.PART-make.noise-ARR-NM:IP
=hek =ñat nata ap-h-akxa ap-wány-am
=TC:REP =TC:RPST bird M.PART-sit-NM:OB M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV
'Another day, a bird came and sang at the old man's *house* (lit. 'where the old man lives')'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Makxawáya payhok negko'o **negheykegkaxa**
Makxawáya payhok negko'o neg-h-eyk-egk-axa
Makxawaya place 1PL 1PL.PART-sit-TI-AMB-NM:OB
'Makxawaya is our *community* (lit. 'where we go about')'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **negwóneykegkaxa**
neg-wóney-k-egk-axa
1PL.PART-call-TI-AMB-NM:OB
'public *telephone* (lit. 'where we call people')'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **kélpakxeneykegkaxa**
kél-pakxeney-k-egk-axa
IMPR.PART-gather.supplies-TI-AMB-NM:OB
'*encampment* (lit. 'where the stuff is all gathered up')'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.6) [NM:OB] *Grammatical nominalizations with overt arguments and modifiers*

a. Misión í, ekeso **élyaqtamakxa ñat wey m'a**
Misión í // ekeso el-yaqtam-ak-xa =ñat wey =m'a
Misión í // this F.PART.DIST-stand-TI-NM:OB =TC:RPST OX =DMSTR
'Misión í, that's *where the oxen grazed back then*'

EDP enx047 00:33:36

b. Apkenmexawok axta **ekmahágkaxa kelán'a**

apk-enmex-awok =axta ek-mah-ágk-axa kelán'a
M-oppose-INTS.DECL =TC:PST F.PART-head.to-COMPL-NM:OB woman
'He looked to *where the woman had gone*'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. ektaqhawo' ko'o tegma apwanyam **sekteyeykemxa axta ko'o**
ek-taqh-awo' ko'o tegma ap-wany-am
1SG-return-INTS.DECL 1SG building M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV
sek-tey-eyk-em-xa =axta ko'o
1SG.PART-fall-TI-TERM-NM:OB =TC:PST 1SG
'I returned to the city where I was born'

Skype Notes 2020.4.20

Where Enxet Sur might have a process of lexical nominalization clearly distinct from grammatical nominalization is in de-pronominalized perfective form verbs. Numerous examples are given in §4.3, but this is better understood as a diachronic process — nominalized verbs with high frequency association with a particular entity, like a tool, occupation, animal, etc., lose their pronominal prefixes and behave like non-related nouns.

Some examples, including a couple in (15.7), appear to exist alongside forms *with* pronominal prefixes, indicating either transition or free variation[2]. If anything however, unlike the suggestion in some languages that grammatical nominalization structures are borrowed from lexical nominalization ones, clearly these de-pronominalized perfective form verbs represent something of the opposite — lexical nominalization being an extension of a grammatical nominalization process.

(15.7) *De-pronominalized nominalizations*

a. méko amya'a **kempakhakma**
méko amya'a kempakhakma
NEG.EXIST story war
'There aren't any stories about the war' (cf. *némpakhakma* 'to fight in a battle')

NNE190 02:09

b. yexwáseykxe' **chálewasso**
ø-yexwásey-kx-e' chálewasso
F-red-DUP-DECL light
'*the traffic light* turned red' (cf. *eyálewasso* 'that which makes it bright')

[2]As described in §3.3.4, some varieties of Enxet Sur tend to drop pronominal prefixes in discourse, especially for third person topicalized actors and in nominalized structures. Therefore, these de-pronominalized nominalizations are more salient and recognizable in varieties where the optional dropping of pronominal prefixes is less common

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. olpólchásegkokxak sa' makham **taháno**
ol-pólch-ás-egk-okx-ak =sa' makham taháno
1PL.IRR.DIST-fall-VAL-COMPL-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT still chair
'Let's sit back down in our chairs' (cf. *ektaháno* 'that which she is on top of')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. keláháp wak-t-am-o' aqsok nawha'ák **mámeye**
kel-áháp-wak-t-am-o' aqsok nawha'ák mámeye
F.DIST-cover-ARR-CISL-TERM-INTS.DECL thing wild.PL rain
'The rain arrived just in time for the animals' (cf. *ekmámeye* 'to rain')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. apteyekmek axta **yeyam**
ap-teyek-m-ek =axta yeyam
M-fall-TERM-DECL =TC:PST ice
'Hail (ice) fell down' (cf. *apyeyam* 'the blowing of the south wind', associated with cold weather)

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Given that there isn't really a distinct lexical nominalization process which can be paralleled with a grammatical nominalization process, and an argument for a nominalization analysis is therefore somewhat more opaque, I appeal here to the definition of nominalization given in Shibatani (2019)[p. 21]: "Nominalization is a metonymy-based grammatical derivation process yielding constructions associated with a denotation comprised of entity (thing-like) concepts that are metonymically evoked by the nominalization structures, such as events, facts, propositions, resultant products and event participants ".

What this means for deverbal nominalization, and their use as a means of making clause-like structures into dependents, is that to the external environment (the matrix or main clause), they metonymically denote only some element of the internal conceptual structure — be it an s-argument of the verb, the event denoted by the verb or some other entity which might be associated with the series of relationships and meanings indicated by the nominalized clause.

For example, in (15.8), the phrase headed by the nominalized verb *ekxegakmo semheg* has an internal structure like a clause, with a verb *-xeg-* 'go', an argument *semheg* 'dog', and some verbal morphology which further specifies pertinent aspectual information. However as an s-argument of the declarative verb *taqmelchesakmok* 'it was cautious', *ekxegakmo semheg* is simply an entity-denoting nominalization, in this case the entity being a particular event. The matrix verb doesn't "see" a clause, it sees an NP which denotes a particular event.

(15.8) taqmelchesakmok **ekxegakmo semheg**

ø-taqmelch-es-akm-ok ek-xegak-m-o semheg
F-good-VAL-TERM-DECL F.PART-go-TERM-NM:IP dog

'The dog returned slowly' or '*The dog's returning* was slow and cautious'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

This focus on the metonymic nature of nominalizations allows us to first observe which kinds of metonymies are available to which kinds of nominalizations, and to frame the descriptive questions regarding subordination and nominalization in Enxet Sur by asking how various nominalizing morphology *restricts* what the grammatical nominalization can metonymically denote, and then later view how those denotational possibilities are further restricted by syntax and the semantic profile of the verb itself. Therefore, rather than attempting to assign particular verb forms to particular structural categories of subordination, we start with an overview of the types of denotations the four different nominalized forms can have, as seen in table 15.1.

Verb form	Possible denotations under nominalization
Imperfective	Agent nominalization
	Patient nominalization
	Particular event
	Fact or proposition
Perfective	Agent nominalization
	Patient nominalization
	Particular event
	Behavior or common activity
	Resultant product
	Event participant, non-restrictive
	Process instrumental
Oblique	Place or time where event occurs
	Manner of event, as in
	Agent nominalization,
	Patient nominalization
Potential	Fact or proposition
	Agent nominalization
	Patient nominalization
	Particular event

Table 15.1: Metonymic denotational possibilities of the four types of nominalizations

Relying largely on the denotational categories used by Shibatani (2019), it is clear that the nominalizing forms generally do not distinguish between Event and Participant denotation. Shibatani uses the term "argument denotation", which I replace with "participant denotation" given the discussion in §5.1 regarding issues with grammatical argument structure in Enxet Sur.

While all four kinds of nominalizations can, in the right context, act as participant denoting nominalizations (henceforth PDN), all but the oblique form can also function as event denoting nominalizations (henceforth EDN). EDNs fall in to three major categories: those which denote particular events (sometimes concurrent and ongoing, sometimes hypothetical) (15.9), those which denote generalized abstract events like behaviors or common activities (15.10), and those which denote the fact or proposition of the nominalized clause as a whole (15.11).

(15.9) *Denotation of specific events*

a. [NM:IP] ayaqtennakxek sa' makham pa'at **éktegakxo** sa' makham
a-yaqtenn-akx-ek =sa' makham pa'at é-kteg-akx-o
1SG.IRR-cut-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT still grass F.PART-grow-DUP-NM:IP
=sa' makham
=TC:FUT still
'I'll cut the grass when *it grows back up*'

Skype Notes 2020.6.20

b. [NM:PV] awanhek **eyaqheykha** ewáxok hatte, hakte apwatneyk apkelteyásamap
a-wanh-ek ey-aqh-eykha e-wáxok hatte hakte
F.STAT-large-DECL F.PART-kill-AMB.NM:PV 1SG.POSS-innermost my.child because
ap-watn-eyk apk-el-tey-ás-am-ap
M-burn-DECL M.PART-DIST-fall-VAL-TI-MID.M.NM:PV
'I was very proud of my son because he won the race'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. [NM:PO] yahamok sa' **axog**
yaham-ok =sa' a-xog
fast-DECL =TC:FUT M.IRR-go.NM:PO
'I will go quickly'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.10) *Behaviors or common activities*

a. [NM:PV] háwe kaxwe **sektegye kelasma**
háwe kaxwe sek-tegy-e kelasma
NEG recent 1SG.PART-search.for-NM:PV fish
'I've been fishing for a long time' or '*My searching for fish* isn't a new thing'

Skype 2020.5.10

b. [NM:PV] makhemekpok makham **sekmeykha corona**
ø-makhem-ekp-ok makham sek-m-eykha corona
F-continue-MID.M-NM:PO still 1SG.PART-have-AMB.NM:PV crown

'The *use of feather headdresses* continues still'

EDP enx038 14:33

(15.11) *Facts or propositions*

a. [NM:IP] ekyenhaxche' aqsa xapop sekweta **keto' ekxegakmo pelota**
ek-yenh-axche' aqsa xapop sek-wet-a keto'
1SG-throw-MID.DECL just earth 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP near
ek-xegak-m-o pelota
F.PART-go-TERM-NM:IP ball
'I was thrown to the ground when I saw *that the ball was approaching*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. [NM:PO] éltamhok **ayasagkoho eyéyak ekto sektosso semheg**
él-tamh-ok a-y'as-agk-oho ey-é-yak
1SG.DIST-want-INTS 1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-INTS.NM:PO F.PART-give-COMPL.NM:PV
ek-t-o sek-toss-o semheg
F.PART-eat-NM:PV 1SG.PART-control-NM:PV dog
'I want *to know the person who gave food to my dog*'

Skype Notes 2020.7.5

PDNs denote different kinds of core s-arguments of verbs. This includes agent (15.12) and patient (15.13) nominalizations, as well as the agents or patients of a verb which is itself subordinated to the nominalization (put differently — the arguments of a nominalized verb acting as the argument of a nominalized verb) or the possessor of arguments of the nominalized verb, seen in (15.14).

(15.12) *Agent nominalizations*

a. [NM:IP] apya'asegkoya exchep énxet **apkenegwa'a apxagkok**
ap-ya'as-egk-o =ya exchep enxet apk-eneg-wa'-a
M-know-COMPL-DECL =TC:Q 2SG.M man M.PART-stand-ARR-NM:IP
ap-xagkok
M.POSS-house
'Do you know the guy *who just came to your house*?'

Skype Notes 2020.6.25

b. [NM:PV] mékoya **elleykha apwáxok étche**
meko =ya el-l-eykha ap-wáxok e-etche
NEG.EXIST =TC:Q F.PART.DIST-hang.out-AMB.NM:PV M.POSS-inside F.POSS-child
'Does her child not have parasites [lit. *'those which crawl around inside'*]

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. [NM:OB] méko axta **apkepwagkexa xama appeywa**
meko =axta apk-ep-wagk-exa xama ap-peywa
NEG.EXIST =TC:PST M.PART-VBLZ.M-able-NM:OB one M.PART-words
'There wasn't *anyone who could speak the language*'

López Ramírez (1996)

d. [NM:PO] emhok á eyápéxchexa, méko sa' **kóta'**
e-mh-ok =a ey-ap-exch-exa // meko =sa'
M.IRR-head.to-COMPL =DIST F.PART-cover-MID-NM:OB // NEG.EXIST =TC:FUT
ko-ot-a'
F.IRR-see-NM:PO
'Go over there where it's covered, no one will see you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.13) *Patient nominalizations*

a. [NM:PV] ekpaqhetchessek ko'o wokma'ák **sekyega exchek ko'o**
ek-paqhetch-es-sek ko'o wokma'ák sek-yeg-a =exchek ko'o
1SG-chat-VAL-DECL 1SG boy 1SG.PART-push-NM:IP =TC:HOD 1SG
'I spoke with the boy *that I pushed earlier today*'

Skype Notes 2020.6.25

b. [NM:PV] Ekeso ékyaha ekyexna **aptahakkasama** keso anmen nak se'e
Ekeso ékyaha ek-yexn-a ap-tahakk-as-ama keso anmen
this algorrobo F.PART-fruit-NM:PV M.PART-rot-VAL-NM:PV this alcohol
=nak =se'e
=TC:VIS =PROX
'This alcohol is [made from] algorrobo fruit *that has been made to rot*'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. [NM:OB] yaqsa aqsok **apmopwagkexa**
yaqsa aqsok ap-m-op-wagk-exa
what thing M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:OB
'What can you do?' or 'What is the thing *that you are able to do*?'

Skype Notes 2020.6.20

d. [NM:PO] méko xama aqsok **agey'**
meko xama aqsok ag-ey-'
NEG.EXIST one thing 1PL.IRR-fear-NM:PO

'There is nothing *that we fear*'

Skype 4.14.2020

(15.14) *Nominalizations denoting arguments/possessors of arguments*

a. [NM:IP] ólmaxnessessek negko'o egmók **ekyentaxnawo nak apwáxok**
ól-maxn-ess-es-sek negko'o eg-mók ek-yentaxn-awo
1PL.IRR.DIST-ask-VAL-VAL-DECL 1PL 1PL.POSS-other F.PART-heavy-INTS.NM:IP
=nak ap-wáxok
=TC:VIS M.POSS-innermost
'We pray for our friends *whose souls are heavy*'

EDP enx039 34:08

b. [NM:PV] énmagà **ekxakma aqtek nak**
enmaga ek-xak-ma a-aqtek =nak
rifle F.PART-many-NM:PV F.POSS-seed =TC:VIS
'Guns with many bullets' or 'Guns *whose bullets are many*'

NNE190 03:31

Some types of nominalizations do not, however, fit cleanly into either the EDN or PDN category. *Resultant product nominalizations* (15.15), for example, denote an entity that is produced by the event indicated by the nominalized verb, and therefore refers neither to the event itself or to a strict grammatical argument of the verb. The notion of the *event protagonist nominalization* (15.16) denotes the agent of an action in a non-restrictive sense while emphasizing their role in the event. The *process instrumental* (15.17) (my own term) refers to a tool used to achieve a particular event or state, but is distinct in Enxet Sur from other kinds of oblique nominalizations in not being achieved through the oblique nominalization form the way that other oblique or adverbial arguments typically are.

(15.15) *Resultant products*

a. kemhak **ekmopeyak xop** xa panaqte nak
k-emh-ak ek-mop-eyak xop =xa panaqte =nak
F.PART-stand-DECL F.PART-blank-COMPL.NM:PV earth =DMSTR herb =TC:VIS
'This plant is found in *cleared off land* (lit. 'the clearing of the land')'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. Yetneyk axta **apkelháxakxama xápen apwa'**
yetneyk =axta apk-el-háxakx-ama xápen ap-wa'
EXIST =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-encircle-NM:PV rhea M.POSS-feather
they had *rhea feather headdresses* (lit. the circling of the rhea feathers')

López Ramírez (1996)

(15.16) *Event Protagonist*

a. **sekxegà** axteykhe ko'o
sek-xeg-a =axta =eykhe ko'o
1SG.PART-go-NM:PV =TC:PST =TC:FRUST 1SG
'I was supposed to go [but I got held up]'

Skype Notes 2020.4.14

b. Kaxwo' sat ageynhok anxének ekpeywa, **ko'o sektáxésama**
Kaxwo' =sat ag-eyn-hok an-xén-ek ek-peywa //
now =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-lift-INTS.NM:PO 1PL.IRR-show-NM:PO F.PART-words //
ko'o sek-táxés-ama
1SG 1SG.PART-write-NM:PV
'Now we will start to tell her words, written by me'

López Ramírez (1996)

(15.17) *Process instrumentals*

a. Méko anhan **apkelaklamap** wánxa yemáleg empe'ék
Méko =anhan apk-el-akl-amap wánxa yemáleg e-mpe'ék
NEG.EXIST =AND M.PART-DIST-wrap-MID.M.NM:PV only fox F.POSS-skin
'There were no *blankets* (lit. 'to cover up'), only fox hides'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. **aptáxesso** apmaxneyk
ap-táxes-so ap-maxney-k
M.PART-write-NM:PV M-sharpen-DECL
'He is sharpening his *pencil* (lit. 'to write')'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Another important distinction to make is that between the **NP-use** and **modification-use** of a nominalization. Nouns, be they lexical nouns or nominalizations, can be used either as the heads of noun phrases, or as modifying expressions (Shibatani, 2019). Although modification is not often considered a canonical function of nouns, and nouns in modification use are often described as somehow fundamentally distinct from adjectives in modification use using terms like "nominal compound" or "attributive noun", the productive use of nouns as modifiers is common in many languages. In English, for example, I can go to a *book store*, a *computer store*, a *liquor store*, a *poster store*, etc.

The lexical noun in Enxet can of course be used to refer to a particular entity and thus form the head of an NP and serve as the s-argument of a verb, as in some basic

examples in (15.18), but the lexical noun can also be used non-referentially to modify or restrict the interpretation of a head noun (15.19), and, as described in §5.1.3 and §9.1, to provide adverbial information about a proposition without needing to be put inside of an explicitly adverbial phrase like an adpositional phrase, as in (15.20). In all three of these functions there is no morphological indication on the noun of its structural relationship to the rest of the phrase or clause.

(15.18) *Lexical nouns as verbal arguments*

a. Apmayhágkek axta agkok **anmen** énxet, apwanchek axta elának anmen.
ap-mayh-ág-kek =axta =agkok anmen énxet ap-wanch-ek =axta
M-want-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST COND alcohol man M.STAT-able-DECL =TC:PST
el-án-ak anmen
M.IRR.DIST-make-NM:PO alcohol
'If the Enxet wanted *alcohol*, they could make alcohol'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. tekke' **mayahat**
ø-tek-ke' mayahat
F-come.out-DECL heat.of.sun
'*the [heat of the] sun* came out'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.19) *Lexical nouns nominal modifiers*

a. hakte éñamak ko'o Makxawé ko'o sekteme **Makxawé énxet** ahagko'
hakte ey-eñam-ak ko'o Makxawé ko'o sek-tem-e
because 1SG-come.from-DECL 1SG Makxawaya 1SG 1SG.PART-be.TI-NM:PV
Makxawé énxet =ahagko'
Makxawaya man =DEG.1SG
'Because I'm from Makxawaya, I'm a real *Makxawaya Enxet*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. **pánaqte naxma'**, hawe ekwanxa **pánaqte kelmope**
pánaqte naxma' // hawe ek-wa-n-xa pánaqte
medicine woods // NEG F.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB medicine
kel-mop-e
DIST-white-NM:PV
'[There is] forest medicine, it's not only white people medicine'

EDP enx041 02:48

c. exchek apmahagkok **énxet áwa' apátog**
exchek ap-mah-agk-ok énxet a-awa' ap-átog
TC:HOD M-head.to-COMPL-SCND man F.POSS-hair M.POSS-mouth

'The bearded man (literally 'hair of his mouth man') just went over their'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. **pelóta egmenek**
pelota eg-menek
ball 1PL.POSS-foot
'a soccer ball'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.20) *Lexical nouns as clausal modifiers*

a. kelyapwatchek apaqta'ak metyenma **axta'a**
k-el-yapwat-chek ap-aqta'-ak m-e-tyen-ma axta'a
F-DIST-short-DECL M.POSS-eye-PL NEG-M.IRR-sleep-NM:PV night
'His eyelids were heavy because he didn't sleep *last night*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. apkennapchek han enles weyke ma'a **Makxawé**
apk-en-nap-chek =han enles weyke =ma'a Makxawe
M-DIST-kill.many-DECL =AND English cow =DMSTR Makxawaya
'The English killed the cows *at Makxawaya*'

NNE190 07:03

c. kenye oxtaksek **mayahat**
kenye o-xtak-s-ek mayahat
then 1PL.IRR-warm-VAL-NM:PO heat.of.sun
'Then we warm it in *the [heat of the] sun*

Schoolbook Grade 4

Note, of course, that these three syntactic functions of the lexical noun — NP-use and the two kinds of modification-use — do in fact correspond to the three traditional categories of subordinate clause — complement clause as NP-use (verbal argument), relative clause as nominal modifier, and adverbial clause as clausal modifier. Nominalizations, then, have the same distributions, being able to act as verbal arguments, but also as nominal or clausal modifiers. Like lexical nouns, there is no morphological indication on the nominalized verb which indicates its syntactic position, as in (15.21).

(15.21) a. Ekwet'ak axta **apteyekmo**
ek-wet'-ak =axta ap-teyek-m-o
1SG-see-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP
'I saw that he fell'

b. Ekwetágkek xa wokma'ák **apteyekmo**

ek-wet-agk-ek =xa wokma'ak ap-teyek-m-o
1SG-see-COMPL-DECL =DMSTR boy M.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP
'I know that boy who just fell'

c. Negkektegmeyk **apteyekmo**
negk-ektegm-eyk ap-teyek-m-o
1PL-laugh-DECL M.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP
'We laughed when he fell'

Whatsapp notes

The ability for nominalizations to be used either as heads of NPs or as modifiers of nouns means that, as PDNs, they can be used within an NP like either a headed or headless relative clause, as described in §15.4 below. As described by Comrie and Thompson (1985, p. 378), "it is not difficult to understand how a nominalization can function as a relative clause: the nominalization and the noun with which it is in construction can be thought of as two juxtaposed nominal elements [nom] [nom], the modifying relationship between them being inferred by the language users (rather than being specified by the grammar, as it is in languages with specific relative clause morphology), just as the modifying relationship is inferred in a noun-noun compound such as tree-house, in which the two nominal elements simply happen to be single nouns".

To that, we should add that when a nominalization modifies a head noun, the nominalization and the head noun do not need to be co-referential. For example, in (15.22a), the nominalization *ekmopeyak xop* 'the clearing of the earth' modifies *yokxexma* 'country, territory' even though the nominalized verb cannot denote *yokxexma* as a participant of the nominalized verb, since that position is clearly filled by *xop* 'earth'. Similarly, in (15.22b), *nétsapma* '(our) death' is ostensibly an EDN, but it is used as a modifier of *negmasse* 'disease' rather than an NP.

(15.22) *ADNs modifying NPs which are not co-referential with an argument of the nominalized verb*

a. *Context: referring to yamyásek, a salty shrub*
yokxexma ekmopeyak xop kemhak xa. Pánaqte nak.
yokxexma ek-mop-eyak xop k-emh-ak =xa panaqte
country F.PART-blank-COMPL.NM:PV earth F-stand-SCND =DMSTR herb
=nak
=TC:VIS
'This herb is found *in areas where the soil is cleared off*'

Schoolbook Grade 4

b. asamchek axta **negmase nétsapma**
a-sam-chek =axta neg-mass-e né-tsap-ma
F.STAT-bad-DECL =TC:PST 1PL.PART-diminish-NM:PV 1PL.PART-die-NM:PV
'This deadly ('our death') disease was very bad'

López Ramírez (1996)

15.1.2 Modal and aspectual properties

The previous section provides an overview of how the different forms of deverbal nominalization, except for the oblique nominalization, do not fundamentally distinguish between different types of denotation. In this section, I provide an overview of the qualities which are distinguished morphologically in these three forms: aspect and mood.

The potential form verb, as described in §3.4.2 is used for a range of irrealis contexts. It can be used when the event it indicates is hypothetical, including in the future, or to express the habitual aspect of an event. It also has some associations with negation, since an event-denoting complement with certain negated verbs must be in the potential form.

The aspectual distinction between what I call the imperfective and perfective forms is somewhat more complex. Perfectivity is a complex topic, and aspectual markers labeled perfective or imperfective in various languages may behave quite differently from one another. I am not using these terms to refer to any kind of changes in telicity, nor do I suggest that one form or the other might not be available to a given verb based on its lexical aspect.

Filip (2017, p. 168–69) discusses two major trends in the literature on perfectivity and its semantic underpinnings: totality and culmination. In the sense of TOTALITY the perfective aspect views the event from the outside as a whole while the imperfective views it from the inside as having component parts (this is the primary description in Comrie 1976, p. 16 or Dahl 1985, p. 78). In the CULMINATION perspective, the perfective aspect views an event as complete while the imperfective views it as incomplete and ongoing.

The Enxet Sur perfectivity distinction in nominalizations generally fits the totality perspective, and the degree to which perfectivity distinctions reflect distinctions in the completion of an event is generally a by-product of the totality semantics. For example imperfective event denoting nominalizations are used as the heads of clauses in adverbial use (§15.2.3) to denote events which are concurrent with a main event, and the main event is interpreted as corresponding to some internal portion of the event indicated by the imperfective verb. Perfective EDNs, on the other hand, must be used to express topological relations with events (before, after, etc.), and thus must view the event as a whole.

Another important distinction between the imperfective and perfective forms is that imperfectives can only express specific, individuated events, while the perfective form, perhaps because it obligatorily includes the temporal indefinite suffix (§3.5), can be used to refer to an activity *in general*, as in (15.23). This use of the perfective form accounts for its use as the typical citation form for verb stems in Enlhet-Enenlhet dictionaries, including Rojas and Curtis (2017) and Unruh and Kalisch (1997).

(15.23) Yegmen negmeha yakwayam agyenek, tenhan agyetmok **neghanma, negyakpaso, nelyegeso apawa**, sokpayhe egagkok tenhan **negẽyak nenaktoso**

yegmen	neg-m-aha		yaqwayam	ag-yen-ek	tenhan
water	1PL-have-AMB.SCND		for	1PL.IRR-drink-NM:PO	and

ag-yetm-ok neg-han-ma neg-yaqpass-o
1PL.IRR-fill.liquid-NM:PO 1PL.PART-cook-NM:PV 1PL.PART-bathe-NM:PV
nel-yegyess-o a-pawa sokpayhe egagkok tenhan
1PL.PART.DIST-wash-NM:PV F.POSS-clothes plate 1PL.POSS and
neg-eg-eyak nen-naq-tosso
1PL.PART-give-COMPL.NM:PV 1PL.PART-PL-domestic.animal

'We use water to drink, and to fill up vessels for *cooking*, *bathing*, *washing clothes and dishes*, *and for giving to our animals*'

Schoolbook Grade 1

These three major nominalization forms can all be used in the same construction, alternating based on semantic and pragmatic factors. For example, a common semiverb *-wane*'- 'to be able to, to have control over' can take a simple nominal complement, as in (15.24a), but more often takes a nominalized verbal complement.

In (15.24b-15.24c), which come from direct elicitation, the complement of the predicate semiverb *ewanchek* 'I am able to' can be either a potential or perfective form verb, with no particular difference in meaning (according to the consultant who provided the examples). While the complement verb of this particular PREDICATE is most often a potential form verb in the corpus, as in (15.24d-15.24e), there are examples in the corpus of the use of perfective forms instead, as in (15.24f-15.24g), and even imperfective forms, as in (15.24h-15.24i).

(15.24) a. apwanchek **moto**
ap-wanch-ek moto
M.STAT-able-DECL motorcycle
'He can/knows how to ride a motorcycle'

b. ewanchek ko'o **wahanek**
e-wanch-ek ko'o wa-han-ek
1SG.STAT-able-DECL 1SG 1SG.IRR-cook-NM:PO
'I can cook'

c. ewanchek ko'o **sekhanma**
e-wanch-ek ko'o sek-han-ma
1SG.STAT-able-DECL 1SG 1SG.PART-cook-NM:PV
'I can cook'

Skype 4.6.2020

d. mowanchek cha'a sekmoko **atneykha**, kelyetyapagkek cha'a sektamheykha, apkelwakteyk cha'a énxet
mo-wanch-ek cha'a sek-mok-o
NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL always 1SG.PART-want-NM:IP

a-tney-k-ha // kel-yetyap-agk-ek cha'a
1SG.IRR-work-TI-AMB.NM:PO // F.DIST-break.through-COMPL-DECL always
sek-tamh-eykha // apk-el-wak-t-eyk cha'a enxet
1SG.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV // M-DIST-arrive-CISL-DECL always man

I can't do my work as I want to, people are constantly coming and interrupting me'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. *Context: Referring to an herb known as* tetet yámet, *or* yerba de lucero
Keso pánakte nak egwanchek **agwetok neyáwa sage esenhan neyáwa yammáxek**.
keso panaqte =nak eg-wanch-ek ag-wet-ok neyawa
this medicine =TC:VIS 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-see-INTS.NM:PO around.F
sage esenhan neyawa yammaxek
lake or around.F resevoir
'We can see this plant around lakes or around resevoirs'

Schoolbook Grade 1

f. Awanchek axta **eltakmelchesama ektéyak** énxet nano'.
a-wanch-ek =axta el-taqmelch-ess-ama ek-t-eyak
F.STAT-able-DECL =TC:PST F.PART.DIST-good-VAL-NM:PV F.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV
enxet nano'
Enxet old.time
'The old Enxet could take care of their food.'

López Ramírez (1996)

g. mowanchek axta **sekxegà**
mo-wanch-ek =axta sek-xeg-à
NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL =TC:PST 1SG.PART-go-NM:PV
'I couldn't go'

López Ramírez (1996)

h. ayaqnencheshok sa' yámet, mowanchek **sélana yányawhéna'**
a-yaqnench-es-hok =sa' yamet mo-wanch-ek
1SG.IRR-cut-VAL-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT tree NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL
sel-an-a yanyawhena'
1SG.PART.DIST-make-NM:IP honey
'I'll completely take down the tree since I can't get the honey'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

i. mowanchek **sektamhagkya'a**

mo-wanch-ek sek-tamhah-kya'-a
NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL 1SG.PART-work-AMB-NM:IP
'I can't do my work right now'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The examples in (15.24) show that, at least in certain contexts, all three of these nominalization forms are possible, and that the distinction between them is not fundamentally a structural one. Rather, it is aspectual and modal. In the examples with imperfective forms, (15.24h-15.24i), it is implied that the event indicated by the imperfective form verb is ongoing at present. The examples with the perfective form, (15.24f-15.24g), indicate past events. Those with the potential forms, (15.24d-15.24e), denote either something that did not happen or something that could happen in the future.

These are the basic semantic distinctions between these three forms, but rarely does a given construction allow for all three. Typically, there is either productive alternation between two forms, or a type of construction only really allows one kind of nominalized form, typically in ways which are predictable based on the aspectual or modal values of these forms.

For example, when event-denoting nominalizations are used as patients in complement clause-like structures, either the potential or imperfective forms are used based on the semantics of the PREDICATE verb. The potential form is used as a complement of verbs like 'think' as in (15.25a), since that which is thought is inherently irrealis. However, the complements of verbs like 'realize' or 'recognize' are more often than not in the imperfective form, as in (15.25b), since they denote events or facts that have actually occurred.

(15.25) a. wánexchek sa' eykel'a **waqhak**
w-an-exch-ek =sa' =eyke =l'a w-aqh-ak
1SG.IRR-think-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT =TC:ASR =TC:DUB 1SG.IRR-kill-NM:PO
'I will be thought to have killed him'

EDP enx006 05:51

b. yekpelchék axta kelán'a **metnaha Énxet**
ø-yekpel-chek =axta kelan'a m-e-tnah-a enxet
F-recognize-DECL =TC:PST woman NEG-M.IRR-be/say-NM:IP enxet
'The woman recognized that he wasn't a [human] man'

Schoolbook Grade 1

When participant denoting nominalizations are used to restrict the reference of a nominal expression, there is usually productive alternation between the imperfective and perfective forms. For example, while the perfective form nominalization is used for the verb *seyegà* 'who pushed me' in (15.26a), the imperfective form can be used instead, as in (15.26b), the primary semantic effect being that the use of the imperfective form emphasizes the immediacy of the event which has just happened. In both examples, the nominalized verb is marked with the hodiernal past marker *exchek*, and there is not therefore

significant temporal difference between them — the fact that the event is marked with the hodiernal past does not determine the perfectivity marking of the nominalized verb.

(15.26) a. ekpaqhetchessek ko'o **wokma'ák seyegà exchek**
ek-paqhet-ches-sek ko'o wokma'ak se-yeg-à =exchek
1SG-chat-VAL-DECL 1SG guy 1SG.PAT.PART-push-NM:PV =TC:HOD
'I talked with the guy who pushed me earlier'

Skype 4.14.2020

b. ekpaqhetchessek ko'o **wokma'ák sekyega exchek ko'o**
ek-paqhet-ches-sek ko'o wokma'ak sek-yeg-a =exchek ko'o
1SG-chat-VAL-DECL 1SG guy 1SG.PAT.PART-push-NM:IP =TC:HOD 1SG
'I talked with the guy that I just pushed'

Skype 4.14.2020

Some may see these aspectual and modal distinctions as a problem for a nominalization analysis, since nominalizations or other deranked or non-finite verb forms are conventionally defined, in part, by a decreased capacity for tense, aspect, and mood marking, and these Enxet Sur forms actually indicate aspectual and modal properties which are not available to the declarative verb. However, there are languages, especially in South America, which express semantic values typically associated with verbal inflection exclusively in the nominal domain. For example, Tuparí, a Tupí-Guaranian language of the western Amazon region, requires that verbs be nominalized in order to be negated (Singerman, 2018). A number of languages in various parts of the world also show extensive marking of tense, aspect, and mood categories exclusively or predominantly in the nominal domain (see §5.1.3).

Similarly, in some languages, nominalized verbs and fully-finite verbs may have the same kinds of tense/mood/aspect distinctions, but those distinctions may be integrated into the nominalizing morphology itself. For example Turkish deverbal nominalization, in the analysis of Kornfilt and Whitman (2011), involves three nominalizing morphemes: a non-future factive nominalizer, a future factive nominalizer, and a non-factive nominalizer, the latter of which has a "subjunctive" or irrealis reading. The same tense and mood distinctions are available in finite verbs as well, but the morphology which expresses these values in finite verbs is not available to nominalized forms, and instead it is the different nominalizing morphemes themselves which distinguish these values within nominalizations. Enxet Sur is different from Turkish in that there are no corresponding perfective/imperfective/potential markers in finite verbs, but it is similar in that the nominalizing morphology simultaneously indicates both nominalization and aspect/mood values.

15.1.3 Nominalization and clausal structure

The idea of a grammatical nominalization, as adapted from Shibatani (2019), bridges the gap between lexical nominalization and the idea of a subordinate clause by stating that

grammatical nominalizations have the internal structure of a clause while having the external grammatical and semantic properties of a noun. I have thus far explained relevant "external" properties of Enxet Sur deverbal nominalizations, primarily the ranges of metonymic denotations the various nominalized forms can have and grammatical distinctions between their use as NP heads and their use as modifiers of nouns.

In this section, I turn to a discussion of what exactly it would mean for grammatical nominalizations in Enxet Sur to have the "internal" structure of a clause, and question the degree to which a grammatical "clausal structure" can be embedded at all. I argue that there is actually minimal relevance to describing an internal clause-like structure for grammatical nominalization and therefore anything really like grammatical subordination of the clause, for two basic reasons: 1) the items like TAME clitics, SAP pronouns, and topical demonstratives which define the structure of the clause cannot be present in an embedded structure, and 2) the relationship of dependent s-argument nouns to a PREDICATE verb is one of generalized dependency or complementation and not argument role selection, such that when nominalized verbs are themselves in a dependent position (either as NP modifiers or the COMPLEMENT position) dependent s-argument NPs of the nominalized form can simply be viewed as NP-modifiers, restricting the interpretation of the nominalized verb.

The description begins with an overview of indicators that nominalizations which are semantically linked to a propositional PREDICATE are in a paratactic relationship to it. The following subsections describe what can and cannot be inside of a "nominalized clause" when it is actually in a dependent or embedded position.

Paratactic nominalizations

Chapters 5 and 7 present some important qualities of "simple clauses" which are critical to an understanding of the use of nominalizations:

1. Nouns can be used as nominal PREDICATES with no derivation or copula (§5.2.1

2. Nouns which identify the semantic arguments of verbs do not much function syntactically as their grammatical arguments, and instead are quite often realized as the nominal PREDICATES of independent paraclauses (i.e. *ekwetéyak xa énxet nak* is not so much 'I know that man' as it is 'I know that one, it's the man')

3. Inherently dependent items, like TAME clitics (§5.1.3), dependent adverbs, and enclitic topical demonstratives (§7.5) are strictly associated with independent clause structures and not with embedded or dependent phrases within the clause; words or phrases followed by TAME clitics must be independent PREDICATES and demonstratives mark the right edge of the clause, with material to the right constituting separate clauses

It is important to note that deverbal nominalizations are just like any other Enxet noun, meaning that despite their metonymic entity-denoting value, their syntactic functions are not predefined and they can be and very often are nominal PREDICATES. Like nouns or adjectives, although they may be used to indicate s-arguments of verbs or may

be co-referential with a noun in a relationship of semantic modification, they may surface as nominal PREDICATES of independent clauses. Like the relationship between s-argument NPs and verbs, there is no explicit morphosyntactic indication of a dependency relationship of these nominalizations to a head, and they can occur with their own TAME marking and demonstratives which indicate that they are structurally independent clauses. Paratactic approaches to "subordination" are attested in some other language families of the Chaco (Golluscio et al., 2019).

For example, in (15.27), the nominalized clause *méko waley* 'there not being any Paraguayans' is an s-argument of *xegkassók*, which conventionally takes imperfective form[3] arguments for a construction meaning 'X almost happened'. Yet, here, the declarative verb *xegkassók* is followed by a demonstrative which indicates the right edge of the clause, and the EDN which semantically is its argument is in a separate intonational phrase — both indications that the latter phrase is a paratactic PREDICATE. *Xegkassók*, in the context of the story it is taken from, really means nothing without its complement.

(15.27) *Context: An Enxet man helps Paraguayan survivors of a battle during the Chaco War*
xegkassók ma'a, **méko waley**

xegk-ass-ók =ma'a // méko waley
go-VAL-INTS.DECL =DMSTR // NEG.EXIST Paraguayan

'There were almost no Paraguayans', literally 'It was almost that, there not being any Paraguayans'

NNE190 10:56

As part of this paratactic organization, nominalizations have the same kind of relationship to topical demonstratives and the definite-like uses of the TAME clitic *nak* described in §7.5, especially with PDNs. In that section, I describe how an initial clause often ends in a topical demonstrative, and the referent of that topical demonstrative is then expressed as the nominal PREDICATE of a subsequent clause marked with the TAME clitic *nak* to emphasize co-reference of the nominal PREDICATE with the topic of the previous clause. The same can occur with nominalizations, as in (15.28).

(15.28) *Demonstratives and* nak *used with PDNs*

a. háwe ko'o **m'a kélanagkama nak kéxegke atneyk**
[háwe ko'o =m'a] [kél-anagk-ama =nak kéxegke a-tney-k]
NEG 1SG =DMSTR 2PL.PART-think-NM:PV =TC:VIS 2PL 1SG.IRR-be-NM:PO
'I'm not *that which you think I am*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. etaqmelchásekxo apkelányo **s'e sekmeyncha'a nak**

[3]The negative existential *méko* is grammaticalized and not a fully productive verb, but it still acts like an imperfective form and contrasts with a perfective and an oblique nominalization form (§14.4).

[e-taqmelch-ás-ekx-o apk-el-ány-o =s'e]
M.IRR-good-VAL-DUP-INTS M.PART-DIST-look-INTS.NM:IP =PROX
[sek-mey-ncha'-a =nak]
1SG.PART-have-AMB-NM:IP =TC:VIS

'take a good look at *what I'm carrying*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ekya'ásegkok ektéma **xa ektáha nak**
[ek-ya'ás-eg-kok ek-tém-a =xa] [ek-táh-a =nak]
1SG-know-COMPL-DECL F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP =DMSTR F.PART-be-NM:IP =TC:VIS

'I know it's like that', literally 'I know its (habitual) being is *that which it is right now*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Wánxa **m'a méke aptáwa nak**, awanchek kataxnegwók apnéwakxa
[wánxa =m'a] [méke ap-táwa =nak] [a-wanch-ek
only =DMSTR NEG.EXIST.NM:PV M.POSS-spouse =TC:VIS F.STAT-able-NM:PO
ka-taxneg-w-ók ap-néwak-xa]
F.IRR-enter-ARR-INTS.NM:PO M.PART-dance-NM:OB

'Only *those without spouses* could enter the dancing circle'

Schoolbook Grade 1

It may be tempting to view the demonstrative or even the TAME clitic *nak* as part of the structure of a relative clause, like a relative pronoun. However, neither of these elements is required for a deverbal nominalization to function as a PDN, as in (15.29). Furthermore, when the PDN is in modification use, there is no demonstrative between the PDN and the head noun, and in fact the demonstrative is typically to the right of the whole NP, as in (15.30).

(15.29) a. axta kalmayháseykegkok aptéyak **ma'a élmayóseka apkelwáxok**
[axta ka-l-mayh-ás-eyk-egk-ok ap-t-éyak =ma'a]
[TC:PST F.IRR-DIST-want-VAL-TI-COMPL-NM:PO M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV =DMSTR]
[él-m-a-yósek-a apk-el-wáxok]
[F.PART-DIST-TI-VBLZ.F-pity-NM:IP M.POSS-DIST-innermost]

'Those who were sad fasted'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. máxa **meyke ahaqta'ák** ektemek
máxa meyke ah-aqta'-ák ek-tem-ek
like NEG.EXIST.NM:PV 1SG.POSS-eye-PL 1SG-be.TI-SCND

'I'm like *a blind person* (literally 'one without eyes'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.30) *Adnominal PDNs with demonstrative and* nak

a. yetlómok axta élyagqáxeykekxa apeyk'ák **xa énxet meyke apeyk'ák nak**
[ø-yetló-m-ok =axta él-yagqáx-ey-kekx-a ap-eyk'-ák
F-follow-TI-INTS.DECL =TC:PST F.PART.DIST-pierce-TI-DUP-NM:PV M.POSS-ear-PL
=xa] [énxet meyke ap-eyk'-ák =nak]
=DMSTR] [man NEG.EXIST.NM:PV M.POSS-ear-PL =TC:VIS]
'Then the ears of those who cannot hear (the deaf, literally '*the men without ears*') were opened'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hakte **keso año ekxegakmo nak** magya'asagkek negko'o yaqwánxa katnehek
hakte [keso] [año ek-xegak-m-o =nak]
because [this] [year F.PART-go-TERM-NM:IP =TC:VIS]
[m-ag-ya'as-agk-ek negko'o yaqwánxa ka-tneh-ek]
[NEG-1PL.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND 1PL for.NM:OB F.IRR-be-NM:PO]
'Because *this year that is coming*, we don't know what will happen'

EDP enx039

c. egwanchek agwetágwók **ma'a xóp ekmópeyak nak**
[eg-wanch-ek ag-wetág-w-ók =ma'a] [xóp
[1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-see-ARR-INTS.NM:PO =DMSTR] [land
ek-móp-eyak =nak]
F.PART-white-*compl.nm:pv* =TC:VIS]
'We can see when we come to *abandoned, cleared off land*'

Schoolbook Grade 1

In examples like those in (15.30) *nak* appears to help establish co-reference of the whole NP (noun plus a dependent modifying PDN) with the topical demonstrative, it can also serve to establish co-reference of a PDN with an overt NP that precedes it, like in the examples in (15.31). The speech example in (15.31a) has a clear intonational break between the noun *aqsok* 'thing', and its semantic "modifier" *magwetaya nak*, which here is acting as a paratactic nominal PREDICATE construction.

(15.31) *PDN with nak preceded by co-referent noun*

a. élwetak sa' **aqsok, magwetaya nak**
[él-wet-ak =sa' aqsok] // [m-ag-wetay-a =nak]
M.IRR.DIST-see-NM:PO =TC:FUT thing // NEG-1PL.IRR-see-NM:IP =TC:VIS
'Y'all will see things, things we don't see now'

EDP enx047 08:41

b. **Énxet apkelwese nak** chánáwatsam, wanxa axta apagkok xa ekwese nak Yammáneg
[énxet] [apk-el-wese =nak chánáwatsam] // wanxa =axta apagkok
man M.PART-DIST-called =TC:VIS chánáwatsam // only =TC:PST M.POSS
=xa] [ek-wese =nak Yammáneg]
=DMSTR F.PART-called =TC:VIS Yammáneg
'The Enxet called *Chánáwatsam*, only theirs was the dance called *Yammáneg*', literally 'the Enxet, Chánáwatsam was their name, it was only theirs, Yammáneg was its name'

Schoolbook Grade 1

The textual example in (15.31b) uses *nak* to establish co-reference between *apkelwese* 'those who are named X' and *Énxet* 'man'. The clause *apkelwese nak chánáwatsam* 'Chánáwatsam was their name' restricts the interpretation of *énxet*, but cannot be viewed as a dependent modifier of énxet because, as described in (§5.1.3) and in the next section, TAME clitics cannot occur inside a dependent phrase.

Inability to embed clitics

Like with non-derived nouns (5.1.3), TAME clitics cannot occur as part of a dependent phrase with a nominalization, and when they do appear, they are indicative of the independent PREDICATE status of their nominalized host. Although nominalized verb forms actually display modal and aspectual properties not found in declarative verbs, it is this inability for dependent nominalizations to take their own TAME clitics that is most similar to the cross-linguistic observation that deranked verb forms — nominalizations, participles, subordinated verbs — are less "finite" and therefore lack access to TAME semantics associated with the predicates of independent clauses (Cristofaro, 2007, Nikolaeva, 2010).

Take for example the simple clause in (15.32a). Either of its semantic objects can be "relativized", as in the presentational constructions in (15.32b-15.32c). From a conventional relative clause analysis, we might see *seyeykegko* in these two examples as the head of a relative clause which modifies a lexical head noun to its left, and we might see something like a "gap strategy", given that the "head noun" is not co-indicated by some kind of placeholder pronoun in the "relative clause". The problem with this analysis is that the head noun plus its "relative clause" does not actually form a viable constituent NP, as shown by the non-grammaticality of placing the supposed NP in the pre-TAME focus position.

(15.32) a. eyeykegkek cha'a ko'o **latsehe weyke**
ey-eyk-eg-kek cha'a ko'o latsehe weyke
1SG-give-COMPL-DECL always 1SG corn cow
'I give the corn to the cows'

b. keso **weyke seyeykegko nak cha'a ko'o latsehe**

keso weyke sey-eyk-egk-o =nak cha'a ko'o latsehe
this cow 1SG.PART-give-COMPL-NM:IP =TC:VIS always 1SG corn
'These are the cows I give the corn to'

Skype 4.6.2020

c. keso **latsehe seyeykegko nak cha'a ko'o weyke**
keso latsehe sey-eyk-egk-o =nak cha'a ko'o weyke
this corn 1SG.PART-give-COMPL-NM:IP =TC:VIS always 1SG cow
'This is the corn I give to the cows'

Skype 4.6.2020

d. ****weyke seyeykegko nak cha'a ko'o latsehe** axta ketsapak
[weyke sey-eyk-egk-o =nak cha'a ko'o latsehe] =axta
[cow 1SG.PART-give-COMPL-NM:IP =TC:VIS always 1SG corn] =TC:PST
k-etsap-ak
F-die-SCND
**'The cow that I give corn to died'

Whatsapp notes

This is expected given the claims made in §5.1 or in Kalisch (2009), that the presence of TAME clitics, dependent adverbs like *chá'a* 'always', or dependent SAP pronouns (also topical demonstratives) are features associated with independent clauses. For example, one of the reasons that (15.32d) fails is because it attempts to place one TAME-marked expression (*nak*) within the grammatical scope of another (*axta*), which is broadly shown to be impossible in Enxet Sur (§5.1.3).

I repeat here the examples in (15.33), which show that a noun modified by a nominalization can function as a viable NP in a pre-TAME position, but that it cannot take its TAME marking with it, because one TAME clitic cannot be within the grammatical scope of another. These same data point to an analysis that either *sekpagkanma* or *semheg sekpagkanma* is the PREDICATE of a paratactic clause in (15.33a), because the presence of the TAME clitic *axta* prevents its host from being analyzed as a dependent.

(15.33) a. katsapok sa' **semheg sekpagkanma axta**
ka-tsap-ok =sa' semheg sek-pagkan-ma =axta
F.IRR-die-NM:PO =TC:FUT dog 1SG.PART-set.aside-NM:PV =TC:PST
'The dog that I picked is going to die'

Skype 4.22.2020

b. **Semheg sekpagkanma** sa' katsapok
semheg sek-pagkan-ma =sa' ka-tsap-ok
dog 1SG.PART-set.aside-NM:PV =TC:FUT F.IRR-die-NM:PO
'The dog that I picked is going to die'

Skype 4.22.2020

c. **[semheg sek-pagkan-ma =axta] =sa' ka-tsap-ok
**[dog 1SG.PART-set.aside-NM:PV =TC:PST] =TC:FUT F.IRR-die-NM:PO
'The dog that I picked is going to die'

Skype 4.22.2020

If units like the bolded ones in (15.32b-15.32c) or (15.33a) do not act as constituent NPs and instead must be viewed as independent clauses, there is a question as to whether or not the PREDICATE of such clauses is just the nominalization, or if it is an NP with the lexical noun as a head and the nominalization as its dependent. In other words, there are two logical options for dividing the utterance in (15.33a) into two clauses. The first option, where the latter clause is a complex NP PREDICATE, would yield two clauses: *katsapok sa'* 'It will die' and *semheg sekpagkanma axta* 'It was the dog that I pick(ed)'. The second option would yield *katsapok sa' semheg* 'The dog will die' and *sekpagkanma axta* 'It was the one I pick'.

While an example like (15.33b) shows that *semheg sekpagkanma* 'dog that I pick' is a viable NP, the temporal semantics of the two different parsing options favors viewing *sekpagkanma axta* 'It was the one I pick(ed)' as an independent predication about the referent *semheg* in the previous clause. This would also be in line with the view on appositional semantic "modifiers" of nouns described in §13.1, where semantic "modifiers" like adjectives are in fact often realized as nominal PREDICATES (i.e. 'I found a goat. It was a small one'). Because *semheg* 'dog' and *sekpagkanma* 'one that I picked' are co-referential, pointing to the same entity, their relationship is similar to that described noun phrases generally, which, except for possessors, are always composed of a series of co-referential nouns which may constitute a single complex NP as in (15.33b) or which might have a co-referential status across multiple clauses, as in (15.33a).

A practical outcome of this restriction is simply that, when TAME semantics are important to the restrictive function of a nominalization, it must be rendered as a paratactic PREDICATE and not as a dependent. For example, to express the dubitative semantics of the clause 'that she could sic on me' in (15.34), the nominalized verb simply has to be part of a distinct clause.

(15.34) xámok eknaqtosso semheg xa kelán'a nak, **heyhak kexa katnehek**

[xámok ek-naq-tosso semheg =xa] [kelán'a =nak] //
[many.DECL F.PART-DIST-domestic.animal dog =DMSTR] [woman =TC:VIS] //
[he-yh-ak =kexa ka-tneh-ek]
[1SG.IRR-SIC-NM:PO =TC:DUB F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO

'That woman has a lot of dogs she could sic on me'

Skype 5.24.2020

The topical demonstratives, like TAME clitics, do not really occur in embedded positions. This is unsurprising based on both their pragmatic function and their syntactic

position — they do not act like dependent phrases and instead scope over the whole clause, pointing to what the clause is "about". Given that they serve the function of pointing to the topic of the whole clause, we would not expect them to occur within some kind of embedded phrase in the first place, and a construction like (15.35), which attempts to embed a demonstrative as part of a "subordinated clause" inside of a complex NP, is ungrammatical.

(15.35) **Énxet apmeykekxa **so** moto nak sa' ewatak

[énxet ap-mey-k-ekx-a =so moto =nak] =sa'
[man M.PART-have-TI-DUP-NM:PV =PROX motorcycle =TC:VIS] =TC:FUT
e-wa-t-ak
M.IRR-arrive-CISL-NM:PV

**'The man who bought this motorcycle will return'

Whatsapp notes

Changes in adverbs

True adverbs are a closed class of dependent items which in some ways behave like TAME clitics and demonstratives, in that they appear to only occur as the dependents of independent PREDICATES and therefore do not occur within something like an embedded clause. Therefore, while *kawatak makham mók* 'the coming back again of the others' is an s-argument of the verb form *apkelhaxna* 'his waiting', the fact that it has the dependent adverb *makham* 'again' suggests it is not actually a grammatical dependent of *apkelhaxna*, since the same string could not function as a cohesive dependent NP in a focus construction as in (15.36b).

(15.36) a. *Context: As a boy fights off Tamayawhan demons, there is a lull where everything is quiet*
Apheyk hekñat makham apkelhaxna **kawatak makham mók**.
ap-h-eyk =hek =ñat makham apkel-haxn-a
M-sit-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST still M.PART.DIST-wait-NM:IP
ka-wa-t-ak makham mók
F.IRR-arrive-CISL-NM:PO still F.other

'He sat again while waiting for others to come back again' or 'He sat again waiting, the others would come back again'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. ****Kawatak makham mók** hekñat apkelhaxnak
[ka-wa-t-ak makham mók] =hek =ñat apk-el-haxn-ak
F.IRR-arrive-CISL-NM:PO again F.other =TC:REP =TC:RPST M-DIST-wait-SCND

**'He waited for the coming back again of the others'

Alternatively, instead of the nominalization being the PREDICATE of a paratactic clause in order to take an adverb, it might be the subject of a PREDICATE adverb, as in (15.37).

(15.37) ageynwakxohok sa' anlánekxak nentamheykha sekxók axta **negeynamo nenlane**

[ag-eyn-wa-kx-ohok =sa' an-l-án-ekx-ak
[1PL.IRR-start-ARR-DUP-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-DIST-do-DUP-NM:PO
nen-tamh-eykha] [sekxo-ok =axta neg-eyn-amo
1PL.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV] [first-DECL =TC:PST 1PL.PART-start-INTS.NM:PV
nen-l-an-e]
1PL.PART-DIST-do-NM:PV]

'We will begin again the work that we started at the beginning', literally 'We will start again to do our work, our starting our doing it was first'

A possible exception to this generalization can be seen in examples like those in (15.38), where alternate forms of the adverbs *kaxwo'* 'now' and *axayo'* 'later', *kaxwé* and *axáye*, respectively, are used as leftward modifiers of participant denoting nominalizations. However, these items are relatively rare and require some further investigation, since they have some non-adverb-like behaviors, including providing semantic modification to non-PREDICATE nouns, as in (15.38d), and being negated by *háwe*, as in (15.38e), which is otherwise reserved for negating nominal identity predicates.

(15.38) a.

b. **axáye' ekxega** sa' aleyxek colectivo
[[axáye' ek-xeg-a] =sa' a-l-eyx-ek] [colectivo]
[[later F.PART-go-NM:PV] =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-DIST-wait-NM:PO] [bus]
'I'm going to wait on the one that goes later, the bus'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. camión **kaxwe ekmomaxche**
camión [kaxwe ek-m-om-axch-e]
car [recent F.PART-have-TI-MID-NM:PV]
'A recently bought car'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Egmenyek nanók amya'a tenhan **kaxwe amya'a**
eg-meny-ek nano-ok amya'a ten =han kaxwe amya'a
1PL.STAT-want-DECL old-DECL story then =AND recent story
'We want old stories and recent stories'
Skype notes 5.24.2020

e. háwe **kaxwe** sektegye kelasma
háwe kaxwe sek-tegy-e kelasma
NEG recent 1SG.PART-search-NM:PV fish
'I'm not new to fishing', literally 'my searching for fish is not recent'
Skype notes 5.24.2020

Dependent nominalizations and pronominal raising

Another group of items identified as having a discrete position in the clause is the speech act participant (SAP) pronouns, which themselves show some clitic-like behaviors, similar to TAME clitics and topical demonstratives. In simple clauses, these items have a distinct distribution from other dependent NPs, and I argue that they are, like TAME clitics or demonstratives, part of a clausal architecture that cannot be embedded.

Dependent nominalizations display a kind of **pronominal raising**, wherein pronouns indicating s-arguments of the dependent nominalized verb occur to the right of the "matrix" PREDICATE rather than to the right of the nominalized verb, as they would if the nominalized verb were the head of an embedded clause.

For example, in (15.39a), *ko'o* 'I' is the agent of the nominalized clause *wáxñeksek exagkok* 'the cleaning of my house', which serves as the subject of the grammaticalized verb *peyk* 'start, is about to start' (see §3.3.4). However, *ko'o* occurs to the immediate right of the PREDICATE *peyk*, despite the fact that it is an s-argument of the dependent verb *wáxñeksek*. If *wáxñeksek* was the predicate of a dependent clause that had the same internal structure as an independent clause, the pronoun would be to its right. Other examples of this kind of pronominal raising are given in (15.39)

(15.39) *Pronominal raising with dependent deverbal nominalizations*

a. peyk **ko'o** wáxñeksek exagkok
   peyk ko'o w-áxñ-eks-ek e-xagkok
   start 1SG 1SG.IRR-clear-VAL-NM:PO 1SG.POSS-house
   'I'm going to clean my house'

   Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. xámok ñat **ko'o** sekxegà Náwatsam
   xámok =ñat ko'o sek-xeg-à Náwatsam
   many.DECL =TC:RPST 1SG 1SG.PART-go-NM:PV Concepción
   'I went to Concepción often'

   EDP enx047 26:40

c. Peyk **xép** yaqhek ma'a apepma Esaú
   Peyk xép y-aqh-ek =ma'a ap-epma Esaú
   START.DECL 2SG.M M.IRR-kill-NM:PO =DMSTR M.POSS-brother Esau
   'Your brother Esau is about to kill you'

   TA Genesis 27:42

One interpretation of this phenomenon might be that these "raised" pronouns are possessors of the nominalization — a [possessor possessed] order is the typical order for noun phrases with an related noun and an overt possessor (13.4.1). There is also the cross-linguistic tendency for participants or arguments of nominalized verbs to be rendered as possessors of the verb.

There are two problems with such an analysis. First, this "raising" only happens with pronouns, for which there are only first and second persons. There is no way to construe

this as a broader phenomenon where, say, agents of a nominalized verb are its possessors, as any other kind of agent (if represented by a nominal expression) occurs to the right of the nominalized verb and is not "raised". The other issue is that raising happens when the pronoun is not an s-argument of the nominalized verb at all. For example, in (15.40), *negko'o* 'we' cannot be construed as a possessor of *katawagkok* 'that they eat' since it indicates the possessor of the s-argument of that verb and not an s-argument itself.

(15.40) yetneyk melápag, yaqwayam sa' **negko'o** katawagkok **egketchek**

yetneyk melápag // yaqwayam =sa' negko'o ka-taw-ag-kok
EXIST prickly.pear // for =TC:FUT 1PL F.IRR-eat-COMPL-NM:PO
eg-ketchek
1PL.POSS-child

'There are prickly pears, they are for our children to eat'

EDP enx009

In (15.40), it is more clear that *negko'o* is in the post-TAME pronoun position relative to the PREDICATE *yaqwayam*, since it cannot be the possessor of the nominalized verb. Remember that this pronoun position does not distinguish different semantic roles for the SAP pronominal referents, and their clausal position is more or less fixed (§5.2.2). All that they really do is indicate (usually redundantly) that a SAP is relevant to the PREDICATE in some way. Therefore, in (15.40), *negko'o* is in the prescribed post-TAME pronoun position for the PREDICATE *yaqwayam* because it indicates a relevant referent within the COMPLEMENT phrase *katawagkok egketchek*, and because the nominalized verb *katawagkok*, as an COMPLEMENT and not a PREDICATE, is incapable of taking a dependent pronoun.

We can test this analysis, that pronouns occur only as dependents of PREDICATES and not with nominalized clauses in the COMPLEMENT position with alternations in dependency status. *Yaqwayam* (described more in §15.2.4 below) is a grammatically important, depronominalized nominalization which serves as the head of purpose clauses. It is a high frequency item found equally in the dependent COMPLEMENT position and as the PREDICATE of independent clauses, and always takes a nominalized verb as a dependent. As such, alternations in its dependency status (PREDICATE vs. COMPLEMENT) creates alternations in the placement of the pronoun associated with its nominalized dependent verb.

In (15.41a), the PREDICATE *egwanchek* already has a dependent nominal COMPLEMENT, the nominalized clause *anlának xáma bombilla* 'our making a straw', and so *yaqwayam* is the PREDICATE of the following clause, followed by the pronoun *negko'o* associated with the nominalized dependent of *yaqwayam*. However, in (15.41b), *yaqwayam apaqmetek* is fully a dependent of the identity negative PREDICATE *háwe*, and the pronoun *ko'o* comes before *yaqwayam*.

(15.41) a. egwanchek negko'o anlának xáma bombilla, **yaqwayam negko'o agyenek**

eg-wanch-ek negko'o an-l-án-ak xáma bombilla //
1PL-able-DECL 1PL 1PL.IRR-DIST-make-NM:POT one straw //
yaqwayam negko'o ag-yen-ek
for 1PL 1PL.IRR-drink-NM:PO

'We can make a straw, (it's) so that we can drink'

EDP enx001 07:59

b. **hawe sa' ko'o yaqwayam apaqmetek** si no espiritu apagkok sa' epaqmetek
hawe =sa' ko'o yaqwayam a-paqmet-ek si no espiritu apagkok
NEG =TC:FUT 1SG for 1SG.IRR-chat-NM:PO if no spirit M.POSS
=sa' e-paqmet-ek
=TC:FUT M.IRR-chat-NM:PO

'It is not so that I can speak, rather it is his spirit who will speak'

EDP enx039

As described previously (§5.1), because the items which can serve to indicate dependence or independence of a given lexical item are optional and often omitted, it is often ambiguous whether or not a given noun or nominalized verb is the dependent COMPLEMENT of a prior PREDICATE. When they are present, however, we can see that pronouns will not "raise" if the nominalized verb to which they are an s-argument is in an independent PREDICATE position.

For example, in 15.39c above, *xép* indicates the patient of the nominalized verb *yaqhek* 'his killing you', and because *yaqhek* is a dependent of the PREDICATE *peyk*, the pronoun has to move ahead of *yaqhek*. However, in (15.42), the nominalized verb *nempaqhetchesa* could be a dependent of the PREDICATE *hegeyxho*, but we know that it is not because it hosts a TAME clitic. Therefore, predictably, the pronoun *exchep* is a dependent of *nempaqhetchesa* as a PREDICATE and does not raise to the pronoun position of the previous PREDICATE (a single PREDICATE can host multiple SAP pronouns).

(15.42) hegeyxho sa' chá'a negko'o nempaqhetchesa enxoho **exchep**

[heg-eyx-ho =sa' chá'a negko'o] [nem-paqhetch-es-a
1PL.IRR-listen-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT always 1PL 1PL.PART-chat-VAL-NM:IP
=enxoho exchep]
=TC:CONJ 2SG.M

'Listen to us if we speak to you'

TA 1 Kings 8 52

Therefore, we can say that, like TAME clitics, adverbs, and topical demonstratives, SAP pronouns are always associated with grammatically independent PREDICATES, and cannot be the dependents of nominalizations which are themselves dependents.

What's left in the dependent clause?

So, if we choose to see nominalized verbs in Enxet Sur as the heads of some kind of embedded clause[4], we would have to recognize that these embedded clauses would be

[4]This could be from the lens of conventional clausal subordination, or through the lens of grammatical nominalization, where there "internal clausal structure" is in a sense "invisible" to the external syntax.

stripped of any structures other than the two lexical elements — a PREDICATE position and an COMPLEMENT position.

Even if we disregard the proposal made in §5.1.3 that PREDICATES can only ever have a single dependent NP in the COMPLEMENT position (the evidence for which I admit is ambiguous), it is clear that any nominalized verb can only have a single rightward dependent.

For example, if we use the relative-clause like function of PDNs with a triadic verb like *-mes-* 'give', we might expect to be able to create a relative-clause-like structure with a head noun and two nominal dependents of the nominalized verb. However, as seen in (15.43b), such a structure is not possible, and the language does not permit an embedded clausal structure that would have two dependents of the nominalized verb. The closest comparable structure is like that in (15.43a), where the expression of two s-arguments of the nominalized verb actually requires an entirely separate event protagonist construction.

(15.43) a. Ekwetakxeyk weykcha'áhak **Anibal axta apmésso Juan**

[ek-wet-akx-eyk weykcha'áhak] [Anibal =axta [ap-m-éss-o
[1SG-see-DUP-DECL book] [Anibal =TC:PST [M.PART-have-VAL-NM:PV
Juan]]
Juan]]

'I found the book that Anibal gave to Juan', literally 'I found the book, the one who gave it Juan was Anibal'

Whatsapp notes

b. **Ekwetakxeyk weykcha'áhak apmésso Anibal Juan

ek-wet-akx-eyk [weykcha'áhak [ap-m-éss-o Anibal Juan]]
1SG-see-DUP-DECL [book [M.PART-have-VAL-NM:PV Anibal Juan]]

'I found the book that Anibal gave to Juan'

Whatsapp notes

I believe the ungrammatical nature of (15.43b) and the preference for the structure in (15.43a) is explained by the lack of mechanisms to distinguish the roles of Anibal and Juan in (15.43b). As I describe in §5.1, there is an argument to be made that Enxet Sur clauses only really permit a single dependent NP, and if it can permit multiple dependent NPs, it does not have discrete morphosyntactic means of assigning them differential argument roles.

Thus, a dependent nominalized verb cannot have multiple dependents to its right. This does not mean that there cannot be complex NPs with nominalized verbs as their head, but wherever such constructions are found, it is always within a chain of single dependencies. For example, the subject NP in (15.44) is headed by an EDN *yaqwayam* 'the achievement of' (see §15.2.4), and it the complexity of the NP is actually organized linearly. A literal, if not bulky, translation would be 'The achievement of our taking care of the going of people is difficult'.

(15.44) askehek yaqwayam anlánesagkok apkelxega énxet'ák

a-askeh-ek [yaqwayam [an-l-án-es-agk-ok
F.STAT-painful-DECL [for [1PL.IRR-DIST-make-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO
[apk-el-xeg-a [enxet'-ak]]]]
[M.PART-DIST-go-NM:PV [man-PL]]]]

'it's difficult to manage people's behavior'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Thus, if the only sense in which dependent nominalizations have some internal clausal structure is that they can take a single dependent noun, it does not appear that NPs headed by dependent nominalizations differ much from NPs headed by a non-derived noun. Since lexical nouns can be modified by a dependent noun, nominalization, or noun-like adjective (§8.1) that restrict their interpretation, and the nominal s-argument dependents of a nominalization cannot be distinguished for different grammatical argument roles, it appears that we could treat the s-argument dependents of a nominalization the same way: as simple modifiers rather than some kind of embedded argument.

So, in (15.45), there is a PREDICATE *chaqhawok* which means something like 'it happened immediately', whose subject is *ekteyokmo apqátek* 'the falling of his head to the ground'. Rather than viewing *apqátek* 'his head' as the subject of some kind of embedded clause, we can simply view it as modifier which restricts the possible interpretations of *ekteyekmo*.

(15.45) chaqhawok **ekteyokmo** apqátek

ch-aqh-awok ek-teyok-m-o ap-qatek
F-kill-INTS.DECL F.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP M.POSS-head

'He fell right on his head'

EDP enx047 31:30

The result of the analyses in this section is that, aside from some possible dependency of adverbs, there is very little sense in which the kinds of structures associated with the Enxet Sur clause ever get embedded within another clause. Rather, if a nominalization requires some of the bells and whistles of a real clause, like *tame* modification or a topical demonstrative, its only option is to be the PREDICATE of an independent clause and to exist in a paratactic relationship with whatever it may be semantically linked with. In neither case is there any real reason do discuss a grammatically "subordinated" clause.

15.2 Event-denoting nominalizations [EDN]

Event-denoting nominalizations (EDNs) denote the event or state indicated by the verb stem as an entity, rather than denoting one of the participants of the event. These EDNs can be used in a great range of grammatical contexts, as subjects or objects of a verb, as

semantic modifiers of a proposition, and even as PREDICATES of clauses asserting independent propositions. This section describes different constructions in which EDNs are used, organized based on the different semantic roles and functions they can be used in.

15.2.1 EDNs as monadic subjects

A major function of EDNs is to serve as the subject of a descriptive PREDICATE for conveying information about an event that in other languages might be expressed via a dependent adverb. For example, the counting of the instances of an event in (15.46) is not accomplished through a dependent adverbial element 'two times', rather, 'two' is the PREDICATE and its subject is a nominalized verb — 'his making me fall was two (times)'. Here I use the term "subject" to refer to what are typically the only semantic arguments of a monadic verb, and not to a morphosyntactically defined grammatical position or label.

(15.46) ánet entáhak **sepakxo**

ánet en-táh-ak se-pakx-o
two F-be/say-DECL 1SG.PAT.PART-make.fall-NM:IP

'He made me fall two times'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Such constructions appear to be rather common areally across Lowland South America, and, at least in Enxet Sur, this is probably related to the relative dearth of lexical adverbs — a sentence like 'he walked slowly' can only be rendered as 'his walking was slow', since true PREDICATE-modifying adverbs are essentially a closed class and there is no means by which a descriptive PREDICATE, like an adjective or verb, can be derived into a true, non-nominal adverb.

This section is divided into different major uses of subject EDNs, and includes EDNs used as the possessors of positional nouns. This latter category is structurally somewhat different from the others, but in a sense is not so different, since it is a use of an EDN as as the s-argument (a possessor, in this case) of a monadic predicate for the purpose of expressing a property of the event indicated by the EDN.

Also note that another construction, the use of the incipient *peyk*, arguably falls in this category, although it is described in §3.3.4. A construction like that in (15.47) arguably has a nominalized verb *ataqhekxak* 'my returning home' as the subject of a verb *peyk* 'it starts', meaning 'I'm just about to return home'. However, I argue in §3.3.4 that this particular construction is routinized and grammaticalized, and that *peyk* is not a productive verb.

(15.47) peyk ko'o **ataqhekxak**

peyk ko'o a-taqh-ekx-ak
START 1SG 1SG.IRR-return-DUP-NM:PO

'I'm gonna head back'

Quality or manner predicates

One of the most common uses of EDNs, especially of imperfective forms, is as the subject of a PREDICATE which asserts some quality of the event indicated by the EDN subject. Some initial examples are given in (15.48)[5], with the relevant EDNs bolded. Some PREDICATES in such a construction are more stative elements, like semiverbs, adjectives, or just atelic verbs, while others are more active verbs used in a metaphorical sense, as in (15.48e) which is literally 'his falling on his head killed it', meaning something like 'he immediately fell right on his head'.

(15.48) *EDNs as subjects of property-attributing predicates*

a. taqmelchásegkok **ekwéwegko** wálta ahagkok kañe' yámelchet
ø-taqmelch-as-egk-ok ek-weweg-ko walta ahagkok kañe' yamelchet
F-good-VAL-COMPL-DECL F-descend-NM:IP bucket 1SG.POSS inside well
'My bucket sank slowly into the well'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. keynnaqwok chá'a **sekmáheyo** awatá'
ke-ynnaq-w-ok cha'a sek-mahey-o
F.IRR-strong-ARR-NM:PO always 1SG.PART-want-NM:PV
a-wa-t-ak
1SG.IRR-arrive-CISL-NM:PO
'I'm always wanting to come back here' or 'My desire to return here is strong'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. naqso' agko' **séltennasa**
naqso' =agko' sél-tenn-as-a
true =DEG.F 1SG.PART.DIST-say-VAL-NM:IP
'What I'm saying is true' or 'I'm speaking truthfully'

Skype 5.15.2020

d. péwók axta exyénep **ekxega**
ø-pew-ok =axta exyenep ek-xeg-a
F-straight-INTS.DECL =TC:PST island F.PART-go-NM:IP
'They went directly to the forest island'

Schoolbook Grade 1

[5]The semantics of these so-called 'adverbial predicates' are quite idiomatic and a bit opaque. For example, *taqmelchásegkok* in (15.48a) is, by its composition, something like 'it makes it good', an idiomatic expression which means 'to take care of something' or 'to be cautious', which in turn idiomatically refers to doing something slowly or carefully when the argument is a participial verb. The verb *pelakasek* (alternatively *pelakkássek* in standard orthography) means literally 'it made him trip', referring here to the surprise of a sudden action, but in other cases meaning something like 'unfortunately'.

e. chaqhawok **ekteyokmo** apqátek
ch-aqh-awok ek-teyok-m-o ap-qatek
F-kill-INTS.DECL F.PART-fall-TERM-NM:IP M.POSS-head
'He fell right on his head'

EDP enx047 31:30

f. Pelakasek hek **eksákxo** sókhaxe apagkok
ø-pelak-kas-sek =hek ek-sa'-akx-o sokhaxe apagkok
F-trip-VAL-DECL =TC:REP F.PART-carry-DUP-NM:IP fishhook M.POSS
'Suddenly, his fishhook caught something'

Schoolbook Grade 1

g. paqsássegke **ekteyapma** seneyeykxa keleyke
paqsáss-egk-e ek-teyap-ma se-ney-eykxa keleyke
clump-COMPL-DECL F.PART-emerge-NM:PV 1SG.PART-plant-DUP.NM:PV beans
'The beans I planted came out in clumps', literally 'The emergence of my planting of beans clumped up'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Because of their semantic functions, we can refer to such PREDICATES as being semantically adverbial, in the sense that they provide information about the quality or manner of a verbal event. However, they are not grammatically *adverbs*, since the nominalized verb is the dependent of the semantically adverbial PREDICATE, as opposed to the semantically adverbial element being a dependent modifier of a verb.

In these adverbial PREDICATE constructions, there is not necessarily any pragmatic emphasis on the adverbial predicate over the nominalized verb, because there is generally no alternate construction which would not focus the adverbial element.

For example, the semiverb *yohok* or *yahamok* 'fast, quickly' often takes imperfective EDN subjects, as seen in examples (15.49a-15.49b). In an example like (15.49a), the 'thinking' verb phrase *ekxena apwáxok* (literally 'The showing of his innermost') is in a imperfective form subordinate clause, subordinated to the predicate *yohok* 'it is quick'. There is no alternate expression whereby the 'thinking' verb phrase can be finite with some kind of subordinated modifying alternate of 'fast', so a construction like (15.49c) is not possible. Similarly, the subordinated active verb phrase in (15.49b) cannot be made into a matrix clause and still be modified like in (15.49d). The 'fast' semiverb can be subordinated, but the active verb it modifies is still subordinated to it, as in (15.49e).

(15.49) *Examples of -yehe'- 'fast' as an adverbial predicate*

a. **yohok** han **ekxena** apwáxok na tamayawhan kexa chaqhak
yohok =han ek-xen-a ap-waxok na tamayawhan =kexa
fast =AND F.PART-show-NM:IP M.POSS-innermost well demon =TC:DUB
ch-aqh-ak
F-kill-SCND

'Quickly he thought, well, maybe the Tamayawhan has killed him'

EDP enx006 02:55

b. **Yahamok** axta anhan **apyena** énxet aptahapkasama panakte
yah-am-ok =axta =anhan ap-yen-a enxet ap-tahapk-as-sama
fast-TI-DECL =TC:PST =AND M.PART-drink-NM:IP man M.PART-rot-CAUS-NM:PV
panaqte
medicine
'quickly he would drink the man would drink the fermented medicine'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. **ø-xen-chek **ek-m-a-nyeh-e** ap-waxok
F-show-DECL F.PART-TI-VBLZ-fast-NM:IP M.POSS-innermost
*'He thought quickly'

Skype Notes

d. **ap-yen-chek énxet panaqte **ek-m-a-nyeh-e**
M-drink-DECL man medicine F.PART-TI-VBLZ-fast-NM:IP
*'He drank the medicine quickly'

Skype Notes

e. emenyeyk ko'o moto **ekmanyehe nenxega**
e-menyey-k ko'o moto ek-m-a-nyeh-e
1SG.STAT-want-DECL 1SG motorcycle F.PART-TI.VBLZ-fast-NM:IP
nen-xeg-a
1PL.PART-go-NM:IP
'I want a motorcycle that goes fast'

EDP enx044 24:05

There is no particular indication that the subordinated verbs in these constructions refer to events which are pre-supposed or somehow previously activated in the discourse — they can easily introduce novel events, as in (15.50).

(15.50) Appekkenchek axta pa'at apák kóneg, aptegkesek axta táxa, **yahamok axta eyálewa**

ap-pekken-chek =axta pa'at apák kóneg // ap-tegk-es-ek =axta táxa //
M-place-DECL =TC:PST grass M.dry below // M-fall-VAL-DECL =TC:PST fire //
yahamok =axta ey-álew-a
fast.DECL =TC:PST F.PART-light.up-NM:IP

'He put the dry grass underneath, he started a fire, and it quickly lit up'

López Ramírez (1996)

While the subjects of these adverbial predicates are typically imperfective form EDNs, this is merely a coincidence of the fact that they are most often used in narratives and imperfective verbs are often used to indicate events which happen concurrently or subsequently with another event in the discourse. It is perfectly grammatical for perfective forms to be used in such constructions if it is semantically warranted. Compare the use of the imperfective versus the perfective forms in (15.51a-15.51b). The imperfective refers to a present, ongoing event, while the perfective refers to a recurring behavior.

(15.51) a. yahamo' **sekyena**

yahamo' sek-yen-a
fast 1SG.PART-drink-NM:IP

'I'm drinking quickly (and will finish quickly)

EDP enx045 31:08

b. yahamo' **sekyà**

yahamo sek-y-à
fast 1SG.PART-drink-NM:PV

'I drink quickly'

EDP enx045 31:20

Similarly, potential forms might be used in the appropriate contexts, like referring to the future, hypothetical events, or in the complement clause-like structures which grammatically require potential forms, as in (15.52-15.54).

(15.52) yawho sa' Juan, yohok sa' **agyenye'**

y-aw-ho =sa' Juan // yoh-ok =sa' agy-eny-e'
M.IRR-fear-INTS =TC:FUT Juan // fast-DECL =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-run-NM:PO

'Look out Juan, we'll run quickly!'

EDP enx027 00:07:41

(15.53) yahamok sa' **axog**

yaham-ok =sa' a-xog
fast-DECL =TC:FUT M.IRR-go.NM:PO

'I will go quickly'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.54) xénchek axta ewáxok **kañehemhok axog**

ø-xen-chek =axta e-waxok ka-nehem-hok a-xog
F-show-DECL =TC:PST 1SG.POSS-innermost F.IRR-fast-INTS.NM:PO 1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO

'I thought *I would go quickly*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

EDNs can be in the perfective form for PREDICATES which express a change of state referring to a change in a behavior (as opposed to a single event). For example, *massegkek* 'it is diminished, it is no more' is used to indicated that its complement verb does not happen anymore or happens less frequently. In normal indicative contexts the verbal complement is in the perfective form, as it denotes a general behavior like in (15.55).

(15.55) massegke' sekxegà Nepyeyam

ø-mass-egk-e' sek-xeg-a Nepyeyam
F-diminish-COMPL-DECL 1SG.PART-go-NM:PV Asunción

'I stopped going to Asuncion'

EDP enx034 21:06

However, when the head verb is in an irrealis form like *kamaskok*, or the negative form *magkamaskok*, the complement verb also comes in the potential form rather than the perfective, as in (15.56a-15.56b).

(15.56) a. magkamaskok sa **agwet'ak nát'a**

ma-gka-mask-ok =sa' ag-wet'-ak nat'a
NEG-F.IRR-diminish-COMPL.SCND =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-see-NM:PO bird

'We won't stop *seeing birds*'

EDP enx002 14:40

b. amlasaxchek sa' kaxwo', kamaskok sa' **atwaksek partido**

a-ml-as-axch-ek =sa' kaxwo // ka-mask-ok =sa'
1SG.IRR-fat-VAL-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT NOW // F.IRR-diminish-NM:PO =TC:FUT
a-twak-s-ek partido
1SG.IRR-play-VAL-NM:PO futbol

'I'm gonna get fat now, I'll stop *playing futbol*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Temporal predicates

EDNs also often serve as the subjects of predicates which assert temporal properties of the subject EDN. Some basic examples are given in (15.57). For example, in (15.57b), *ap-kelwakto pomap* 'the return of the boars' is a grammatical nominalization which serves as the subject of the PREDICATE *axta'a exchek* 'it was night', such that a literal translation of the whole construction is 'the return of the boars was (at) night'. Note that, as discussed in

the overview of adverbial modification in (§9.1), Enxet Sur makes minimal use of prepositions, and there is not a grammatical distinction made between an identity reading ('It was night') and a locative reading ('it was at night') of a nominal PREDICATE like *axta'a exchek*. Any such construction, where a nominalized verb/clause serves as the subject of a PREDICATE asserting a temporal property of the event indicated by the nominalized verb is here labeled a temporal predicate.

(15.57) a. Axto'ok hekñat **apmeyákxo** apkelchekha keso énxet yetlo aptáwa

axto'-ok =hek =nat ap-mey-akx-o
morning-INTS =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP
apk-elch-ek-ha keso enxet yetlo ap-tawa
M.PART-DIST-plant-AMB.NM:IP this man with M.POSS-spouse

'Early in the morning the man went to plant with his wife'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. axta'a axchek **apkelwakto** pomap

axta'a =axchek apk-el-wak-t-o pomap
night =TC:HOD M.PART-DIST-arrive-CISL-NM:IP boar

'The boars came here last night'

EDP enx009 12:19

c. Neyseksa kempakhakma axta **aptepa** énxet yókxexma Nanáwa

neyseksa kempakhakma =axta ap-tep-a énxet yókxexma
F.amidst battle =TC:PST M.PART-emerge-NM:IP Enxet territory
Nanáwa
Nanaw'a

'During the war, the Enxet went to the territory of Nanaw'a'

López Ramírez (1996)

While the temporal predicates above are lexically nouns, there is a special subset of temporal ordering predicates which semantically place the nominalized verb in relation to another event established in the discourse. These temporal ordering predicates exclusively serve this PREDICATE function — in other words, they are not lexical nouns and exist exclusively as PREDICATE items. This class includes *tén* 'after' or *keñe* 'then, after', as seen in the examples in (15.58). For example, in (15.58b), the nominalized clause *apkelmeneykmasencha'a apkelwányam* 'the singing of the old men' is the subject of *keñe*, which might be translated as something like 'it follows, it procedes'. Etymologically, *keñe* appears to come from a nominalized form of the verb base *-eñam-* 'to come from', and so an older version of the same construction would have literally, productively meant 'the singing of the old men is what came from it'.

(15.58) *Imperfective EDNs as subjects of temporal ordering predicates*

a. apkelhaxneyk axta kalyehegwok ma'a xapop tén **apkelyetxaya** m'a kañe xapop
apk-el-haxn-eyk =axta ka-l-yeheg-w-ok =ma'a xapop tén
M-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:PST F.IRR-DIST-emerge-ARR-NM:PO =DMSTR earth then
apk-el-yetxay-a =m'a kañe xapop
M.PART-DIST-stab-NM:IP =DMSTR inside earth
'He waited for it to emerge from the ground and then he stabbed in into the earth'

EDP enx006 05:37

b. **keñe** axta **apkelmeneykmaseyncha'a** apkelwányam
keñe =axta apk-el-meneykmas-ey-ncha'-a apk-el-wany-am
then =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-sing-TI-AMB-NM:IP M.PART-DIST-grow-TERM.NM:PV
'Then the old men started singing'

EDP enx006 08:53

c. keñe axta ektegkesso nak sakcha'a **ektehetchesa** axta apmek yátepepe ekyexwase
keñe =axta ek-tegk-ess-o =nak sakcha'a ek-tehetch-es-a
then =TC:PST F.PART-fall-VAL-NM:PV =TC:VIS child F.PART-tie-VAL-NM:IP
=axta ap-mek yátepepe ek-yexwas-e
=TC:PST M.POSS-hand cotton F.PART-red-NM:PV
'After the birth, *a red thread was tied around the baby's hand*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is an interesting kind of temporal ordering predicate with a predicate *xama* 'one' followed by a verb 'X', that means 'Just when X happened..', as seen in (15.59). This particular construction seems limited to stories, and always has the past tense marker *axta*, at least in the observed examples within the corpus.

(15.59) *'Once X happened...' constructions*

a. *Context: A mother is attempting to flee with her child away from a were-jaguar*
xama axta eyápéxko, pakhetchesek axta étche, ónyahagkok sa, háwe ko'onek énxet apwokmo nak enxagkok!
xama =axta ey-ap-exk-o ø-paqhetch-ess-ek =axta e-etche
one =TC:PST F.PART-out-MID-NM:IP F-chat-VAL-DECL =TC:PST F.POSS-child
o-nyah-agk-ok =sa hawe ko'onek enxet
1PL.IRR-run-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT NEG I.think man
ap-wok-m-o =nak en-xagkok
M.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:IP =TC:VIS 1PL.POSS-house
'Once she had gotten away, she said to her child "Let's run! I don't think that is a man who has come to our house!"'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. **xama** axta **ekha**, yetlókok axta apwóno m'a sakcha'a
xama =axta ek-h-a ø-yetlok-ok =axta ap-won-o
one =TC:PST F.PART-sit-NM:IP F-follow-INTS.DECL =TC:PST M.PART-cry-NM:PV
=m'a sakcha'a
=DMSTR child
'When he sat down, the boy began to cry'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

With these temporal predicates, it is exclusively imperfective nominalizations which are used as subjects — never perfective forms, although a similar function with positional nouns in temporal use requires the perfective form for s-arguments. There are temporal predicates which take potential forms, discussed below, but I have not yet come up with a clear rationale for why temporal PREDICATES take imperfective and not perfective subjects. It may be that temporal predicate constructions with the imperfective forms are used in such construction for their ability to suggest concurrence, or that something is ongoing at the same time as something else.

If the temporal PREDICATE confers some non-real status on the event, the subject EDN is in the potential form. For example, the verbal predicate *lapmaxchek*[6] 'sometimes, occasionally' typically takes potential form complements, as in (15.60).

(15.60) *Examples of lapmaxchek 'it is sometimes, occasional'*

a. lapmaxchek sa' **yepsewho'**
lapmax-chek =sa' y-ep-sewh-o'
occasionally-DECL =TC:FUT M.IRR-VBLZ.M-lucky-NM:PO
'Sometimes *he gets lucky*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. lapmaxchek sa' **ótagkohok** emyekxak Pedro
lapmax-chek =sa' o-tagk-ohok
occasionally-DECL =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-search-INTS.NM:PO
e-my-ekx-ak Pedro
M.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO Pedro
'Sometimes I get *to see Pedro when he leaves*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. lapmaxchek sa' **axog**
lapmax-chek =sa' a-xog
occasionally-DECL =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO

[6]The stem in *lapmaxchek* clearly contains a middle voice marker *-exch* but there is no real productive base *-lap-*, so this middle voice marker does not appear to have a productive function in this stem and is just lexicalized.

'I'll go sometimes'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The verb *xegkessek* typically means that its subject almost came to pass, but did not, and therefore the complement is rendered in the irrealis potential form. The verb has the base *-xeg-* 'go' with a valency increasing suffix, but it is not clear how this could be construed as semantically compositional.

(15.61) **xegkessegkek esawhakpok** ma'a apchampakhe axta

ø-xegk-ess-eg-kek e-sawhak-p-ok =ma'a apch-ampakh-e
F-GO-CAUS-COMPL-DECL M.IRR-exhaust-MID.M-NM:PO =DMSTR M.PART-fight-NM:PV
=axta
=TC:PST

'[The rhea birds] *were almost all killed* during the war'

EDP enx047 24:51

(15.62) **xegkesse' agyaqmagekxak** xép

ø-xegk-es-se' ag-yaqmag-ekx-ak xep
F-GO-CAUS-DECL 1PL.IRR-opposite-DUP-NM:PO 2SG.M

'We almost *went in the opposite direction* of you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.63) éltaháneynte' celular ahagkok, **xegkessek katyamok** néten piso

el-tahaney-n-t-e' celular ahagkok ø-xegk-es-sek
1SG.DIST-go.over-COMPL-CISL-DECL cellphone 1SG.POSS F-GO-VAL-DECL
ka-tyam-ok neten piso
F.IRR-fall.floor-NM:PO above floor

'I grabbed my cell phone quickly, it *almost fell* on the floor'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Where EDNs are the subjects of temporal ordering predicates like *keñe* 'after, then' or *tén* 'after, then' that normally take imperfective form complements, they might be in the potential form when put in the future tense, as in the alternation in the alternation in (15.64).

(15.64) a. nélyésesagkok axta nepkesek **keñe nélnexpagagko**

nel-yes-es-agk-ok =axta nepkesek keñe
1PL.DIST-cut.hair-VAL-COMPL-INTS.DECL =TC:PST sheep then
nel-nexpag-agk-o
1PL.PART.DIST-weave-COMPL-NM:IP

'We sheared the sheep *then we wove* [the wool]

b. agyasaksek sa' nepkesek **tén sa annexpog**
ag-yasak-s-ek =sa' nepkesek ten an-nexpog
1PL.IRR-cut.hair-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT sheep then =TC:FUT

1PL.IRR-weave.NM:PO

'We will shear the sheep *then weave* [the wool]

Skype 6.20.2020

Perfective form subject EDNs

Part of the conventional (if not a bit vague) character of perfective aspect is the notion of the event as a single, unanalysed whole (cf. Comrie 1976, p. 16, Dahl 1985, p. 78), and this emerges in perfective form EDNs in their function as the arguments of predicates which describe the duration or extent of a given event, as in the examples in (15.65). Some of these examples, especially those headed by the semiverb *awanhek* 'it is large, wide', might appear to indicate quality or intensity rather than extent, but *awanhek* with lexical noun subjects is generally used for things like wide rivers or expansive forests, and therefore tends to denote a wide reaching extent rather than intensity.

(15.65) *Perfective form EDNs as subjects of duration or extent denoting predicates*

a. ahóxek **apyexwánaqte**
a-hox-ek ap-yexwanaq-te
F.STAT-long-DECL M.PART-snore-NM:PV

'he snored for a long time', or 'his snoring was long'

EDP enx044

b. ahoxek **sekmamenyeho** ategye' kelasma
a-hoxek sek-m-a-menyeh-o a-tegy-e' kelasma
F.STAT-long 1SG.PART-TI-VBLZ-want-NM:PV 1SG.IRR-search-NM:PO fish

'I've wanted to go fishing for a long time'

Skype

c. ahóxek ko'o **mótayo** katawasaxchek partido
a-hóxek ko'o m-ó-t-ayo ka-tawas-axch-ek partido
F.STAT-long 1SG NEG-1SG.IRR-see-INTS.NM:PV F.IRR-control-MID-NM:PO futbol

'It's been a long time that I haven't seen futbol being played'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. awanhek axta **nélhamaxche'** páye tén han mók aqsok
a-wanh-ek =axta nél-h-am-axche' páye tén =han
F.STAT-large-DECL =TC:PST 1PL.PART.DIST-sit-TI-MID.NM:PV mosquito then =AND
mók aqsok
other.M thing
'We suffered greatly from mosquitoes and other things'

EDP enx028 01:37

e. wegqak **apháxamap**
ø-wegq-ak ap-háx-am-ap
F-long-DECL M.PART-slump-TI-MID.M.NM:PV
'He has been sick for a long time'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It also appears that the perfective form is used when counting the instances of events or describing their frequency, as in (15.66).

(15.66) a. ántánxoho entáhak **sélmeñexchesso** aqsok ahagkok
ántánxoho en-táh-ak sél-meñexch-ess-o aqsok ahagkok
three F-be/say-SCND 1SG.PAT.PART.DIST-rob -VAL-NM:PV thing 1SG.POSS
'Three times I've been robbed'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. *Context: referring to planes circling the city of Concepción during the Chaco War*
ánet **ekhaxnegcheyam** entahak amya'a
ánet ek-haxnegch-eyam en-tah-ak amya'a
two F.PART-encircle-TERM.NM:PV F-be/say-DECL story
'Twice they circled, according to the news'

NNE190 03:08

c. ma, asexte ekmakhetma
ma // a-sext-e' ek-makhet-ma
no // F.STAT-few-DECL F.PART-ripe-NM:PV
'No, it's not very ripe', literally 'no, its ripeness is few'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

These instances of temporal descriptions of a single event are similar but distinct from temporal descriptions of how long one has been involved in a behavior, which also involves perfective form EDNs, as in (15.67).

(15.67) háwe kaxwe **sektegye** kelasma

hawe kaxwe sek-tegy-e kelasma
NEG recent 1SG.PART-search-NM:PV fish

'I've been fishing a long time' or 'Fishing is not a new thing for me'

Skype 4.11.2020

The notion of completion associated with the perfective is also on display in constructions which denote some kind of completion of an event. For example, the verb *-le'l-* 'emit' is used in the terminative to denote that someone has grown tired of or bored with an action referred to in the perfective form, as in (15.68). To be clear, the subject or agent of this verb is the event *apkelhanma* 'his waiting', and the jaguar is the patient.

(15.68) Leklakmek hekñat **apkelhaxanma** neptána

ø-lekl-akm-ek =hek =ñat apk-el-haxan-ma neptána
F-emit-TERM-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-DIST-wait-NM:PV jaguar

'The jaguar grew tired of waiting'

López Ramírez (1996)

In some instances, it is unclear the perfective form EDN denotes a particular event or a type of event. The examples in (15.69) show perfective forms in contexts where they are referring to particular, specific events, but grammatically they may be EDNs which denote general behaviors as opposed to the particular actions themselves.

(15.69) a. **tekkek** axta éllekxagwéykha apnámakkok

ø-tek-kek =axta el-lekxagw-eykha ap-namakkok
F-emerge-DECL =TC:PST F.PART.DIST-cry-EXTS.NM:PV M.POSS-family.PL

'His family began to cry' or literally 'The sadness of his family emerged'

EDP enx006 07:53

b. Kenyek axta enyaha kelán'a **yetlo ekwóneyák ámay**

kenyek =axta ey-enyah-a kelan'a yetlo ek-won-eyak amay
then =TC:PST F.PART-run-NM:IP woman with F.PART-cry-COMPL.NM:PV road

'Then the woman ran out into the street wailing'

Schoolbook Grade 1

c. Xámok **apmeneykmasama** axta'a, méko apteyenma

xámok ap=meneykmas-ama axta'a // méko ap-teyen-ma
many.DECL M.PART-sing-NM:PV night // NEG.EXIST M.PART-sleep-NM:PV

'There was lots of singing that night, there was no sleeping'

López Ramírez (1996)

With positional nouns

While adverbial clauses and the subjects of temporal predicates are mostly rendered in the imperfective form, the perfective form is the norm for EDNs serving as the complements of positional nouns in adverbial use, as in (15.70). In this kind of construction, the nominalized verb/clause functions as the possessor of the positional noun. Thus, the apparently exclusive use of the perfective form is consistent with the need for the event nominalization to be construed as a whole entity from the outside, which the semantics of the perfective form provide.

(15.70) *Perfective form EDNs as complements of adverbial adpositions*

a. negmeneykmasso yaqwayam negko'o kalchetmók egwáxok **neyseksa nélmeneykmasso** chá'a

neg-meneykmass-o yaqwayam negko'o ka-lch-etmó-k
1PL.PART-sing-NM:PV for 1PL F.IRR-DIST-search-NM:PO
eg-wáxok neyseksa nél-meneykmass-o chá'a
1SG.POSS-innermost F.amidst 1PL.PART.DIST-sing-NM:PV always

'We sing so that we can ponder *while singing*'

EDP enx039

b. yaqsa apchayekxa' apagko' xép **neyseksa' apha**

yaqsa apch-aye-kxa =apagko' xép neyseksa' ap-h-a
what M.PART-fear-NM:OB =M.DEG 2SG.M amidst M.PART-sit-NM:PV

'What are you most scared of *in your life*?'

Skype 4.20.2020

c. **amonye etsapma** axtantaha eyáneya ektememók se'e: Yaksektaha setegkesa nak neyseksa taxa?

a-monye e-tsap-ma =axta n-tah-a' ey-áney-a
F.STAT-before F.PART-die-NM:PV =TC:PST F-be/say-DECL F.PART-command-NM:IP
ek-tem-e mók =se'e // yaksa ek-tah-a
F.PART-be/say.TI-NM:PV other.F =PROX // what F.PART-be/say-NM:IP
se-tegk-es-a =nak neyseksa taxa
1SG.PAT.PART-fall-VAL-NM:IP =TC:VIS amidst fire

'*Before dying*, she said to the one who was her friend 'Why have you made me fall into the fire?'.'
Schoolbook Grade 1

d. yekpentágweykmok apxega **natámen axta eyaqhe anmen**

ø-yekpentág-wey-k-m-ok ap-xeg-a natámen =axta
F-proceed-ARR-TI-TERM-DECL M.PART-go-NM:IP after.F =TC:PST
ey-aqh-e anmen
F.PART-kill-NM:PV alcohol

'After he got drunk [lit. 'alcohol killed him'], he left'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **Neyseksa enye** legáxchek hekñat ekwóneykha nátegma.
neyseksa ey-eny-e leg-áxchek =hek =ñat
F.amidst F.PART-run-nm:pv hear-MID.DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST
ek-wón-eykha nátegma
F.PAR-cry-AMB.NM:PV village
'*During her running*, she heard cries coming from the village'

López Ramírez (1996)

15.2.2 Object EDNs (Complement clauses)

Many EDNs used as the "object" or "patient" s-argument of a verb act like a conventional complement clause. With this usage, the primary distinction is between potential form and imperfective forms. Perfective form EDNs are rarely used as patients of verbs.

Potential form nominalizations in this complement clause-like usage are used for hypothetical events. For example, they are used with the semiverb *-wane'* 'to be able to', as in (15.71). This semiverb most often takes potential form verbs as its complement because they indicate something that can — hypothetically — be done, as opposed to something that has actually occurred.

(15.71) *Context: medicinal properties of* mémog *'palo santo'*
awanchek **kamaseksek ekmase egma'ák**

a-wanch-ek ka-mas-eks-ek ek-m-a-s-o
F.STAT-able-DECL F.IRR-deplete-VAL-NM:PO F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV
eg-ma'ak
1PL.POSS-teeth

'It can reduce tooth pain'

10C Yen

Many verbs or semiverbs which express mental states take potential form complements. These include *-aney-* 'to think' (15.72a), *-e'-* 'to be afraid of' (15.72b), *-menye'-* 'to like' (15.72c), *-eltamhe'-* 'to desire' (15.72d), *-ma'a'-* 'to want (right now)', or the construction *ekxeyenma egwáxok* 'showing of the innermost' which also means something like 'to think' (15.72e).

(15.72) a. Apkeneykek kexa **yepwának epenchesagkok** apkeltamheykha xama ekhem!
apk-eney-kek =kexa y-ep-wan-ak e-penches-agk-ok
M-think-DECL =TC:DUB M.IRR-VBLZ.M-able-NM:PO M.IRR-finish-COMPL-NM:PO
apk-el-tamh-eykha xama ekhem
M.PART-DIST-work-AMB.NM:PV one day

'They think *they can finish their work* in one day!'

Nehemiah 2 4

b. Enyahamok hekñat apxeganakmo keso énxet'ák, **apchekak hekñat emátog** kenhan aptáwa
en-yaham-ok =hek =nat ap-xegan-akm-o keso enxet-ak //
F-fast-INTS.DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.PART-leave-TERM-NM:IP this man-PL //
apch-ek-ak =hek =nat e-matog kenhan ap-tawa
M-feat-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.IRR-be.killed.NM:PO and M.POSS-spouse
'These men fled quickly, they feared *that they would be killed*, and their wives as well'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. apmenyeya **etegyaha** pánaqte egyáp
ap-menye =ya e-tegy-aha panaqte eg-yap
M.STAT-want TC:Q M.IRR-search.for-AMB.NM:PO medicine F.POSS-father
'Do you want *to look for a doctor*?'

Skype 3.12.2020

d. hakte apkeltamhók **ey'ásagkok** se'e egmók John
hakte apk-el-tamh-ok e-y'as-agk-ok =se'e eg-mok
because M-DIST-want-*ints.decl* M.IRR-know-COMPL-NM:PO =PROX 1PL.POSS-other
John
John
'Because out friend John wants **to know these things**'

EDP enx028 06:54

e. xénchek axta ewáxok **kañehemhok axog**
ø-xen-chek =axta e-waxok ka-nehem-hok
F-show-DECL =TC:PST 1SG.POSS-innermost F.IRR-fast-INTS.NM:PO
a-xog
1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO
'I thought *I would go quickly*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Other verbs like *-yepkon-* 'to try' (15.73a), *-masm-* 'to prohibit' (15.73b), and *-elhaxen-* 'to wait for' (15.73c) take as their semantic complement events which either have not yet happened or will not happen, and therefore their complements are in the potential form.

(15.73) a. ayekkonek sa' **axog**

a-yekkon-ek =sa' a-xog
1SG.IRR-try-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-go.NM:PO
'I will try to go'

b. ekmeyókek **ayenyók seyante**, wánxa xama
ek-meyok-ek a-yenyo-ok sey-ant-e // wanxa
1SG-restrict-DECL 1SG.IRR-discard-NM:PO 1SG.PART-mount-NM:PV // only
xama
one
'I don't want (am unable to) *to sell my horse*, I only have the one'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. Apkelhaxneyk axta sekxo' **kawata'**
apk-el-haxn-eyk =axta sekxo' ka-wa-t-a'
M-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:PST first F.IRR-arrive-CISL-NM:PO
'He waited *for her to come back*'

López Ramírez (1996)

The verb stem *-emexch-* 'lack' can take a nominal complement to mean that something is needed, but the same verb can take potential form complement clauses to express the need to do something, as in (15.74-15.74b).

(15.74) a. eyémexko negko'o **anlának ketsék** nenteme apyohóxma'
ey-em-exk-o negko'o an-l-an-ak k-etsek
F.PART-lack-MID-NM:IP 1PL 1PL.IRR-DIST-make-NM:PO F-litte
nen-tem-e ap-yohoxma'
1PL.PART-be-NM:PV M-shaman
'We need *to prepare a little* to become shamans'

EDP enx006 10:28

b. kémexchek **antegyaha** yohoxma
k-em-exch-ek an-tegy-aha yohoxma
F-lack-MID-DECL 1PL.IRR-search.for-AMB.NM:PO shaman
'We need *to find a shaman*'

Skype 4.4.2020

When the event indicated by the EDN is something that has actually happened or describes something about the real rather than imagined world, or when it denotes the fact of an event, complement-clause-like structures use the imperfective form rather than the potential, as in the examples in (15.75).

(15.75) *Imperfective EDNs as objects*

a. mótegkok **sephéwakto ka'a**
m-o-ot-egkok se-phé-wak-t-o ka'a
NEG-1SG.IRR-see-COMPL.SCND 1SG.PAT.PART-arise-ARR-CISL-NM:IP tereré
'I didn't realize *that it was my turn to take the tereré*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. yekpelchék axta kelán'a **metnaha Énxet**
ø-yekpel-chek =axta kelan'a m-e-tnah-a enxet
F-recognize-DECL =TC:PST woman NEG-M.IRR-be/say-NM:IP enxet
'The woman recognized *that he wasn't a [human] man*'

Schoolbook Grade 1

c. las tres kexa apleg'ak axta **ekpáweyncha'a qamok áwa'**
las tres =kexa ap-leg'-ak =axta ek-pawey-ncha'-a qamok
the three =TC:DUB M-hear-DECL =TC:PST F.PART-noise-AMB-NM:IP rush
a-awa'
F.POSS-leaf
'Maybe around 3 he heard *the leaves rustling*'

EDP enx006 02:40

d. naqsoya **peya exnexta kalyamhápok Juan**
naqs-o =ya pey-a =exne =xta ka-l-yamháp-ok
true-INTS.DECL =TC:Q START-NM:IP =TC:HOD =TC:PST F.IRR-DIST-marry-NM:PO
Juan
Juan
'Is it true *that Juan's about to get married*?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. meltennásak ma'a pók **apmeyakxo m'a ságe**
m-el-tenn-as-ak =ma'a pok ap-mey-akx-o
NEG-M.IRR.DIST-tell-VAL-DECL =DMSTR other.M M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP
=m'a sage
=DMSTR lake
'He didn't tell his friend *that he was going to the lake*'

EDP enx006 02:29

f. eykel'a **apketsapa**
eyke =l'a apk-etsap-a
TC:ASR =TC:DUB M.PART-die-NM:IP
'Don't tell me *that he died*...' (literally 'but it is, I suppose, that he died')

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. ekwatamo' aqsa exagkok sekweta **apkelwa slpextétamo**
ek-wa-t-amo' aqsa e-xagkok sek-wet-a
1SG-arrive-CISL-INTS.DECL just 1SG.POSS-house 1SG.PART-see-NM:IP
apk-el-w-a slpextétamo
M.PART-DIST-arrive-NM:IP soldier
'I arrived at my house just in time to see *that the police had arrived*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The latter category, fact or proposition denoting nominalizations seen in (15.75), covers some of the functional ground typically described as 'complement clauses'. However, imperfective form complement clauses are restricted to the objects of verbs like 'see', 'realize', or 'tell' which denote factive, real world events, as opposed to 'think' or 'want' verbs described in section 15.2.2.

15.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

One of the most common uses of the imperfective EDN is as something like an adverbial clause. Keep in mind that the term 'adverbial clause' simply is an indication of semantic function, and constructions headed by nominalized verbs that have this semantic function are often independent clauses. These "adverbial clauses" are not introduced with any kind of subordinating conjunction or adposition, similar to any other noun in adverbial use (see §9.1). The simplest of these imperfective form adverbial clauses generally provides a 'when' reading to the subordinated clause, like the examples in (15.76).

(15.76) *Gerund form verbs as 'when' clauses*

a. keltaphanchek **apwakto wokma'ák**
kel-taphan-chek ap-wak-t-o wokma'ak
F.DIST-blister-DECL M.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP boy
'The boy['s feet] were blistered *upon returning back here*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. wetagwokmek yewa semheg **ekweynchameyncha**'a naxma
ø-wetag-wok-m-ek yewa semheg ek-wey-ncham-eyncha'-a naxma
F-see-ARR-TERM-DECL snake dog F.PART-arrive-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP woods
'The dog found a snake *while it was wandering in the woods*'

Skype 4.20.2020

c. ayánmagkassetak sa' **sekwakto**
a-yanmagk-as-se-t-ak =sa' sek-wak-t-o
1SG.IRR-exchange-VAL-ARR-CISL-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP
'I will pay you *when I get back*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. chaqhemok axta apwaya **ekmameya ekyawe agko'** El Estribo
ch-aqh-em-ok =axta ap-way-a ek-mamey-a
F-kill-TI-INTS.DECL =TC:PST M.PART-arrive.TI-NM:IP F.PART-rain.TI-NM:IP
ek-yaw-e =agko' El Estribo
F.PART-big-NM:PV =DEG.F El Estribo
'He arrived in El Estribo *just as it began to rain really hard*'

Skype 10.12.2019

It is important to keep in mind that oblique nominalizations, which can denote the time when something occurs, can also function as a 'when'-type adverbial clauses, given that they can denote the time when an event occurs. Especially compare (15.77b) below with (15.76b) above, which differ only in the use of the imperfective versus oblique nominalization forms, but which do not have significant differences in meaning.

(15.77) *Oblique nominalizations as 'when' clauses*

a. agmeykxak sa' estados unidos **apmopsamagexa** l'a
ag-mey-kx-ak =sa' estados unidos
1PL.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT United States
ap-m-op-samag-exa =l'a
M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-cold-NM:OB =TC:DUB
'We will go to the US *when it is cold*'

b. wetagwokmek yewa semheg **ekweynchamegkaxa** naxma
ø=wetag-wok-m-ek yewa semheg ek-wey-nch-ameg-kaxa naxma
F-see-ARR-TERM-DECL snake dog F.PART-arrive-AMB-COMPL-NM:OB woods
'The dog found a snake *while it was wandering in the woods*'

The motivation for speakers to choose a imperfective versus an oblique nominalization form verb for 'when'-type adverbial clauses is a question for further research. However, more often than not, the imperfective form 'when'-type adverbial clauses provide not only temporal context but also logical context, indicating that the event denoted by the matrix verb occurred as the result of the event denoted by the imperfective form nominalization, as in (15.78). Here, it is an imperfective form and not an oblique nominalization that is used for 'when he drank beer', because 'his drinking beer' is not just an indicator of the time that the event indicated by the declarative verb occurs, but also the reason.

(15.78)

(15.79) ekyásekkessek **apyena cerveza**

e-kyasekk-es-sek ap-yen-a cerveza
1SG.PAT-jealous-VAL-DECL M.PART-drink-NM:IP beer

'seeing him drink beer made me jealous'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Stemming from this 'reason' function of imperfective form adverbial clauses, they can also be used to form a type of conditional clause. Typically, for the conditional reading, the imperfective form verb will be marked with a TAME clitic which indicates the hypothetical nature of the adverbial clause, either the conjectural evidential *enxoho* or the dubitative *la'a*, as in (15.80). There is a conditional TAME clitic *agkok*, but this is not used with nominalized forms, only declarative verbs (§6.2.6).

(15.80) *Conditional clauses with imperfective form verbs*

a. héxatekhes sa' **apmaka enxoho yegmen**
   he-xatekh-es =sa' ap-mak-a =enxoho yegmen
   1SG.IRR-wake.up-VAL =TC:FUT M.PART-want-NM:IP =CONJ water
   'Wake me up if you want water.'

EDP enx006 02:06

b. egwanchek antekxekwatak échaha **negwakto enxoho enxagkok**
   eg-wanch-ek an-tekxek-wa-t-ak echaha
   1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-grind-ARR-CISL-NM:PO algorrobo
   neg-wak-t-o =enxoho en-xagkok
   1PL.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP =CONJ 1PL.POSS-house
   'We can grind some algorrobo if we go back to our house'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The conjectural evidential marker does not, however, create structural conditions for the imperfective EDN to serve in a conditional role, and the same interclausal semantic relationship can still exist without the conjectural evidential, as in (15.81).

(15.81) natámen metnaha indígena ekméssek axta ko'o 100,000

natámen **m-e-tnah-a indígena** ek-m-és-sek =axta ko'o 100,000
F.after NEG-M.IRR-be/say-NM:IP 1SG-have-VAL-DECL =TC:PST 1SG 100,000

'So then, if they aren't indigenous, I give it to them for 100,000'

EDP enx006 12:59

The use of imperfective form verbs to form adverbial clauses is not limited, however, to the cases already mentioned — temporal and logical context and conditionals. Imperfective form verbs are also used to describe the manner of an event posited by the main verb, as in the examples in (15.82). However, the basic relationship between the imperfective form and the main verb is still the same, in that it suggests that the main verb is to be interpreted within the context of the event or state which is indicated by the imperfective form verb.

(15.82) *Adverbial manner clauses with imperfective form verbs*

a. *Context: describing the use of the rhea bird's hide as a bag*
Etaqmelcheshok axtánhan **apyenyesa** yaqwayam kamasko ekpaqneyam
e-taqmelch-es-hok =axta =nhan ap-yenyes-a yaqwayam
M.IRR-good-VAL-INTS.NM:PO =TC:PST =AND M.PART-wash-NM:IP for
ka-mask-o' ek-paqney-am
F.IRR-diminish-NM:PO F.PART-mist-TERM.NM:PV
'They took care of it by washing it in order to diminish the stench'

Book 4 Grade

b. mowanchek axta **sekmoko** amyekxak apxagkok, méko axta ekhem ahagkok
mo-wanch-ek =axta sek-mok-o
NEG.1SG.STAT-able-DECL =TC:PST 1SG.PART-want-NM:IP
a-my-ekx-ak ap-xagkok // méko =axta ekhem
1SG.IRR-head.to-DUP-NM:PO M.POSS-house // NEG.EXIST =TC:PST day
ahagkok
1SG.POSS
'I couldn't go to his house *as I wanted to*, I didn't have time'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. Entahak keso **aplegeykegkoho**: Héko, héko, átehek keso meteymog.
en-tah-ak keso ap-legeyk-egk-oho // heko heko
F-be/say-DECL this M.PART-sense-COMPL-INTS.NM:IP // hot hot
a-ateh-ek keso meteymog
F.STAT-hot-DECL this stone
'He said this in his suffering, "Hot! Hot! This stone is hot!'

López Ramírez (1996)

These MANNER adverbial clauses are used extensively in a number of common multi-verb constructions. For example, there are a number of constructions related to verbs of speaking which use the general purpose main verb *-teh-* 'to be, to say' with an imperfective form verb that specifies the type of speech. The most common of these, *-tahak* 'be, say' with the imperfective form of *-aney-* 'command, put forward', is used for simple statements and is the most common translation for 'say'/'*decir*', as in (15.83a-15.83c). The subordinated verb can provide information about the directionality of the speaking event not indicated on the matrix verb, as in all three of these examples the recipient of the speaking event (the participant being spoken to) is only indicated in arguments or pronominal arguments of the imperfective form verb.

(15.83) *'Say' compounds with imperfective form -aney-*

a. Tásek axta yegmen, Méko áteg, axta aptahak keso énxet **apcháneya pók**

ø-tas-ek =axta yegmen // Meko ateg // axta
F-good-DECL =TC:PST water // NEG.EXIST water.cabbage // TC:PST
ap-tah-ak keso enxet apch-aney-a pok
M.PART-be.say-SCND this man M.PART-command-NM:IP M.other

'The water was good. "There's not water cabbage [pond scum]", the man said to his friend'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. etaqmelches sa' apmeykha aptahak **seyáneya** xama apwányam nenxegexma
e-taqmelch-es =sa' ap-m-eykha ap-tah-ak
M.IRR-good-VAL =TC:FUT M.PART-have-AMB.NM:PV M-be/say-DECL
sey-aney-a xama ap-wany-am nen-xegexma
1SG.PAT.PART-command-NM:IP one M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV 1PL-friend

'One of our old friends said to me "Take care of your equipment".'

EDP enx047 04:27

c. antemeykha sa' agaxñeksek sa' enxanák negko'o axta aptahak **segáneya** negko'o Simon Recalde
an-temeyk-ha sa' ag-axñek-s-ek =sa'
1PL.IRR-be-AMB.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-clear-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT
en-xan-ak negko'o axta ap-tah-ak
1PL.POSS-house-PL 1PL TC:PST M-be/say-DECL
seg-aney-a negko'o Simon Recalde
1PL.PAT.PART-command-NM:IP 1PL Simon Recalde

'Simon Recalde said to us, "We will create a clearing for our houses".'

EDP enx028 02:39

Similarly, the subordinated verb *-ategmowa'-* 'to respond' can be used to refer to answering a question.

(15.84) Wesse' egegkok sa' epasmok xép xa! axta aptáhak **apkelátegmowágkokxo**

wesse' egegkok =sa' e-pasm=ok xep =xa axta ap-tah-ak
leader 1PL.POSS =TC:FUT M.IRR-help-NM:PO 2SG.M =DMSTR TC:PST M-be/say-DECL
apk-el-ategmowagk-okx-o
M.PART-DIST-answer-DUP-NM:IP

"'The lord will help you", he responded'

Ruth 2.4

In some cases, these adverbial clauses relating to speech events occur without *-tahak* as the matrix verb. IN (15.85), the imperfective form *sexena* 'speaking about me' describes the type of speech event and its direction without the use of *-tahak* as a main verb.

(15.85) kesagkeyha exchek appeywa **sexéna**

k-e-sagk-eyha =exchek ap-peywa se-xen-a
F-VBLZ-bad-AMB.DECL =TC:HOD M.PART-words 1SG.PAT.PART-show-NM:IP

'He spoke badly of me'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There appears to be some constructions in which a perfective form verb can have an adverbial function, as in (15.86), but these appear limited to expressing simple properties of events.

(15.86) *Perfective form stative verbs as adverbial markers*

a. keñe axta apwaneykxo makham **ekyennaqte agko'**

keñe =axta ap-waney-kx-o makham ek-yennaqt-e =agko'
then =TC:PST M.PART-cry-DUP-NM:IP still F.PART-strong-NM:PV =DEG.F

'Then he began to cry again *strongly*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. neypaqmet aqsa ekpekhe

ne-y-paqmet =aqsa ek-pekh-e
PROH-M.IRR-chat =JUST F.PART-intense-NM:PV

'Don't speak forcefully'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

It also appears that potential form verbs can be substituted for imperfective forms if the right irrealis conditions are present, as in (15.87), but the extent of the conditions necessary for this usage need to be better understood. There are very few examples like this in the corpus.

(15.87) negwet'ak agkok napnaqsehe ámay agketamagkok **agmawho' agaqhek**

neg-wet'-ak =agkok napnaqsehe amay agk-etam-agk-ok
1PL-see-DECL =COND armadillo road 1PL.IRR-search-COMPL-NM:PO
ag-maw-ho' ag-aqh-ek
1PL.IRR-want-INTS.NM:PO 1PL.IRR-kill-NM:PO

'If we see an armadillo in the road, we will go after it *wanting to kill it*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

15.2.4 Purpose clauses

Another high frequency use for potential nominalizations is in purpose clauses, most often headed by a lexicalized nominalization *yaqwayam* 'in order to, for', as in the examples in (15.88).

(15.88) a. *Context: Forward to a school text book*
Neltamhok kalmaha sakcha'a létkók **yakwayam megkalwagkámek** ektémakxa nempéwa
nel-tamh-ok ka-l-m-aha sakcha'a letkok
1PL.DIST-want-INTS.DECL F.IRR-DIST-have-AMB.NM:PO child little
yaqwayam me-gka-l-wagka-m-ek ek-tem-akxa nem-pewa
for NEG-F.IRR-DIST-forget-TERM-NM:PO F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB 1PL-words
'We hope that the little children use [this book] *so that they won't forget* what our language is like'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. ekmaxqakxaxma ektegyaha **yaqwayam atyenek**
ek-maxqa-kxa xma ek-tegy-aha yaqwayam
F.PART-cool-NM:OB space F.PART-search-AMB.DECL for
a-tyen-ek
1SG.IRR-sleep-NM:PO
'I'm looking for a cool place *so that I can sleep*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. elwónegkaxaxma ektegyáha **yaqwayam atneykha**
el-woneg-kaxa xma ek-tegy-aha yaqwayam
F.PART.DIST-cry-NM:OB space F.PART-search-AMB.DECL for
a-tney-k-ha
1SG.IRR-work-TI-NM:PO
'I'm looking for a quiet place *so that I can do my work*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. háxkol'a antemhek ólmok áwa' **yaqwayam olának** negko'o nélháxakxo?
haxko =l'a an-temh-ek ol-m-ok a-awa'
how =TC:DUB 1PL.IRR-be-NM:PO 1PL.IRR.DIST-have-NM:PO F.POSS-feather
yaqwayam ol-an-ak negko'o nel-haxakx-o
for 1PL.IRR.DIST-make-NM:PO 1PL 1PL.PART-circle-NM:PV
'How can we get its feathers *so we can make* our headdresses?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Purpose clauses are not subordinate clauses, since *yaqwayam* is not some kind of conjunction but is instead a nominal PREDICATE which hosts TAME, as in (15.89). A very literal translation of this example might be 'I'll submerge the cow hide, it's being soft is what is achieved'.

(15.89) aweykessesagkok sa' weyke empehek **yaqwayam sa' kalyelqaxche'**

a-weyk-ess-es-agk-ok =sa' weyke e-empehek yaqwayam
1SG.IRR-submerge-VAL-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT COW F.POSS-skin for
=sa' kal-yelq-axch-e'
=TC:FUT F.IRR-DIST-slacken-MID-NM:PO

'I'll submerge the cow hide [in water] *in order to keep it soft*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The nominal PREDICATE of such purpose clauses, *yaqwayam*, is a depronominalized perfective form of the verb stem *-yaqwokm-*, which has a range of meanings including 'to obey', 'to arrive and perch on a limb (bird)', 'to reach a destination' — its use in purpose clauses related to a meaning of 'to bring about a particular state of events or conditions'. Although it lacks a pronominal prefix and is therefore not strictly a productively derived nominalization, it retains some of its nominal properties, and in some instances quite clearly denotes events (15.90a) or participants (15.90b), sometimes in an NP-modification role (15.90c), rather than simply serving as an interclausal linker.

(15.90) a. **yaqwayam elwetakpok** peya nak kólyaqpassesagkok yegmen

yaqwayam el-wetak-p-ok pey-a =nak
for M.IRR-DIST-see-MID.M-NM:PO START-NM:IP =TC:VIS
kol-yaqpass-es-agk-ok yegmen
IMPR.IRR-spread-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO water

'*the presentation* of those which are about to be baptized'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. megkalwa'ak makham **yaqwayam nak kalyamhopagkok**

me-gka-l-wa'-ak makham yaqwayam =nak
NEG-F.IRR-DIST-arrive-DECL again for =TC:VIS
ka-l-yamhop-agk-ok
F.IRR-DIST-marry-COMPL-NM:PO

'*the boyfriends* have still not yet arrived'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **Yegmen yákwayam agmopeyasekxa**, négmeha enxagkok yákwayam agyenek

yegmen yaqwayam ag-mopey-as-ekx-a' neg-m-ey-ha
water for 1PL.IRR-white-VAL-DUP-NM:PO 1PL-have-TI-AMB.DECL
en-xagkok yaqwayam ag-yen-ek
1PL.POSS-house for 1PL.IRR-drink-NM:PO

'Water *is for cleaning*, and we use it around the house to drink'

Schoolbook Grade 1

d. méko xama waley **yakwayam enókasek enxet apkenempakwayam**
meko xama waley yakwayam e-nok-as-ek enxet
NEG.EXIST one Paraguayan for M.IRR-hate-VAL-NM:PO Enxet
apk-enempak-way-am
M.PART-hunt-ARR-TERM.NM:PV
'There were no Paraguayans to get mad at the Enxet who were hunting'

López Ramírez (1996)

e. Tegyágkek axta keso tamom'a nelteme negko'o yakwayam kalának yam'én, áyen, kenhan mok aksok, kenhan eláneyak yagyam'én
tegy-ág-kek =axta keso tamom'a nel-tem-e negko'o
search-COMPL-DECL =PST this caraguatá 1PL.PART.DIST-be.TI-NM:PV 1PL
yakwayam kal-án-ak yam'én // áyen // kenhan mok aksok
for F.IRR.DIST-make-POT net // bag // AND F.other thing
'They [the women] looked for caraguatá, which for us is something with which we make nets, bags, and other things'

López Ramírez (1996)

As such, *yaqwayam* is used in other contexts which are not really purpose clauses at all, but still are event denoting nominalizations which refer to the achievement of the potential form verb which follows it, as in (15.91a-15.91c).

(15.91) a. kapaxkohok cha'a **yaqwayam elya'asagkohok** énxet
ka-paxk-ohok cha'a yaqwayam el-ya'as-agk-ohok
F.IRR-mix-INTS.NM:PO always for M.IRR.DIST-know-COMPL-INTS.NM:PO
enxet
man
'It's too difficult *for people to understand*' or literally '*People's coming to know* gets mixed up'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. mawenaqtésagkek sa' **yaqwayam eyxyók**
m-a-wenaqt-es-agk-ek =sa' yaqwayam
NEG-1SG.IRR-long-VAL-COMPL-SCND =TC:FUT for
e-yxy-ok
M.IRR-return-INTS.NM:PO
'I won't delay *my return*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. askehek **yaqwayam anlánesagkok** apkelxega énxet'ák
a-askeh-ek yaqwayam an-l-an-es-agk-ok
F.STAT-painful-DECL for 1PL.IRR-DIST-make-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO
apk-el-xeg-a enxet'-ak
M.PART-DIST-go-NM:PV man-PL
it's difficult *to manage* people's behavior

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

There is also an oblique nominalization form *yaqwánxa*, which also takes potential form complements, as in (15.92a-15.92d). As an oblique argument nominalization, it can refer to the manner, time, or place of the achievement of the event denoted in the potential form complement.

(15.92) a. ageyk **yaqwánxa enxoho etnehek apkelpeywa énxet**
ag-ey-k yaqwanxa =enxoho e-tneh-ek apk-el-peywa
1PL.IRR-fear-NM:PO for.NM:OB =CONJ M.IRR-be-NM:PO M.PART-DIST-words
enxet
man
'We are afraid of what *the people will say*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekyekpelchawo **yaqwánxa hetnéssesek**
ek-yekpelch-awo yaqwánxa he-tn-éss-es-ek
1SG-recognize-INTS.DECL for.NM:OB 1SG.PAT.IRR-be-VAL-VAL-NM:PO
'I realized what *he was going to do to me*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. wokma'ák élánesagkok **yaqwánxa enaqtének**
wokma'ák é-l-án-es-agk-ok yaqwánxa e-naq-tén-ek
boy 1SG-DIST-make-VAL-COMPL-SCND for.NM:OB M.IRR-PL-sleep-NM:PO
'I'm preparing a place for the boys *to sleep*' or 'I'm preparing for the boys *a place so that they can sleep*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. negwokme' kaxwo' negko'o **yaqweynxa oltaqhekxak negókxa**
neg-wok-m-e' kaxwo' negko'o yaqweynxa
1PL-arrive-TERM-DECL NOW 1PL for.NM:OB
ol-taqh-ekx-ak neg-ókxa
1PL.IRR.DIST-turn.back-DUP-NM:PO 1PL.PART-country
'We've come to the time *when we should return to our country*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Finally, it should be noted that there are a couple of observed examples where potential form verbs functionally act like purpose clauses without *yaqwayam/yaqwanxa*, as in (15.93). Here, the purposive relationship is not really overtly indicated at all, and instead is established implicitly.

(15.93) amaxnágkok sa' sawo ahagkok **atwok ápetek**

a-maxnagk-ok =sa' sawo ahagkok a-tw-ok a-apetek
1SG.IRR-sharpen-NM:PO =TC:FUT knife 1SG.POSS 1SG.IRR-eat-NM:PO F.POSS-meat

'I will sharpen my knife to eat the meat'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

15.2.5 EDNs as independent propositions

One of the trickier aspects of the nominalization analysis I present in this chapter for the potential, perfective, and imperfective forms is the way that EDNs using these forms can be used as PREDICATES of clauses. Nominal PREDICATE clauses are very common in the language (§5.2.1), and I have already established some of the complexities of their use in previous chapters (§5.1), primarily the idea that nominal predicate clauses are used as much to identify and track referents within the discourse as much as they are used to express a state of affairs in the world. Here, I am not referring to PREDICATE EDNs which indicate s-arguments of verbs in prior clauses, or any kind of clause with an EDN PREDICATE that is tightly semantically or pragmatically linked to an immediately prior clause. Instead, here I am discussing PREDICATE EDNs which are more or less in isolation, having no semantic dependence to other predicates, and are used for independent propositions. The reason such constructions are complicated is because they function in discourse more or less like finite verbs.

The most important construction type, because it is far and away the most common, involves PREDICATE potential form verbs. They occur very often as *predicates* of independent propositions, and for quite a while I treated them as fully finite verbs, which made their complementary distribution with imperfective and perfective forms confusing. As the PREDICATES of independent propositions, they are used to predicate either 1) future events, often but not obligatorily marked with the future tense marker *sa'* as in (15.94a), or 2) habitual events, often but not obligatorily marked with the intensive suffix as in (15.94b).

(15.94) a. **annewek** sa' máneg

an-new-ek =sa' maneg
1PL.IRR-play-NM:PO =TC:FUT k.o.dance

'We will dance *máneg*'

b. **kanewhok** semheg

ka-new-hok semheg
F.IRR-play-INTS.NM:PO dog
'The dog plays around alot'

A critical question, and one that I cannot yet come up with fully satisfactory answer to, is whether or not potential verbs are *always* nominalizations. It is entirely possible that the nominalization uses and the independent, propositional PREDICATE uses are two discrete functions, with one having arisen from the other at some point in the history of the language. However, because of the broad denotational possibilities associated with nominalizations, we can hypothetically assign interpretations to structures like those above which view the PREDICATE as a nominalization. For example, (15.94a) could be interpreted as 'Máneg will be our (hypothetical) dancing' — this might appear a bit wonky but no more so than other PREDICATE nouns or nominalizations which much more clearly must be analyzed as such in the language.

Some construction types support the possibility that even when they are providing the primary propositional content of an utterance, potential form verbs are nominalizations. The primary one is that potential form verbs often occur with the potential form copular verb *-teh-* 'be/say', as in the examples in (15.95). While nouns or adjectives in future tense or hypothetical contexts require the copula (§5.2.1), this is probably because they have no means of taking irrealis morphology, which is not true for a potential form PREDICATE. It is unclear how or why these potential forms occur with a copula if they do not have a nominal interpretation. In other words, *ayensek katnehek* is actually an equational identity PREDICATE between two EDNs — '[my being injured] is [that which will happen]'.

(15.95) a. xámok eknaqtosso semheg xa kelán'a nak, heyhak **kexa katnehek**
xámok ek-naq-tosso semheg =xa kelán'a =nak
many.DECL F.PART-PL-domestic.animal =DMSTR woman =TC:VIS //
// he-yh-ak =kexa ka-tneh-ek
1SG.PAT.IRR-sic-NM:PO =TC:DUB F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO
'She has many dogs she could sic on me', literally 'That woman has many dogs, maybe she'll sic them on me'

Skype notes

b. **ayensek katnehek**
a-yens-ek ka-tneh-ek
1SG.IRR-be.hurt-NM:PO F.IRR-be/say-NM:PO
'I will get hurt'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Perfective forms have a similar kind of construction, called the event protagonist construction, which is described below in section §15.3, but this is more clearly has the semantics of a nominal PREDICATE clause.

Imperfective EDNs, although most typically a core s-argument of adverbial "modifier" of a propositional PREDICATE, can also be used in relative independence with propositional semantics, as in (15.96). As described in §15.2.3 and §9.1, imperfective EDNs

often have a function of backgrounding information relative to a main idea or central narrative point which is more likely to be expressed by a declarative verb. Thus, imperfective EDNs can be used as pragmatically independent assertions so long as they are relatively backgrounded, or their value in discourse is relative to some more important point.

(15.96) a. **seklega** exchek ko'o
sek-leg-a =exchek ko'o
1SG.PART-hear-NM:IP =TC:HOD 1SG
'I heard it as well'
Skype 6.20.2020

b. egqántanxo axta nélántépak negko'o escuela, keso Segundo, nátamen han, Ignacio, **nentepa negko'o**
egq-ántanxo =axta nélán-tép-ak negko'o escuela // keso
1PL.STAT-three =TC:PST 1PL.PART.DIST-emerge-SCND 1PL school // this
Segundo // nátamen =han // Ignacio // nen-tep-a negko'o
Segund // F.after =AND // Ignacio // 1PL.PART-emerge-NM:IP 1PL
'The three of us left school, this was Segundo, and then, Ignacio, *we left*'
EDP enx047 03:33

Thus, the imperfective PREDICATE in (15.96a) is what provides the 'as well' semantics, since this assertion would be made relative to another person saying they heard something. In (15.96b), the assertion made by *nentepa negko'o* is being repeated, or is to be interpreted based on the list of participants made just prior, and so it is in the imperfective form.

15.3 Event/Participant liminal nominalization types

The perfective form nominalization is used in a handful of ways which semantically sit at the boundary of participant and event denotation. The **event protagonist** nominalization simultaneously denotes both participant and event, and is in some ways like a non-restrictive relative clause. The **resultant product** nominalization denotes an entity which is the result of the action indicated by the verb stem, but which is not a semantic argument of the verb. The **process instrumental** nominalization denotes an item used to achieve the event indicated by the verb stem, but for which there is no means of reference other than deverbal nominalization, which again means that that which is denoted could not serve as a semantic argument of the verb.

Shibatani (2017, 2019) (from whom I am borrowing the terms 'event protagonist' and 'resultant product') refers to such nominalization types as being liminally event denoting, in that they cannot be discretely defined as either strictly participant denoting or event denoting. Some English nominalizations display this kind of event/participant liminal denotation, like *opening* as in 'the *opening* in the fence' — this nominalized form denotes neither an argument of the verb *open* (i.e. 'that which is opened') or the event of *opening* (i.e. 'the opening of the movie was terrible'). Furthermore, it is interesting that all three

of these nominalization types require perfective forms, possibly for the reason that they involve either the result of completing an event (resultant product, process instrumental), or that the event be viewed as a finite whole from the outside (event protagonist).

The most common construction of the event protagonist type has the nominalized verb to be the complement of a nominal or pronominal predicate, like the examples in (15.97). In a sentence like (15.97b), *ko'o exchek seyáphásso ámay* is literally something like 'the one who sent him to the road was me', where *ko'o exchek* 'was me' serves as a predicate with *seyáphásso ámay* acting as the "subject" of the sentence. But where in English the relative clause construction would not indicate the speaker as the agent ('the one who sent him to the road'), in Enxet, the first person is indicated in the pronominal prefix *sey-*. Therefore, the clause does not establish identity between *ko'o* 'I' and an abstract 'one who does something', because the identity of the agent is already indicated by the prenominal prefix. In this way, they are somewhat like non-restrictive relative clauses.

(15.97) *Event protagonist constructions with nominal or pronominal* PREDICATES

a. ko'o Elias, **ko'o sekteyam Makxawe**, ekwanegyek ko'o m'a
ko'o Elias // ko'o sek-tey-am Makxawe // ek-waneg-yek
1SG Elias // 1SG 1SG.PART-fall-TERM.NM:PV Makxawaya // 1SG-grow-DECL
ko'o =m'a
=1SG =DMSTR
'I am Elias, I was born in Makxawaya, I grew up there'

NNE190 01:54

b. ko'o exchek **seyáphásso ámay**, keñe ektegwa camión, ko'o exchek **seksexnenagko** seyáphasa ámay
ko'o =exchek sey-ápháss-o ámay // keñe ek-tegw-a camión
1SG =TC:HOD 1SG.PART-send-NM:PV road // then F.PART-crash-NM:IP car
// ko'o =exchek sek-sexnenagk-o sey-áphas-a ámay
// 1SG =TC:HOD 1SG.PART-damage-NM:PV 1SG.PART-send-NM:IP road
'I *sent him to the road* and then he was hit by a vehicle, I *caused his misfortune* by sending him to the road.'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. ko'o sekwánxa ahagko' **sektókasso cháxa sakcha'a létkók nak**
ko'o sek-wá-n-xa ahagko' sek-tók-ass-o cháxa
1SG 1SG.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB =DEG.1SG 1SG.PART-eat-VAL-NM:PV that
sakcha'a létkók =nak
child little =TC:VIS
'It's only me *who takes care of (lit. 'feeds') these children*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Xép axta **apxeyenma** Abimélec apteme mékoho!

xep =axta ap-xeyen-na Abimelec ap-tem-e
2SG.M =TC:PST M.PART-show-NM:PV Abimelec M.PART-be.TI-NM:PV
meko-ho
NEG.EXIST-INTS
'You were the one who said Abimelec was worthless!'

TA Judges 9:38

e. hexta apcháphássesso m'a Esteban
he =xta apch-ápháss-ess-o =m'a Esteban
TC:REP =TC:PST M.PART-send-VAL-NM:PV =DMSTR Esteban
'They say Esteban sent it to him'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

As seen in the examples in (15.97), these event protagonist constructions are often a way to assert a kind of focus on a semantic argument of the nominalized verb, typically the agent. How exactly the event protagonist construction with the perfective nominalization differs from the focus construction with declarative verbs (§5.2.4) is unclear.

Because PDNs and Event Protagonist nominalizations both denote, at least in part, a semantic argument of the nominalized verb, the distinction between the two is subtle. Pragmatically, examples like those in (15.97) are non-restrictive — they serve not to delimit the interpretation of a noun phrase but rather emphasize the participation of an already definite (often first-person) argument in the event indicated by the nominalized verb. Because the default, unmarked pronominal prefix for a generic subject would be the feminine, any perfective form verb with a non-feminine pronominal prefix that is in co-reference with an overt NP is quite clearly has such a non-restrictive denotation.

Where a perfective nominalization denoting a patient rather than agent is used in a similar construction, however, as in (15.98a-15.98b), it is less clear that the semantics are non-restrictive, or that such constructions are semantically equivalent to those in (15.97) above. The perfective verb in (15.98b) could possibly be considered of simple PDN, as in 'the cows are what he herded', but pragmatically, such an analysis is unsatisfactory, since in the context of the story, the action of 'herding, driving cattle' is not foregrounded, and there is no ambiguity about what the agent here would be 'herding'.

(15.98) a. waley axta **selchekkasso**
waley =axta selch-ekk-ass-o
Paraguayan =TC:PST 1SG.PART.DIST-plant-VAL-NM:PV
'I worked in the fields (planted) for the Paraguayan' or '*The one I worked in the fields for* was a/the Paraguayan'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. *Context: A character in a story tells his friends that he has just seen some strange men*
Weyke exchek nahan **appakheykha**, apkeltámeyakxeyk xeyk naságe.

weyke =exchek =nahan ap-pakh-eykha //
cow =tc:hod =and m.part-herd-amb.nm:pv //
apk-el-támey-akx-eyk =xeyk na-ságe
m.part-dist-lead-dup-decl =tc:hod loc-lake

'And he drove the cattle, he just took them to the lake'

López Ramírez (1996)

Structurally, event protagonist nominalizations are almost always part of either a nominal predicate clause, like the examples in (15.97), or the complement of the copular property verb *-teh-* or its identity negative counterpart *háwe*, like the examples in (15.99). This provides some further evidence that the lexical verbs used in such constructions cannot be analyzed as finite verbs.

(15.99) *Event protagonist nominalization as arguments of the copular verb -teh- or negative copula hawe*

a. ekpagkanaxche ko'o kaxwo' yaqwayam **héltemésssesek sélxekmósso** sakcha'a létkawok

ek-pagkan-axche ko'o kaxwo' yaqwayam
1sg-set.aside-mid.decl 1sg now for
hél-tem-éss-es-ek sél-xekmóss-o
1sg.pat.irr.dist-be.ti-val-val-nm:po 1sg.part.dist-demonstrate-nm:pv
sakcha'a létkawok
child little.pl

'I have committed myself to becoming a teacher [lit. 'I who show things to the children']

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ekyekpelcháxche kaxwo' **sektáha sekwányamo**

ek-yekpelch-áxche kaxwo' sek-táh-a
1sg-recognize-mid.decl now 1sg.part-be-nm:ip
sek-wány-amo
1sg.part-grow-term.ints.nm:pv

'It can be seen that I am old'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **háwe apyaqhakkasso apagko'** apyespok, kélyaqhakkassesso

háwe ap-yaqhakk-ass-o =apagko' ap-yespok //
neg m.part-press-val-nm:pv =refl.m m.poss-throat //
kél-yaqhakk-ass-ess-o
impr.part-press-val-val-nm:pv

'He didn't hang himself, he was strangled'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. Yegmen ektakmela **ekteme elyenakteso** apyempe'ek énxet'ák
yegmen ek-taqmel-a ek-tem-e el-yenaqt-ess-o
water F.PART-good-NM:PV F.PART-be.TI-NM:PV F.PART.DIST-strong-VAL-NM:PV
ap-yempe'ek enxet-ak
M.PART-skin man-PL
'Clean water strengthens people's bodies'

Book Grade 4

e. tén sa' yátegmowagkok ma'a **ektáhakxa nak kélmaxneyeykha**
tén =sa' y-átegmow-agk-ok =ma'a ek-táhak-xa =nak
then =TC:FUT M.IRR-respond-COMPL-NM:PO =DMSTR F.PART-be-NM:OB =TC:VIS
kél-maxney-eykha
IMPR.PART-ask-AMB.NM:PV
'and the person to whom the question was asked will answer'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. wánxa eyke apketkok háwe, **háwe aptéyak** pan, **háwe apyenéyak**, wánxa ap-kelwányam
wánxa =eyke apk-etkok háwe // háwe ap-t-éyak pan //
only =TC:ASR M-young NEG // NEG M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV bread //
háwe ap-yen-éyak // wánxa apk-el-wány-am
NEG M.PART-drink-COMPL.NM:PV // only M.PART-DIST-grow-TERM.NM:PV
'Except it wasn't the young men, it wasn't them who were eating the bread, it wasn't them who were drinking, only the old men'

EDP enx047 14:28

Event protagonist nominalizations do not require the constructions described above however, as seen in (15.100).

(15.100) tamhakpóya apwa'a **mewayo exagkok**?
ø-tamhak-p-ó =ya ap-wa'-a m-e-way-o
F-want-MID.M-INTS =TC:Q M.PART-arrive-NM:IP NEG-M.IRR-arrive-INTS.NM:PV
e-xagkok
1SG.POSS-house
'You're coming here regularly? You, who never comes to my house?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The resultant product nominalization is one which denotes something which is the end product of the event indicated by the verb. They do not directly denote the patient

of a verb. Some examples are very similar to nominalization processes in English, as in (15.101a), where a 'rope cutting' is the product that results from the action 'cut rope'. In an example like (15.101e), a language like English can structure the result of a process as an argument of the verb which produces it, e.g. 'A drop of water dripped off the counter', whereas in Enxet, *nensegkenchesso* 'dripping', is only conceived of as a verb, and there is therefore little difference between a nominalization which refers to an event 'dripping' and the result of that event, 'a drop'.

(15.101) *Resultant product nominalizations*

a. ko'o sa' axnéseshok mók **selyaqtenchesso táma**
ko'o =sa' a-xn-és-es-hok mók
1SG =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-sit-VAL-VAL-INTS.NM:PO other
sel-yaqten-chess-o táma
1SG.PART.DIST-cut-VAL-NM:PV rope
'I will cut the rope into equal pieces for you' or 'I will make *the rope cuttings* equal for you'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. Yetneyk axta **apkelháxakxama** xápen apwa'
yetneyk =axta apk-el-háxakx-ama xápen ap-wa'
EXIST =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-circle-NM:PV rhea M.POSS-feather
'they had a crown of rhea feathers', literally 'a *circling of rhea feathers*'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. ekyamágwayam naw'a **apcháxñésso**
ek-yamág-way-am naw'a apch-áxñ-éss-o
F.PART-dry-ARR-TERM.NM:PV point M.PART-clear-VAL-NM:PV
'The part he cleared off (lit. *'his clearing'*) ended in a point'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. weykcha'áhak meyke **kéltáxesso**
weykcha'áhak meyke kél-táxess-o
book/paper NEG.EXIST.NM:PV IMPR.PART-write-NM:PV
'paper that hasn't been written on', literally 'paper without *writing*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. kenye onchaha' xama **nensegkéncheso pánaqte egmenek**
kenye o-ncha-ha' xama nen-segkénch-ess-o pánaqte
then 1SG.IRR-give-AMB.NM:PO one 1PL.PART-drip-VAL-NM:PV medicine
e-egmenek
F.POSS-juice

'Then we give it *a drop of medicine*'

Schoolbook Grade 1

f. tásek axta nahápa, méko **ektahapma**
ø-tásek =axta nahápa // méko ek-tahap-ma
F-good =TC:PST bag // NEG.EIXST F.PART-ROT-NM:PV
'The [rhea hide] bag was good, it had no *stench*'

López Ramírez (1996)

A third category of liminally event denoting nominalizations are termed here *process instrumental* nominalizations, which denotes the item which is used to achieve the event indicated by the nominalized verb, as in the examples in (15.102). For example, the process instrumental *selatchesso emagkok* 'my shoes' is literally something like 'that which I insert my feet'. The 'shoes' here cannot be conceived of as a conventional manner-like instrumental, or something which someone uses to achieve the 'insertion of the feet'. Rather, it is that which the feet are inserted into, and is therefore the item which makes possible the event indicated by the nominalized verb. A similar, more transparent example to an English speaker is *aplaqlamap* 'blanket', which is a process instrumental nominalization of the clause 'he covers himself'. Whereas the English noun 'cover' or 'the covers' are clearly derived through a similar metonymic process from the verb 'cover', in Enxet Sur, the nominalized verb is still in essence a nominalized clause, retaining its argument structure.

(15.102) *Process instrumental nominalizations*

a. amyawhok cha'a seyánte, hakte **sekyahagkasso** cha'a
a-myaw-hok cha'a sey-ánt-e hakte
1SG.IRR-protect-NM:PO always 1SG.PART-mount-NM:PV because
sek-yahagk-ass-o cha'a
1SG.PART-get.water-VAL-NM:PV always
'I don't want to sell my bicycle, because it's *what I use to gather water*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. hényentegkes hana **sétchesso epátek**
he-enyentegk-es hana sey-etchess-o e-pátek
1SG.PAT.IRR-throw-VAL PLZ 1SG.PART-insert-NM:PV 1SG.POSS-head
'throw me *my hat*, please'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. kelyepetche' menóke **selatchesso emagkok**
kel-yepetch-e' menóke sel-atchess-o e-magk-ok
F.DIST-together'DECL k.o.grass 1SG.PART.DIST-insert-NM:PV 1SG.POSS-foot-PL
'There's *menóke* grass on *my shoes*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. énxet apmenyexma eyek'ak yapxegwa' **sekhaxtegkesso**
énxet ap-menyex-ma ey-ek'-ak y-apxeg-w-a'
man M.PART-steal-NM:PV 1SG-fear-DECL M.IRR-jump-ARR-NM:PO
sek-haxtegk-ess-o
1SG.PART-surround-VAL-NM:PV
'I'm afraid that a robber will jump over my wall (lit. *'what I surround it with*)'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. Méko anhan **apkelaklamap** wánxa yemáleg empe'ék, kenhan mók aksok empehek **aptéma apkelaklamap** nepyeseksa yeyam, kenhan **apkelaklasama apketchek** axta'a
méko =anhan apk-el-akl-amap wánxa yemáleg e-mpe'-ék
NEG.EXIST =AND M.PART-DIST-COVER-MID.M.NM:PV only fox F.POSS-skin
// kenhan mók aksok e-mpehek ap-tém-a
// and other thing F.POSS-skin M.PART-be.TI-NM:IP
apk-el-akl-amap nepyeseksa yeyam // kenhan
M.PART-DIST-COVER-MID.M.NM:PV amidst.M cold // and
apk-el-akl-as-ama apk-etchek axta'a
M.PART-DIST-COVER-VAL-NM:PV M.POSS-child night
'And there were no *blankets*, only fox hides and the hides of other things, *which were his (the enxet's) blanket* amidst the cold, as well as *the blankets for his children* at night'

López Ramírez (1996)

f. méko nak xeyep **apyekwe yegmen**
méko =nak xeyep ap-yekw-e yegmen
NEG.EXIST =TC:VIS 2SG.M M.PART-carry.water-NM:PV water
'You don't have anything *with which to gather water*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. Apkelxawágkek axta **ekyanmaga** apkeltamheykha keso énxet'ák
apk-el-xaw-ág-kek =axta ek-yanmag-a
M-DIST-amass-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST F.PART-value-NM:PV
apk-el-tamh-eykha keso énxet-'ák
M.PART-DIST-work-AMB.NM:PV this man-PL
'These Enxet earned *payment* by working'

López Ramírez (1996)

It is important to recognize that the three types of liminally event denoting nominalizations I describe here are not necessarily structurally discrete categories within Enxet

Sur. They merely represent discernable morphosemantic distinctions which can be made in the denotation of deverbal nominalization. For example, in (15.102e) above, the second use of the word *apkelaklamap* 'blanket' equally fits structural and semantic properties of both the process instrumental and event protagonist nominalization types — the latter because it is the complement of a copular verb. The three categories are therefore gradient, and themselves represent the gradient nature of event versus argument denotation, given that the perfective form verbs used for liminal EDNs are equally used for straightforward EDNs and PDNs.

15.4 Participant-denoting nominalizations [PDN]

This section describes the use of nominalizations in participant denotation, which overlaps to some degree with the conventional notion of the relative clause. The primary topics of interest are the nominalization forms used, the syntactic and pragmatic function of the PDN, how various configurations restrict which forms can be used. In general, the form is affected by the following criteria:

- *Temporality*: Nominalizations restricting the reference of nouns typically come in the perfective form, but they may take the imperfective form if the event indicated by the verb is ongoing, recent, or coincidental with another foregrounded event in the discourse
- *Affectedness/transitivity*: Monadic verbs and dyadic verbs with high semantic transitivity (affectedness of the patient) can take either the perfective or imperfective forms for PDNs, while dyadic verbs with lower semantic transitivity or affectedness of patients (referred to here as *semitransitives* for convenience) will typically take the imperfective form to denote agents and the oblique nominalization form to denote patients with more restrictions on their ability to use perfective forms
- *Dependency status*: Different patterns emerge based on whether the PDN is a dependent modifier or a co-referntial nominal PREDICATE
- *Reality status*: PDNs can be in the potential form in particular negated contexts

This section first describes PDN behaviors with monadic (monovalent) verbs, then with dyadic (bivalent) verbs. It then describes some interesting patterns with PDNs of dyadic verbs with low transitivity, and then describes the limited constructions in which potential form verbs are used as PDNs.

15.4.1 Monadic PDNs

Verbs which take only a single s-argument show a range of PDN behaviors, largely dependent upon the lexical aspect of the verb and how it interacts with the semantic profiles of the imperfective and perfective forms.

With verbs and semiverbs that have very stative, property-denoting semantics, items like *-yenna'-* 'strong' or *-yexwas-* 'red, colored' or *-sam-* 'bad, evil', PDNs formed from

them mostly occur as true modifying dependents of a head noun, rarely taking their own TAME clitics. Some examples of adnominal PDNs of stative verbs are given in (15.103).

(15.103) *Perfective form modification-use stative PDNs*

a. tekke' agkok **exchahayam ekyennaqte**, kápaqhagwokmok kaxének egwáxok
ø-tek-ke' =agkok e-exchahay-am ek-yennaqt-e
F-come.out-DECL =COND F.PART-north.wind-TERM.NM:PV F.PART-strong-NM:PV
ka-paqhag-wok-m-ok ka-xén-ek eg-wáxok
F.IRR-realize-ARR-TERM-NM:PO F.IRR-show-NM:PO 1PL.POSS-innermost
'When there appears a *strong North wind*, we lament it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. yetneyk makham **naxma' ekwennaqte**
yetneyk makham naxma' ek-wennaqt-e
EXIST still woods F.PART-long-NM:PV
'There's still *a really big forest*'

EDP enx038

c. yaqwayam enxol'a kalchetmok egwáxok negko'o **amya'a ektaqmela**
yaqwayam =enxo =l'a ka-lch-etm-ok eg-wáxok
for =CONJ =TC:DUB F.IRR-DIST-search-NM:PO 1PL.POSS-innermost
negko'o amya'a ek-taqmel-a
1PL story F.PART-good-NM:PV
'So that we can think about this *lovely story*'

EDP enx006 10:01

d. mók nenxega sat makham anlának makham mók video ten sat anxog **sage ekyawe**
mók nen-xeg-a =sat makham an-l-án-ak
other.F 1PL.PART-go-NM:IP =TC:FUT still 1PL.IRR-DIST-make-NM:PO
makham mók video tan =sat an-xog sage ek-yaw-e
still other.F video then =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-go.NM:PO lake F.PART-big-NM:PV
'On another excursion we will make another video and we will go to *the big lake*'

EDP enx005 45:35

However, unlike other kinds of PDNs, nominalizations of these verbs, which occur almost exclusively in the perfective form, do not have a participant denoting function if they are not modifying a head noun. While adjectives can occur on their own as the head of an NP, referring to an individual which has the property indicated by the adjective that which has the property of the adjective (Ch. 8), perfective forms of stative verbs in

NP-use tend to denote the quality indicated by the verb rather than an individual who bears that property, as in (15.104).

(15.104) megkameykehek sa' **sekyennaqte**

me-gka-meyk-ehek =sa' sek-yennaqt-e
NEG-F.IRR-lack-NEG.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-strong-NM:PV

'I will not lack *(my) strength*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

A similar class of verb stems appear functionally property denoting, but they derive from bases which involve event or change of state semantics. For example, the stem *-wanakm-* is often used to mean 'old' or 'large', but is in fact the terminative form of *-wane'-* 'grow'. It appears both adnominally (15.105a) and as an independent PDN which, unlike the headless forms for stative verbs, denotes 'one who is old, elder', as in (15.105b).

(15.105) a. keso yetneyk axta **yegmen ekwanyam**

keso yetneyk =axta yegmen ek-wany-am
this EXIST =TC:PST water F.PART-GROW-TERM.NM:PV

'Here there was a large quantity of water' or '*water that had grown*'

EDP enx025 14:19

b. kenhan elmeneykmaksek hekñat **apkelwányam** yakwayam exátekhasamok keso apketkok

kenhan el-meneykmaks-ek =hek =ñat
and M.IRR.DIST-sing-NM:PO =TC:REP =TC:RPST
apk-el-wány-am yakwayam e-xátekh-as-am-ok keso
M.PART-DIST-GROW-TERM.NM:PV for M.IRR-get.up-VAL-TERM-NM:PO this
apk-etkok
M-young

'and *the old men* would sing to bring the boy back to life'

López Ramírez (1996)

While those stems which are largely property denoting almost exclusively occur in the perfective form, monadic PDNs that indicate changes of state, motion, and/or position display productive imperfective/perfective form alternation based on temporal properties of the event indicated by the PDN. Perfective form nominalizations, as in (15.106) are typically used for events in the past or habitual behaviors, while imperfective form nominalizations are generally used for ongoing events (15.107). As seen in these examples, perfective form monadic PDNs can be either in NP use or modification use, but it does not appear that speakers use imperfective form monadic PDNs without an adjacent, co-referential noun, and the imperfective form appears to always be the PREDICATE of a distinct clause.

(15.106) *Perfective form PDNs of monadic verbs*

a. *Context: Describing the traditions of kyaye dancing*
Yetneyk xama **apkemha apmonye**, yetneyk nahan apkemha axáye.
yetneyk xama apk-emh-a ap-monye // yetneyk =nahan
EXIST one M.PART-stand-NM:PV M.STAT-before // EXIST =AND
apk-emh-a axáye
M.PART-stand-NM:PV behind
'There was one *who stood in front*, and one *who stood behind*'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. Kenhan mók amya'a makham énxet'ák **apheykha Makxawé**.
kenhan mók amya'a makham énxet'-ák ap-h-eykha Makxawé
and other story still man-PL M.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV Makxawaya
And here are some more stories about the Enxet *who lived at Makxawaya*

López Ramírez (1996)

c. xámok énxet **apmaskè** kenhan kelán'ák
xámok énxet ap-mask-è kenhan kelán'-ák
many man M.PART-diminish-NM:PV and woman-PL
'there were many men *who died*, and women'

López Ramírez (1996)

d. hekñat eyke apwetagwánxa kelasma **ekteyepma**
hek =ñat =eyke ap-wetag-wá-n-xa kelasma
TC:REP =TC:RPST =TC:ASR M.PART-see-ARR-TERM-NM:OB fish
ek-teyep-ma
F.PART-emerge-NM:PV
'But that was when they saw the fish *that had emerged*'

López Ramírez (1996)

(15.107) *Imperfective form PDNs of monadic verbs*

a. cháxa pa'at **ektepa nak neyawa exagkok** ekteme pánaqte ekmaso
cháxa pa'at ek-tep-a =nak neyawa e-xagkok
that grass F.PART-emerge-NM:IP =TC:VIS around.F 1SG.POSS-house
ek-tem-e pánaqte ek-m-a-s-o
F.PART-be.TI-NM:PV medicine F.PART-TI-VBLZ-bad-NM:PV
'That grass *growing around my house* is poisonous'

Skype 4.20.2020

b. Aptekhánegkek hekñat amnek **ekwokmoho hekñat ekmahágkaxa keso kelán'a**.

ap-tekhán-eg-kek =hek =ñat a-mnek
M-smell-COMPL-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.POSS-foot
ek-wok-m-oho =hek =ñat ek-mah-ágk-axa
F.PART-arrive-TERM-INTS.NM:IP =TC:REP =TC:RPST F.PART-head.to-COMPL-NM:OB
keso kelán'a
this woman
'He smelled the footprints which led to where the woman had gone'

López Ramírez (1996)

15.4.2 Dyadic PDNs

For dyadic verbs which have high transitivity, there is no formal distinction in PDNs which denote agents versus those which denote patients, and the unmarked nominalized verb form for both is the perfective form. Both patient and agent nominalizations can be occur in NP use or modficiation use, as in the examples in (15.108), which come from elicitation.

(15.108) *Patient and Agent PDNs of -han- 'cook', in both NP and modification use*

a. apmele xa **énxet aphanma sekto**
ap-mel-e =xa énxet ap-han-ma sek-t-o
M.PART-fat-NM:PV =DMSTR man M.PART-cook-NM:PV 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV
'The man who cooked my food was fat'

b. apmele m'a **aphanma nak sekto**
ap-mel-e =xa ap-han-ma =nak sek-t-o
M.PART-fat-NM:PV =DMSTR M.PART-cook-NM:PV =TC:VIS 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV
'He who cooked my food was fat'

c. átsek **ápetek aphanma**
a-ats-ek a-apetek ap-han-ma
F.STAT-sweet-DECL F.POSS-meat M.PART-cook-NM:PV
'The meat he cooked was delicious'

d. átsek **aphanma**
a-ats-ek ap-han-ma
F.STAT-sweet-DECL M.PART-cook-NM:PV
'What he cooked was delicious'

Skype 5.24.2020

Note that when the agent-denoting PDN is in NP-use in (15.108b), it takes the TAME clitic *nak*, which is not used when the same nominalization is a modifier of a head noun in (15.108a). This is probably directly related to the agent/patient ambiguous interpretation of dyadic PDNs. The PREDICATE of the first clause in both examples is *apmele* 'he who is fat', which clearly indicates a person. When the head of the co-referential NP in the

next clause is *énxet* 'man', the co-reference between the two nominal PREDICATES is clear. However, when the NP in the next clause is headed by *aphanma*, which could either be 'he who cooked' or 'that which he cooked', the TAME clitic *nak* is used to reinforce co-reference between the two nominal expressions, thus forcing an agent-denoting interpretation of *aphanma*.

Variable use of the *nak* clitic in parallel constructions based on headedness and denotation of different s-arguments is not uncommon, but it does not really appear to be systematic. (15.109a-15.109b) show that when the PDN is co-referential with an agent noun, it does not take the *nak* TAME clitic, but it does when it is co-referential with a patient noun. This is entirely different than the distribution of *nak* seen in (15.108) above. This may, however, have to do with with different degrees of semantic transitivity between *-han-* 'cook' and *-tegye-* 'search for', which is discussed more in the next section.

(15.109) a. cháxa **kelán'a ektegyancha'a yohoxma**
cháxa kelán'a ek-tegy-ancha'-a yohoxma
that woman F.PART-search-AMB-NM:IP shaman
'That's the woman who was looking for a shaman'

Skype 4.8.2020

b. cháxa **pánaqte egyáp ektegyancha'a nak kelán'a**
cháxa pánaqte eg-yáp ek-tegy-ancha'-a =nak kelán'a
that medicine F.POSS-father F.PART-search-AMB-NM:IP =TC:VIS woman
'That's the doctor that the woman was looking for'
Skype 4.8.2020

There are clear examples of dyadic PDNs being used as dependent modifiers of both agent and patient nouns, as seen in (15.110) and (15.111) respectively. However, these appear to only be in the perfective form.

(15.110) *Agent PDNs in modification use*

a. **énxet apmenyexma** eyek'ak yapxegwa' sekhaxtegkesso
énxet ap-menyex-ma ey-ek'-ak y-apxeg-w-a'
man M.PART-steal-NM:PV 1SG-fear-DECL M.IRR-jump-ARR-NM:PO
sek-haxtegk-ess-o
1SG.PART-surround-VAL-NM:PV
'I'm afraid that a robber (lit. *'person who steals things'*) will jump over my wall

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. kawápogkaso' waley **náta segwápogkasso**
ka-wápogk-as-o' waley náta seg-wápogk-ass-o
F.IRR-scare-VAL-INTS.NM:PO Paraguayan bird *1pl.pat.part*-scare-VAL-NM:PV
'The birds *that scare us* scare the Paraguayans'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

(15.111) *Patient PDNs in modification use*

a. Méko axta apxanák énxet, wánxa axta **pa'at apkelpakxanma**, kenhan ekho'
méko =axta ap-xan-ák énxet // wánxa =axta pa'at
NEG.EXIST =TC:PST M.POSS-house-PL Enxet // only =TC:PST grass
apk-el-pakxan-ma // kenhan ekho'
M.PART-DIST-gather.camp-NM:PV // AND cattails
'The old Enxet did not have houses, just grass that they piled up, and cattails'

López Ramírez (1996)

b. émpásse' ekpaqneyam **ápetek sekyaqxakxo**
ey-emp-ás-se' ek-paqney-am á-petek sek-yaqxakx-o
1SG-fly-VAL-DECL F.PART-mist-TERM.NM:PV F.POSS-meat 1SG.PART-pierce-NM:PV
'I pumped out the smell of the meat that I'm grilling

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. étagkásegkek eykhe **selyaqye axagkok apagkok aptegkesso**, móteyákxa'
é-tagk-ás-egk-ek =eykhe selyaqye a-xagkok apagkok
1SG-search-VAL-COMPL-DECL =TC:FRUST money F.POSS-house M.POSS
ap-tegk-ess-o // m-ó-tey-ákx-a'
M.PART-fall-VAL-NM:PV // NEG-1SG.IRR-see-DUP-SCND
'I looked for his wallet that he dropped, I didn't see it'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. xámo' **nento sekyekkónchesso Juan**
xámo' nen-t-o sek-yekkónch-ess-o Juan
many.DECL 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV 1SG.PART-try-VAL-NM:PV Juan
'I made Juan try a lot of food', literally 'The food that I made Juan try was many'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

Imperfective PDNs can have the semantic function of specifying the referent of a noun, but it appears that this is only possible when the PDN is the PREDICATE of a paratactic clause with its own TAME clitics, as in (15.112b). This raises some questions about whether or not these imperfective forms are really PDNs in the first place, since they differ in their syntactic behaviors from perfective forms which can act as dependent modifiers of nouns.

(15.112) a. ahóxok agko' ámay **apkelanéyak** nak wáley
a-hóx-ok =agko' ámay apk-el-an-éyak =nak
F.STAT-long-INTS.DECL =TC:F.DEG road M.PART-DIST-do-COMPL.NM:PV =TC:VIS
wáley
Paraguayan
'The road the Paraguayans built is really long'

b. ahóxok agko' ámay **apkelanegko** nak waley

a-hóx-ok =agko' ámay apk-el-an-egko =nak
F.STAT-long-INTS.DECL =TC:F.DEG road M.PART-DIST-do-COMPL.NM:IP =TC:VIS
wáley
Paraguayan

'The road the Paraguayans are building is really long'

Skype 6.20.2020

It is considerably less common that PDNs are used without some kind of co-referential noun (in a "headless" fashion), but it does happen occasionally and apparently only with perfective forms, never with the imperfective. Agent PDNs are given in (15.113) and patient PDNs in (15.114).

(15.113) *Agent PDNs in NP use*

a. Ekeso **ekya'áseykyak** kenhan **ekwetayo** axta ektémakxa énxet nano'
Ekeso ek-ya'ás-eykyak kenhan ek-wet-ayo =axta
this F.PART-know-COMPL.NM:PV AND F.PART-see-INTS.NM:PV =PST
ek-tém-akxa énxet nano'
F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB Enxet old

'She was *one who knew* and *was familiar with* the customs of the old Enxet'

López Ramírez (1996)

(15.114) *Patient PDNs in NP use*

a. wálewasesagkok sa' sekhanma
w-álew-as-es-agk-ok =sa' sek-han-ma
1SG.IR-light.up-VAL-VAL-COMPL-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-cook-NM:PV

'I will feed the fire for what I am cooking'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. wánxa yágke **apkelmeykha énxet** nano'
[wánxa yágke] [apk-el-m-eykha énxet nano']
[only arrows] [M.PART-DIST-have-AMB.NM:PV Enxet old]

'The old Enxet only used arrows', literally 'It was only the arrows, that was *what the Enxet used* back then'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. ektaqhessásawok axta ko'o **segkésso** naqsa axta eykhe
ek-taqh-ess-ás-awok =axta ko'o se-gk-éss-o naqsa
1SG-return-VAL-VAL-INTS.DECL =TC:PST 1SG 1SG.PART-have-VAL-NM:PV just
=axta =eykhe
=TC:PST =TC:FRUST

'I rejected *what he gave me*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

15.4.3 Patterns with semitransitive verbs

Another major class of verbs with common PDN behaviors are what we can call *semi-transitive* verbs — those which are semantically dyadic but which have morphosyntactic properties indicating low transitivity. These semitransitive verbs have interesting patterns and restrictions on the use of perfective and imperfective forms when denoting participants.

As described in Ch. 11, the precise nature of morphosyntactic transitivity has not yet been fully mapped out in Enxet Sur, although clearly there is not a single ubiquitous morphosyntactic test for grammatical transitivity, and its representation is diffuse. In fact, the patterns described in this section constitute one of the better indicators of low transitivity for dyadic verbs. However, we can say that, generally, verbs in this category have patients which are minimally affected, and/or the semantic profile of the verb places more emphasis on the action of the agent rather than the achievement of some kind of change of state on the patient.

One such verb is *-etam(s)-* 'to search for'. It has some characteristics associated with higher transitivity, like being able to take first person patient morphology, but semantically and distributionally, it has some features of lower transitivity. It is semantically labile and does not have to take a semantic patient[7], and the verb's semantics center more on the actions of the agent rather than the agent affecting a change on the patient. Critical to the present discussion, it is a non-telic, non-achievement event that does not come to a conclusion — it denotes the act of 'searching' but not the act of 'finding'. In (15.115), it is used as a PDN co-referential with *kelán'a* 'woman' — (15.115a) and (15.115b) simply give 1SG agent and 1SG patient alternates of the same sentence. Note that the PDN is co-referential with the noun, but since it is TAME marked, it constitutes a paratactic clause. In such a context, only the imperfective form is permissible, and the perfective form is ungrammatical, as in (15.115c). This is in contrast to monadic or high-transitivity verbs where there is productive alternation between imperfective and perfective forms in the same kinds of constructions.

(15.115) a. ekwetákxeyk ko'o kelán'a **sétama** exchek
ek-weta-kx-eyk ko'o kelan'a se-etam-a =exchek
1SG-see-DUP-DECL 1SG woman 1SG.PART-search-NM:IP =TC:HOD
'I found the woman I was looking for'

Skype 4.8.2020

b. ekwetákxeyk ko'o kelán'a **sektama** exchek
ek-weta-kx-eyk ko'o kelan'a sek-tam-a =exchek
1SG-see-DUP-DECL 1SG woman 1SG.PAT.PART-search-NM:IP =TC:HOD
'I found the woman that was looking for me'

Skype 4.8.2020

[7] This distinct from the kind of frequent zero-anaphora described in §5.1.

c. **ungrammatical
ek-weta-kx-eyk ko'o kelan'a **se-etams-o** =exchek
1SG-see-DUP-DECL 1SG woman 1SG.PART-search-NM:PV =TC:HOD
'I found the woman I was looking for'

Skype 4.8.2020

The verbs *-taw-* 'eat' and *-yen-* 'drink' similarly have some features which show low transitivity. As described in §10.3, they can only take stem affixes indicating agent plurality, and have no mechanism of indicating the plurality of that which is eaten or drunk. Although strange from the point of view of English, low transitivity for eat and drink verbs is not uncommon cross-linguistically, as the focus is more on the affectedness of the eater/drinker than on the inanimate object which is eaten (cf. Næss 2007). These verbs show the same inability for co-referential, semantic modification use of the perfective form, as in (15.116b), and only the imperfective form can have this apparent PDN usage, as in (15.116a).

(15.116) a. apya'asegkoya xep semheg **ektawa** nak sekto
[ap-ya'as-egk-o =ya xep semheg] [ek-taw-a =nak
[M-know-COMPL-DECL =TC:Q 2SG.M dog] [F.PART-eat-NM:IP =TC:VIS
sek-t-o]
1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV]
'Do you know which dog ate my food?'

Skype 3.16.2020

b. **apya'asegkoya xep semheg ekto nak sekto
[ap-ya'as-egk-o =ya xep semheg] [ek-t-o =nak
[M-know-COMPL-DECL =TC:Q 2SG.M dog] [F.PART-eat-NM:PV =TC:VIS
sek-t-o]
1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV]
'Do you know which dog ate my food?'

Skype 3.16.2020

These ungrammatical examples come from elicitation, but we can see the strong preference for imperfective form PDNs of semitransitives in other corpus data as well. For example, in (15.117) the verb *-táxes-* 'write' indicates an event that is very much in the past and complete, but because the PDN is co-referential with the noun *amya'a* 'story', it occurs in the imperfective form. The verb *-táxes-* generally appears to take that which is written not as an affected patient but more as a resultant product.

(15.117) Néxa keso **amya'a aptáxésa axta** egmok Leon Chávez.
néxa keso amya'a ap-táxés-a =axta eg-mok Leon Chávez
end this story M.PART-write-NM:IP =TC:PST 1PL.POSS-other Leon Chávez
'This is the end of *the story written by our friend Leon Chávez*'

López Ramírez (1996)

Some verbs that display the same pattern of only accepting imperfective PDN forms when co-referential with a noun are hard to see as semitransitive from a semantic point of view. For example, *-pakhe'-* 'to drive a group (of cattle)' acts like a semitransitive in this regard, even though it would appear that the semantics of the verb focus on an affect on the patient. However, this verb base does not, by itself, seem to imply that the cattle are driven to and arrive at a destination, so it may still act like a semitransitive because of low semantic telicity.

(15.118) a. cháxa weyke **sekpakhaya** axta ko'o
cháxa weyke sek-pakhay-a =axta ko'o
that cow 1SG.PART-drive.TI.NM:IP =TC:PST 1SG
'those are the cattle that I drove'

b. cháxa weyke **sekpakha'a** nak ko'o
cháxa weyke sek-pakha'-a =axta ko'o
that cow 1SG.PART-drive-NM:IP =TC:PST 1SG
'those are the cattle I am driving'

c. **cháxa weyke **sekpakhe** nak ko'o
cháxa weyke sek-pakh-e =axta ko'o
that cow 1SG.PART-drive-NM:PV =TC:PST 1SG
**'those are the cattle I am driving'

Skype 5.24.2020

In some cases, perfective forms of semitransitives can appear co-referent with a noun if extra measures are taken to explicate the co-reference. For example, the example in (15.119a) comes from elicitation, in which I asked if *cháxa kelán'a ektegyeykha yohoxma* would be an acceptable, grammatical sentence, and my consultant responded that it would be if the demonstrative *xa* was added to the end of the RC. What this suggests is that, although the noun *kelán'a* 'woman' is adjacent to its coreferent nominalization *ektegyeykha yohoxma* 'the one who was looking for a shaman', the final topical demonstrative is necessary to establish the co-reference between the perfective form nominalization and the noun *kelán'a*. In the handful of examples of adnominal perfective forms for semitransitive verbs, there is a demonstrative which is co-referent with a semantic "head" NP.

(15.119) *Perfective form semitransitive PDNs co-referent with an adjacent noun*

a. cháxa kelán'a **ektegyeykha yohoxma xa**
cháxa kelán'a ek-tegy-eykha yohoxma =xa
tat woman F.PART-search-AMB.NM:PV shaman =DMSTR
'That's the woman who was looking for a shaman'

Skype 4.8.2020

b. cháxa ápetek **sekto ko'o xa**

cháxa a-apetek sek-t-o ko'o =xa
that F.POSS-meat 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV 1SG =DMSTR

'Thats the meat that I eat'

c. keso latsehe **seyéyak weyke so**

keso latsehe sey-ey-eyak weyke =so
this corn 1SG.PART-give-COMPL.NM:PV COW =PROX

'This is the corn I give to the cows'

For this class of verbs, the use of the NM:PV form for PDNs is far more likely to be permissible when it is not co-referential with another noun, or "headless". For example, in (15.120), the labile verb *-meneykmas-* 'to sing' is essentially used twice in subsequent nominalizations. The perfective form *negmeneykmasso* can be translated as 'song' or more literally as 'that which we sing' or 'our singing'.

(15.120) may'ásegkok ko'o **negmeneykmasso** negmeneykmasa exchek axto'o nempeywa axagkok

m-a-y'as-egk-ok ko'o neg-meneykmas-so neg-meneykmas-a
NEG-1SG.IRR-know-COMPL-SCND 1SG 1PL.PART-sing-NM:PV 1PL.PART-sing-NM:IP
=exchek axto'o nem-peywa a-xagkok
=TC:HOD morning 1PL.PART-words.NM:PV F.POSS-house

'I don't know the song we sang in church today'

Skype 4.8.2020

Importantly, this does not mean that semitransitive PDNs that do not semantically modify another noun *must* be in the perfective form, since they can also take the imperfective form, as in (15.121).

(15.121) Xegákxék axta makham Máleg, hakte axta kalwet'ák ma'a **elchetama** axta.

ø-xeg-akx-eyk =axta makham maleg // hakte axta ka-l-wet'-ak
F-GO-DUP-DECL =TC:PST still fox // because TC:PST F.IRR-DIST-see-SCND
=ma'a elch-etam-a =axta
=DMSTR F.PART.DIST-search-NM:IP =TC:PST

'The fox left, because he didn't find *what he was looking for*'

Schoolbook Grade 1

However, perfective forms of semitransitive verbs can be used in the event participant construction described in §15.3. This use of the perfective form appears semantically similar to a straightforward PDN, but is non-restrictive in its semantics. They are always construed either as complements of a nominal PREDICATE, like the examples in (15.122), or they are the arguments of the copular property-denoting verb *-teh-*, as in (15.123).

(15.122) *Semitransitives in Event Protagonist constructions*

a. ko'o axta **sekto kelpasmaga hem axta**
ko'o =axta sek-t-o kelpasmaga hemaxta
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV biscuit yesterday
'I am the one who ate the biscuit yesterday'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. ko'o axta **sétamso**
ko'o =axta se-etams-o
1SG =TC:PST 1SG.PART-search-NM:PV
'I'm the one who was looking for him'
Skype 4.8.2020

c. negko'o axta **negmétegkesso máxek waley**
negko'o =axta neg-métegk-ess-o máxek waley
1PL =TC:PST 1PL.PART-dig-VAL-NM:PV hole Paraguayan
'We are the ones who dug the hole for the Paraguayan'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. negko'o axta **negneyxchesso aqsok máske kelápe'**
negko'o =axta neg-neyxch-ess-o aqsok=máske kelápe'
1PL =TC:PST 1PL.PART-gather-VAL-NM:PV citrus.fruit old.woman
'We are the ones who get fruit for the old woman'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In fact, it appears that in order to create something like a agent-denoting nominalization in the perfective form out of a semitransitive verb, and to use that nominalization as an argument of another PREDICATE, the preferred structure is like those seen in (15.123). In these constructions, an imperfective form of the *-teh-* copula is used as a paratactic PREDICATE indicating the s-argument of a prior verb, and the perfective form of the semitransitive verb is the complement of this nominalized copula.

(15.123) *Event protagonist nominalizations as arguments of copular verb*

a. ay'ásesagkohok sa' **aptáha axta setaqnagko**
a-y'ás-es-agk-ohok =sa' ap-táh-a =axta
1SG.IRR-know-VAL-COMPL-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT M.PART-be/say-NM:IP =TC:PST
se-taqnagk-o
1SG.PAT.PART-detest-NM:PV
'I will punish the one *who got mad at me*'
Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. massegwokmek escuela, hakte méko **ektáha nak apkexekmósso**
ø-masseg-wok-m-ek escuela hakte méko ek-táh-a
F-diminish-ARR-TERM-DECL school because NEG.EXIST F.PART-be/say-NM:IP
=nak apk-ex-xekmóss-o
=TC:VIS M.PART-DIST-demonstrate-NM:PV

'The school doesn't run anymore because there's no teach (literally *'one who shows/explains things'*)

EDP enx038

c. *Context: In the introduction to a children's school book*
Egmenyek hẽltennaksek ektahakxa ekpasmo s'e weykcha'áhak nak, **kéxegke ektaha nak kelmékha**
eg-menye-k hẽl-tennak-s-ek ek-tahak-xa
1PL.STAT-want-DECL 1PL.PAT.IRR.DIST-tell-VAL-NM:PO F.PART-be/say-NM:OB
ek-pasm-o =s'e weykcha'áhak =nak // kéxegke
F.PART-help-NM:PV =PROX book =TC:VIS // 2PL
ek-tah-a =nak kel-m-ékha
F.PART-be/say-NM:IP =TC:VIS 2PL.PART-have-AMB.NM:PV
'We would like for you to tell us how this book has helped you, you all *who are its users*'

Book 4 Grade

d. **ektáha kéltáxéssesso weykcha'áhak**
ek-táh-a kél-táxéss-ess-o weykcha'áhak
F.PART-be/say-NM:IP IMPR.PART-write-VAL-NM:PV
'*Those for whom the book was written*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

In other instances which appear more patient-denoting, perfective form verbs also may require some kind of copular constructions, as in the examples in (15.124).

(15.124) a. ekyegwakkek ko'o ektahakxa **seklege**
ek-yegwak-kek ko'o ek-tahak-xa sek-leg-e
1SG-scared-DECL 1SG F.PART-be/say-NM:OB 1SG.PART-hear-NM:PV
'What I heard scared me' or 'The nature of my hearing/what I heard scared me'

Skype

b. non-grammatical
**ek-yegwak-kek ko'o sek-leg-e
1SG-scared-DECL 1SG 1SG.PART-hear-NM:PV
**'What I heard scared me'

Another option for PDNs for such verbs is a construction which almost looks like an internally headed relative clause. In the examples in (15.125), the semantic "head noun" actually occurs as the complement or NOMINAL COMPLEMENT of a nominalized verb in the PREDICATE position of a paratactic clause. Given that in any other case, a lexical noun would be modified by a nominalization to its right (either as a dependent or a paratactic PREDICATE), such constructions are unusual, and appear to only occur with verbs that fit in the semitransitive category and display the other distributions shown here.

(15.125) *Examples of "internally headed" PDNs*

a. eltegkes sa' ma'a **ektaswe amonye' enxoho kelasma**
el-tegk-es =sa' =ma'a ek-tas-w-e a-monye' =enxoho
M.IRR.DIST-fall-VAL =TC:FUT =DMSTR F.PART-eat-ARR-NM:PV F.STAT-first =CONJ
kelasma
fish
Take *the first fish that bites'*

Matthew 17:27

b. ekmetmeyk kaxwo' **sekto pehe'**
ek-metm-eyk kaxwo' sek-t-o pehe'
1SG-dig-DECL now 1SG.PART-eat-NM:PV potato
'I'm digging up *potatoes to eat/that I will eat'*

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. **élhánaqtésso éten** kelhánaqteyásak ahaqta'ák
él-hánaqt-éss-o éten k-el-hánaqtey-ás-ak ah-aqta'-ák
F.PART.DIST-block-VAL-NM:PV smoke F-DIST-cover-VAL-SCND 1SG.POSS-eye-PL
'The smoke *that is getting in the way* is blocking my vision'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. paqsássegke ekteyapma **séneyeykxa keleyke**
ø-paqsáss-eg-ke' ek-teyap-ma sey-eney-ey-kx-a'
F-clump-COMPL-DECL F.PART-emerge-NM:PV 1SG.PART-plant-TI-DUP-NM:PV
keleyke
bean
'*the beans I planted* appeared in large clusters'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. hewatneyásekxa **sékhésso axta pa'at apák**
he-watney-ás-ekxa sé-khéss-o =axta pa'at apák
1SG.PAT.IRR-burn-VAL-DUP 1SG.PART-pile.up-NM:PV =TC:PST grass dry.F
'Burn for me *the dry grass I gathered up'*

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

The "objects" of such verbs seem to be construed by the language as being more semantically oblique than true patients. This is especially clear in the way that patient-denoting nominalizations of semitransitive can and in some cases must be in the oblique nominalization form, which otherwise denotes the place or manner in which an event occurs. This seems more likely to occur when the patient arguments are indefinite or in

instances of negation, but it can occur with more definite arguments occasionally. Some examples are given in (15.126), but the topic is discussed further in §15.5

(15.126) *Denotation of semitransitive patients through oblique nominalization form verbs*

a. xámok aqsok **negakakxa** kaxwok negókxa
ø-xámok aqsok neg-akak-xa kaxwok neg-ókxa
F-many thing 1PL.PART-fear-NM:OB now 1PL.PART-country
'There are many things we are scared of in our country right now'
Skype 4.8.2020

b. yetneyk yokxohok aksok **nentamakxa** negko'o
yetneyk yokxohok aksok nen-t-amak-xa negko'o
EXIST all thing 1PL.PART-eat-TI-NM:OB 1PL
'There are all the things that we eat'
EDP enx004 04:23

15.4.4 Potential form PDNs

This description of PDNs has focused primarily on alternations between perfective and imperfective forms, but there is at least one context where potential forms have also been observed as having a participant denoting function. PDNs can occur in the potential form when they are the subject (or modifiers of the NP subject) of the negative existential *méko*. This is the only construction thus far observed where potential form verbs are participant rather than event denoting. As seen in the two alternate constructions in (15.127a-15.127b), this argument denoting potential form can be adnominal or act as its own NP head.

(15.127) *Argument denoting potential form verbs*

a. méko xama aqsok **agey'**
meko xama aqsok ag-ey-'
NEG.EXIST one thing 1PL.IRR-fear-NM:PO
'There is nothing we fear'
Skype 4.14.2020

b. méko **agey'**
meko ag-ey-'
NEG.EXIST 1PL.IRR-feat-NM:PO
'There is nothing we fear'
Skype 4.14.2020

c. eyeyssegkek ko'o waphaksek apxakko', méko **kalanha**

ey-ey-ss-eg-kek ko'o w-aphaks-ek ap-xakko' // meko
1SG-fear-VAL-COMPL-DECL 1SG 1SG.IRR-send-NM:PO M-alone // NEG.EXIST
ka-l-an-ha
F.IRR-DIST-make-AMB.NM:PO

'I'm scared to send him alone, there's *no one to take care of him*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. méko **kaxho**
meko ka-x-ho
NEG.EXIST F.IRR-sit-INTS.NM:PO

'There is no one *who is like her*' [*-h-* 'sit' in the intensive means 'be the same']

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

PDNs in such contexts are not, however, required to be in the potential form, and have also been observed in the perfective form, as in (15.128). It is not clear whether or not there is some semantic motivation behind the choice of the potential or perfective form in this syntactic environment.

(15.128) méko xama aqsok **ekpexchásekha** apyempehek epaxqaha énxet

meko xama aqsok ek-pexch-as-eykha ap-yempehek
NEG.EXIST one thing F.PART-chicken.skin-VAL-AMB.NM:PV M.POSS-skin
e-paxq-aha enxet
M.IRR-mix-AMB.NM:PO man

'There is nothing that worries him [lit. 'gives him chicken skin'] about intermingling with the Enxet'

EDP enx039

There may, in fact, be many more construction types in which we could identify potential form PDNs. For example, in (15.129), because *ekyókxoho* 'all, everyone' is in the PRETAME position, and because the analysis of the focus construction in §5.2.4 applies only to declarative form verbs, it is best to identify it as the PREDICATE of the clause, which makes *kaxog* a NOMINAL COMPLEMENT and the whole clause is literally something like 'those who go will be all'.

(15.129) ekyókxoho sa' **kaxog**

ek-yókxoho =sa' ka-xog
F.PART-all =TC:FUT F.IRR-GO.NM:PO

'Everyone will go'

Given the robust alternations between the potential form and the perfective and imperfective nominalizations in other contexts, it seems possible that potential form PDNs are much more common than thus far observed. Personally, I am likely overlooking good examples because of a bias from having seen potential forms as finite verbs for quite a long time.

15.5 Oblique nominalizations

The nominalized verb form labeled the **oblique nominalization** (using the suffix *-exa*) is the most semantically transparent of the nominalization forms, with one of two basic types of denotation: 1) properties of the verb which might in other languages be expressed through adverbial means and 2) non-affected patients of dyadic verbs. A basic example of the former would be *aptenakxa* 'where you slept' from the verb stem *-teyen-* 'sleep', while a basic example of the latter would be *apyanmagkaxa* 'person you passed by' from the verb stem *-yanmag-* 'pass by someone'. Most of the description in this section is committed to providing examples of the range of use of this nominalization type, both semantically and syntactically.

However, there is an important initial qualification that should be made regarding this label: as I argue in §9.1 and §5.1.3, there does not appear to be a specific grammatical position or grammatical argument role of *oblique* in Enxet Sur, and although the term "oblique nominalization" is used because of its representativeness of the *semantic* function of this form, I would argue against an analysis of this nominalization type based on a systematic *morphosyntactic* calculus like '*-exa* is an oblique argument nominalizer' or '*-exa* indicates a relative clause[8] where the relativized noun is an oblique argument of the relative verb'.

In fact, the closest thing to evidence for a grammatical OBLIQUE role in Enxet Sur is this *-exa* nominalization form itself, which presents two problems. The first, as I show, is that there is fair amount of variation in the application of this nominalization form versus others. The other problem is that without other morphosyntactic evidence, a possible OBLIQUE argument role would be defined for Enxet Sur based on a circular logic: nominalizations with *-exa* denote oblique arguments, and oblique arguments are those which are denoted by the *-exa* nominalization. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that "oblique nominalization" is a convenience term and not a strictly defined statement of a morphosyntactic operation.

The primary function of the oblique nominalization is to denote properties of verbs which might in other languages be represented through adverbial modifiers: the time when something happens, the place where it happens, or the way in which it happens. It should be noted that there are no lexical nouns in Enxet which correspond to *time*, *place*[9],

[8]Oblique nominalizations do bear some resemblance to verb-marking relativization strategies where the relative verb is marked for the grammatical role of the relativized noun (Comrie, 2006), despite the fact that nothing like this occurs with more "core" arguments.

[9]The word *payho* (§9.2) semantically resembles the word 'place', and comes from a perfective nominalization meaning something like 'the location', but it bears little functional or distributional resemblance to words like English *place* or Spanish *lugar*.

or *way/manner*[10], and therefore the oblique nominalization is the primary (maybe only) means of expressing these concepts, but only in relation to or describing a property of an event or state.

The temporal and spatial uses of the oblique nominalization are the most prevalent, represented in the examples in (15.130) and (15.131), respectively.

(15.130) *Temporal uses of the oblique nominalization*

a. Ekyoxoho aqsok nawhak yetneyk ekhem agkok **ekpalchesamakxa etkok**
ek-yokxoho aqsok nawhak yetneyk ekhem agkok ek-palch-es-am-akxa
F.PART-all thing wild.F EXIST day F.POSS F.PART-fall-VAL-TI-NM:OB
e-etkok
F.POSS-child
'All wild animals have their time *when they give birth to their young*'

Book 4 Grade

b. háxko axta aphamakxa **mewéyenxa** axta El Estribo?
haxko =axta ap-h-**am**-akxa me-wey-en-xa
where =TC:PST M.PART-stand-REM.TC:PST-NM:OB NEG.M.PART-arrive-TERM-NM:OB
=axta El Estribo
=TC:PST El Estribo
'Where did you live before you came to El Estribo?'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. Cháxa axta'a **megkapwagkexa axta apmako etyenek ma'a wesse' apwányam**
cháxa axta'a me-gk-ap-wagk-exa =axta ap-mak-o
that night NEG-F.IRR-VBLZ.M-able-NM:OB =TC:PST M.PART-want-NM:IP
e-tyen-ek =ma'a wesse' ap-wány-am
M.IRR-sleep-NM:PO =DMSTR leader M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV
'That night, the king could not sleep' or 'That was the night *when the king could not sleep*'

TA Ester 6:1

d. ekyegwágwokmok **sektegyágkaxa yántápak nekha exagkok**
ek-yegwág-wok-m-ok sek-tegyágk-axa yántápak nekha
1SG-startled-ARR-TERM-DECL 1SG.PART-search-NM:OB firewood next.to
e-xagkok
1SG.POSS-house
'I had a little scare *when I was looking for firewood next to my house*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

[10]There is, in fact, a noun that means 'manner', like *aptémakxa* 'how he is, what he is like', but this is an oblique nominalization of the copula *-teh-*.

apteyenwokme' yenek kélmáxakxa se quedó dormido el carancho cuando se le estaba sacando los piojos

e. wokmek axta agkok **apteyekenxa xama apketkok**, kalanaxchek axta ekné-womáxche

ø-wok-m-ek =axta =agkok ap-teyek-en-xa xama
F-arrive-TERM-DECL =TC:PST =TC:COND M.PART-fall-TERM-NM:OB on
apk-etkok // ka-l-an-axch-ek =axta ek-néw-om-áxche
M-young // F.IRR-DIST-make-MID-NM:PO =TC:PST F.PART-play-TI-MID.NM:PV

'When it was a young man's birthday (lit. *'when a young man was born'*), a festival was held'

Schoolbook Grade 1

(15.131) *Spatial uses of the oblique nominalization*

a. apwet'ak méko pók ma'a **aptenakxa exchek**

ap-wet'-ak méko pók =ma'a ap-tenak-xa =exchek
M-see-DECL NEG.EXIST other.M =DMSTR M.PART-sleep-NM:OB =TC:HOD

'He saw that his friend was not there *where he had been sleeping*'

EDP enx006 02:51

b. náhélex aksa, tayépek negko'o **negyamakxa yegmen**

ná-he-el-ex =aqsa // tayép-ek negko'o neg-yamak-xa
PROH-1SG.PAT.IRR-DIST-wait JUST // far-DECL 1SG 1SG.PART-dry-NM:OB
yegmen
water

'Don't wait for me, *where we gather water* is really far'

Schoolbook Grade 1

c. keso lugar, **émhakxa palo azul**

keso lugar ey-emhak-xa palo azul
this place F.PART-stand-NM:OB palo azul

'This place, it's *where the palo azul (medicinal plant) grows*'

EDP enx041

d. *Context: Looking for the location of a previous hunt*
ko'ónek so **nélmeyanxa axta se'e**

ko'onek =so nel-mey-an-xa =axta =se'e
I.THINK =PROX 1PL.PART.DIST-head.to-TERM-NM:OB =TC:PST =PROX

'I think it was here, *where we got to back then*'

EDP enx025 11:08

e. *Context: Writing activities in a schoolbook*
Koltaxés sak se'e **eyémexchexa nak amya'a**
kol-tax-es =sa' =se'e ey-em-exch-exa =nak amya'a
2PL.IRR-mark-BEN =TC:FUT =PROX F.PART-lack-MID-NM:OB =TC:VIS story
'Write here in the blank (lit. *'where words/story is missing'*)

Schoolbook Grade 1

The oblique nominalization can also denote the manner in which in which the verb event is carried out, but this appears to be fairly limited in its application. The primary example is the use of the oblique nominalization form of *-teh-* 'be/say' to mean a range of things related to a central notion of 'the way it is', including more "lexical" items like 'our customs' or 'our behavior', as in (15.132a), but also a more general use term meaning 'the nature of something', as in (15.132b), or 'types/kinds', as in (15.132c).

A few examples of apparent manner nominalizations with other verb stems are given in (15.132), but the manner nominalization is generally quite rare and note much used. Functionally, this is fairly logical, since there are few instances in which a manner nominalization like 'the way he does X' is semantically superior to or distinct from a simple EDN 'his doing X' — in other words, there is little difference between 'I don't like how he does X' and 'I don't like his doing X'. When the difference needs to be distinguished, it appears that this is done with the oblique nominalization of *-teh-* 'be/say' with an EDN as its semantic argument, as in (15.132g), where 'what his work was like' is not expressed as as an oblique nominalization of the stem for 'work' but instead as the oblique nominalization of the copular *-teh-* with the perfective form nominalization *aptamheykha* 'his work' as its semantic argument.

(15.132) *Manner uses of the oblique nominalization*

a. chaxa **apkeltémakxa** axta énxet nano' kelyohóxma'
chaxa apk-el-tém-akxa =axta énxet nano' kel-yohóxma'
that M.PART-DIST-be.TI-NM:OB =TC:POST Enxet old.time DIST-shaman
'That was the custom of the old shamans'

EDP enx006 09:02

b. hakte mehelwagqakmo **ektémakxa** amya'a seklege
hakte me-hel-wagqak-m-o ek-tem-akxa amya'a
beacuse *neg-1sg.pat.irr.dist*-forget-TERM-NM:IP F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB story
sek-leg-e
1SG.PART-hear-NM:PV

EDP enx047 10:08

c. amya'a **ektémakxa** nelmékha yaqwayam antegye kelasma
amya'a ek-tem-akxa nel-m-ekha yaqwayam
story F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB 1PL.PART.DIST-have-AMB.NM:PV for
an-tegy-e' kelasma
1PL.IRR-search-NM:PO fish

'This is a story about the kinds of tools used for fishing'

EDP enx007 01:26

d. méko sa' agkok yaqwayam kólpékásekxak ektémakxa
meko =sa' =agkok yaqwayam kol-pek-as-ekx-ak
NEG.EXIST =TC:FUT =COND for IMPR.IRR-intense-VAL-DUP-POT
ek-tem-akxa
F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB
'If there's no one to explain what it's like'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

e. **Segánamakxa**
seg-an-am-akxa
1PL.PAT.PART-tell-TI-NM:OB
'laws', literally 'how they tell/command us'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

f. weykcha'áhak ekxeyenma nak **negkegwagkexa anlának xama aqsok**
weykcha'áhak ek-xeyen-ma =nak negk-eg-wagk-exa
book/paper F.PART-show-NM:PV =TC:VIS 1PL.PART-VBLZ-able-NM:OB
an-l-án-ak xama aqsok
1PL.IRR-DIST-do-NM:PO one thing
'Certificate', literally 'thing that says *how we are able to do something*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. keso **ektémakxa** apkeltamheykha indigena
keso ek-tém-akxa apk-el-tamh-eykha indigena
this F.PART-be.TI-LOC M.PART-DIST-work-AMB.NM:PV Indigenous
'This was what the Enxet's work was like'

EDP enx005 12:00

As with all nominalizations, the precise denotation is determined contextually, and the same oblique nominalization form can have a temporal or spatial or manner usage dependent on context. For example, in (15.133), oblique nominalizations of the verb *-teh-* 'be, do, say' can mean 'when I was X' or 'how I do X'.

(15.133) *Different oblique nominalizations of -teh- 'be, do, say'*

a. kes'e historia, natámen **sektémakxa** ko'o étkok
kes'e historia // natamen sek-tem-akxa ko'o e-etkok
this story // then 1SG.PART-be.TI-NM:OB 1SG 1SG.STAT-little
'This story, It's from *when I was little*'

EDP enx038

b. ekeso **ektémakxa** ñat nentamheykha negko'o nano'

ekeso ek-tem-akxa =ñat nen-tamh-eykha negko'o nano'
this F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB =TC:RPST 1PL.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV 1PL old.time
'This is *how we did our work* back then'

EDP enx047 33:58

For verbs of motion, like *-mah*+COMPL- 'head to' or *-exy-* 'return', the local or goal s-argument of the verb (i.e. 'where X is going') is denoted by an oblique nominalization and typically not one of the other nominalization types, as in (15.134).

(15.134) Kelmaxneyáha axtanhan **apmahágkaxa apyap Popyet apketkók**

kel-maxney-áha =axta =nhan ap-mah-ágk-axa ap-yap
F.DIST-ask-AMB.DECL =TC:PST AND M.PART-head.to-COMPL-NM:OB M.POSS-father
popyet apk-etk-ók
deer M-young-INTS

'It started asking about where the father of the little deer had gone'

Schoolbook Grade 1

The oblique nominalization also has the function of denoting certain patient-like s-arguments of semitransitive verbs, as in the examples in (15.135). In this description of Enxet Sur, 'semitransitive' is an as-yet loosely defined category of verbs which are semantically dyadic — conventionally requiring two semantic arguments — but which have a range of morpohological properties suggesting low transitivity. For example, *-taw-* 'eat' has some semitransitive properties distinct from its nominalization behaviors, including the fact that there can be no morphological indices of plurality of that which is eaten (§10.3). The nominalization which denotes the patient of the 'eat' verb, that which is eaten, typically appears in the oblique nominalization form, as in (15.135a).

(15.135) *Oblique nominalizations denoting patients of semitransitive verbs*

a. Yetnek han aqsok nawhak **mantamakxa nak ápetek**
yetneyk =han aqsok nawhak m-an-tam-akxa =nak a-apetek
EXIST =AND thing wild NEG-1PL.IRR-eat.TI-NM:OB =TC:VIS F.POSS-meat
'There's also wild animals *whose meat we don't eat*'

Book 4 Grade

b. aqsok **nélmeykegkaxa** neghanma
aqsok nél-mey-k-egk-axa neg-han-ma
thing 1PL.PART.DIST-have-TI-AMB-NM:OB 1PL.PART-COOK-NM:PV
'cooking utensils'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

c. sawo ekhaxe **sekmeyegkaxa** seyáxñesa enxoho pa'at
sawo ek-hax-e sek-mey-egk-axa$_{i}$
metal F.PART-curve-INF 1SG.PART-have-AMB-NM:OB
sey-áxñ-es-a =enxoho pa'at
1SG.PART-smooth.clear-CAUS-PART =CONJ grass
'I use a sickle (curved blade) to clear grass'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. yaqsa aqsok **apmopwagkexa**
yaqsa aqsok ap-m-op-wagk-exa
what thing M.PART-TI-VBLZ.M-able-NM:OB
'What things do *you know how to do*?'

Skype

e. Kelanak **eyewagkexa nak kalának** se'e kelán'a nak
kel-an-ak ey-e-wagk-exa =nak ka-l-an-ak =se'e
F.DIST-do-DECL F.PART-VBLZ-able-NM:OB =TC:VIS F.IRR-DIST-do-NM:PO =PROX
kelan'a =nak
woman =TC:VIS
'This woman did *what she could*'

Mark 14:8

f. méko **seyagkaxa qames**
méko sey-agk-axa qames
NEG.EXIST 1SG.PART-give-NM:OB cat
'I have nothing *to give to the cat*'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

g. mótak **sektegyagkaxa**, ekyameyha
m-o-t-ak sek-tegy-agk-axa // ek-yamey-ha
NEG-1SG.IRR-see-SCND 1SG.PART-search-AMB-NM:OB // F.PART-dry-AMB.DECL
'I didn't find *what I was looking for*, I came back with nothing'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

That said, it does appear like there is a degree of variation in the application of the oblique nominalization form for denoting such semitransitive patients. For example, with the verb stem *-m*+AMB- 'use', nominalizations denoting the patient sometimes use the oblique nominalization form as in (15.135b-15.135c), but also sometimes use other nominalization forms like the perfective form in (15.136). It is unclear what the distinction might be between these different nominalization forms in such contexts, and

more research is needed to determine if the alternations between different nominalization forms for semitransitive patients is a rule governed process or a more general and loosely defined variation.

(15.136) Méko xama aksok **apmeykha**

meko xama aqsok ap-m-eykha
NEG.EXIST one thing M.PART-have-AMB.NM:PV

'He didn't have anything that he carried around with him'

López Ramírez (1996)

15.6 Directions for further research

This chapter has laid out most of the basic uses of nominalizations and raised a number of significant questions. More than anything what is needed is much more data, and probably from a range of consultants with different linguistic backgrounds. More so than many topics in this grammar, I found that speakers had a wide range of grammaticality judgements about different nominalization forms in different contexts. My sense is that the basic grammatical mechanisms are fairly well understood but that the finer nuances of semantic distinctions between different forms in different contexts leaves the potential for major changes to the analysis presented here.

Chapter 16

Coordination

16.1 Overview of Coordination

This chapter describes two related phenomena — coordination and linkage. In terms of coordination, this chapter describes both phrasal and clausal coordination, or at least the clausal linkage structures which are functionally if not syntactically akin to interclausal coordination. Throughout this chapter, I distinguish between coordination and linkage. By **coordination**, I refer to a structural arrangement whereby two phrases of equal value are combined in the same structural position. Coordination is one of many construction types which accomplish the function of **linkage**, where in one proposition, phrase, or utterance is linked logically or rhetorically to another, regardless of the syntactic structure which accomplishes this.

I also use a simple, transparent notational device from Haspelmath (2004), where 'A' and 'B' denote coordinands (items which are in a coordinated relationship) and 'co' denotes the coordinating morpheme. These elements are placed in brackets to represent the order of coordinands and coordinator, such that the phrase 'Che and Fidel' exhibits the order [A co B]. Haspelmath's coordination typology aslo distinguishes between monosyndetic and bisyndetic coordinating structures. Monosyndetic structures have one fewer coordinator than coordinands, like the English structure [A co B], while a bisyndetic structure has as many coordinators as coordinands, such as [A co B co]. Naturally, we could include asyndetic structures, in which coordination occurs without any overt coordinator.

16.2 Predicate particle *han* and its derivatives

The most common means of coordinating two clauses is through the addition of a coordinator clitic *han* or *nahan/anhan* to the right of the PREDICATE of the latter clause. This clitic comes to the right of all clausal TAME clitics, and typically to the right of pronouns and adverbs, although its position relative to these items is variable, perhaps for pragmatic effect. Some basic examples are given in (16.1).

(16.1) a. hawe' wánxa kelán'a, sakya'a, semheg **nahan** amenyeyk kaxog

hawe wanxa kelan'a sakya'a // semheg =nahan a-menyey-k
NEG only woman child // dog =AND F.STAT-want-DECL
ka-xog
F.IRR-go.NM:PO

'It's not just women and children [who come to fish]. Dogs also like to go.'

EDP enx008 28:17

b. wa' yetneyk **han** apyáta', Nueva Promesa, Sápag aptáwa'
wa' // yetneyk =han ap-yáta' // Nueva Promesa // Sápag
LOOK // EXIST =AND M.POSS-father // Nueva Promesa // Sanapaná
ap-táwa'
M.POSS-spouse

'So, there's also his grandfather, in Nueva Promesa, his wife's a Sanapaná'

EDP enx038 09:17

c. yetneyk yawhan', apmeyk **nahan** yelpa'
yetneyk yawhan' // ap-m-eyk =nahan yelpa'
EXIST bee // M-have-DECL =AND mud

'There's a yawhan bee, and he's got some mud'

EDP enx025 16:37

This clitic, glossed simply as AND, is, as one would imagine, one of the most high frequency formatives in the language. However, it is also subject to a high degree of variation across dialects and individual speakers in terms of the types of constructions and functions it can be used for. This description takes a holistic look at its use, showing how it is used in a number of different construction types and at different structural levels.

I begin with a few notes on its form. This so-labeled AND clitic has two forms: *nahan* and *han*. The *nahan* form is subject to apocope (§2.4.2), yielding an orthographic *anhan*, although this has an initial dummy vowel (§2.3.1) and phonetically the form is just [nhan]. Thus far, I have found no motivation for the choice of *han* versus *nahan*.

There are occasionally consistent alternations between *han* and *nahan*, but only within individual sources. For example, in the Enxet Sur Bible translation, with the *ten* 'then' formative acting as PREDICATE (a common means of NP coordination, described below), the form is always *han* unless there are TAME clitics between *ten* and the AND clitic, in which case the form is always *nahan*. Speakers usually do not, when asked, have strong grammaticality or stylistic judgements about such alternations, and given that there is significant variation across speakers in how they use the coordinator *nahan*, calling it "free variation" seems reasonable. If there is some regular process which determines the choice of one or the other, it likely has to do with preferred metrical structures of the utterance, and is therefore likely probabilistic and variable rather than strictly rule bound.

When coordinating non-embedded clauses using *han*, like the examples in (16.1) above, there are no structural modifications made to either clause, but it is not so clear that this is really coordination — we could just as easily translate *han* as an adverbial 'also'. This is

true when we look at the flat, linear textual examples on a page, but especially true when we take intonation and information structure into account. There is no sense in which the latter coordinand clause forms part of a bipartite intonational structure with the first coordinand — such a bipartite intonational structure is common or at least possible in interclausal coordination in many languages. Furthermore, in these supposedly coordinating structures in Enxet Sur, there is generally no sense in which the first coordinand prefigures or assumes the presence of the latter one. Again, neither of these is a required component of interclausal coordination in a language like English, but both are possible and not uncommon.

Although coordinating structures with the order [A B co] are not particularly common among the world's languages, it is generally accepted that in most monosyndetic languages which have an [A co B] order, there is some asymmetry between coordinated phrases in terms of the coordinator being constituent with one rather than the other (Haspelmath, 2004, p. 6-7). The implication, then, is that the more obvious asymmetry of an [A B co] order is not necessarily so different from an [A co B] order. Nonetheless, any [A B co] order more seriously raises the question of whether or not the two clauses are really coordinated, and the answer to such a question largely depends on the theoretical leaning of a given analysis.

I would argue that the co-ordination of finite clauses is the least consequential from a syntactic point of view, as it is fundamentally different from other types of coordination. Interclausal coordination does not occur within a larger matrix structure, whereas co-ordination within the clause, like the coordination of VP (verb phrase) units, argument nouns, and obliques, actually involves the joining of two equivalent phrases within a larger constituency structure (at least cross-linguistically). When we look for coordination at these lower levels, as I show, we find that *han*/*nahan* functions in many ways like a TAME clitic, and its presence often either directly indicates or implies a paratactic, independent clause structure, and not the coordination of units within the same dependent structural position inside the clause. Ultimately, I argue that Enxet Sur does not really have a well-developed construction for coordinating elements inside of the clause[1].

16.2.1 Verb phrase coordination

First, the clitic *han* cannot be used for any kind of true verb phrase (VP) coordination, which is unsurprising since, as I argue in §5.1, there is no salient verb phrase structure in Enxet Sur.

The subjects of monadic verbs are typically indicated by pronominal prefixes and not through overt nominal expressions, so in (16.2), below, the common subject between *elyepheyk* 'they got sick' and the *han*-marked *apwakxeyk* 'they went' is not really indicative of VP coordination because the two "verb phrases" constitute fully formed clauses, not just VPs within the clause.

(16.2) yetneyk han apqánet wokma'ak, élyepheyk keso, **apwakxeyk han pánaqte axagkok**

[1] Such a claim is not without precedent in the literature — see the argument for a lack of true coordination in Maricopa (Yuman) in (Sasse, 1991a).

yetneyk =han apq-ánet wokma'ak // él-yephey-k keso //
EXIST =AND M-two boy // M.IRR.DIST-swell-NM:PO this //
ap-wa-kx-eyk =han pánaqte a-xagkok
M-arrive-DUP-DECL =AND medicine F.POSS-house

'There were also two boys, they would get sick, and they would go to the doctor'

EDP enx047 35:47

In a subject focus construction with a second position finite verb, there is no means of coordinating two second position verbs or verb-object strings, so constructions which might correspond to VP-coordinated sentences in English, as in (16.3), are not grammatical.

(16.3) **Mario axta apyenyesak moto aphanak han nento

Mario =axta ap-yenyes-ak moto ap-han-ak =han nen-t-o
Mario =TC:PST M-wash-SCND motorcycle M-cook-SCND =AND 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV

'Mario cleaned the motorcycle and cooked our food' or 'It was Mario who cleaned the motorcycle and cooked our food

This inability to coordinate VPs is not surprising, given that verbs have at best only weak dependency relationships with overt s-argument nouns, and there is not really any sense in which a VP including an object noun acts like a constituent excluding the subject NP.

Also, VP coordination with *han* is only relevant when looking at declarative verbs. There is no evidence in the corpus or from elicitation that imperative verbs are ever coordinated, and any other verb forms are nominalizations and have the distributions of NP coordination rather than something like VP coordination.

16.2.2 NP Coordination

The function of coordinating NPs is also accomplished through the use of *nahan* and derived constructions, but there is a great deal of variation in what types of constructions are used and deemed grammatical by speakers.

Some constructions used by some speakers are hard to see as anything but true coordination, like the construction in (16.4), since occur in a position (the pre-)where they must be "inside" the clause. However, these are not deemed grammatical by all speakers, nor are they common across the available corpus.

(16.4) **Lengua nahan Maka** maxénak

Lengua nahan Maka ma-xén-ak
Enxet AND Maka NEG.1SG.IRR-show-SCND

'I'm not talking about Enxet and Maká people'

NNE190 11:32

Instead, the most common coordinating constructions are really just linking constructions in which the latter of the two 'coordinands' is the complement of a PREDICATE which means something like 'there's also X', as in (16.5a). In this example, it is easy to see that the two NPs *sénhek* 'tinamou' and *yéwa* 'viper' are not coordinated because the former is clause initial and the two are therefore non-adjacent.

(16.5) a. sénhek cha'a katwoho', **tén han yéwa**
sénhek cha'a ka-tw-oho' // tén =han yéwa
tinamou always F.IRR-eat-INTS.NM:PO // then =AND viper
'They typically eat tinamou, also vipers'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

b. *Context: Describing a jaguar pretending to be a man*
Mók ektémakxa hekñat apyempehek, **kenhan appeywa**
mók ek-tém-akxa =hek =ñat ap-yempehek // kenhan
other.F F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.POSS-skin // AND
ap-peywa
M.POSS-words
'His skin/body was different, and his speech'

López Ramírez (1996)

In a different organization like that in (16.5b), we might see *apyempehek kenhan appeywa* as 'his skin and his words' and see coordinated subject NPs in a [A co B] construction. This, however, would be a false, linear analysis, since the latter clause *kenhan appeywa* 'it's/there's also his skin' in (16.5a) is no different than *tén han yéwa* 'then also snakes' in (16.5b). Even when coordinands are adjacent, as in (16.5b), their position at the right edge, along with a number of indicators of PREDICATE status for the [co B] unit, show that a coordinate analysis is only superficial. For example, in (16.6), we see the same structure as that in (16.5a), where there are two nominal expressions[2] with *kenhan* 'and' between them. However the two nominal expressions have different semantic roles relative to the verb, and therefore cannot be said to be coordinated in the same grammatical position within the clause.

(16.6) apchekak hekñat **emátog kenhan aptáwa**
apch-ek-ak =hek =ñat **e-mátog** **kenhan ap-táwa**
M-fear-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST M.IRR-be.killed.NM:PO AND M.POSS-spouse
'He was afraid he would be killed, and his spouse [would be killed as well]'

López Ramírez (1996)

[2]To be clear, I am considering *emátog* 'that he would be killed' to be a nominal expression, since it is a COMPLEMENT nominalization.

Based on a number of characterizations of Enxet grammar given in this dissertation, I am inclined to believe that the latter, more common category — coordination accomplished through paratactic linkage — is the more central and ancestral grammatical means of achieving something like NP coordination, and the constructions which look more like true coordination are more modern, contact-induced developments, calqued from other languages. This assumption is supported by the fact that the paratactic constructions occur throughout all source types in the corpus and across a century of documentary evidence, while the apparent "true coordination" constructions are much less stable across time and speakers.

In this section, however, I attempt to describe all constructions which could be viewed as NP coordination with the *han* formative. Note that most of the various types of coordination or linkage strategies described here are linked to particular sources or speakers, an indication of the variation (instability?) of the systems involved.

From the base *(na)han* come a series of items used for coordination-like constructions. The items *kenyenhan*, *ténhan*, and *kenhan* — the first two variably written as one or two words — are generally translated as 'and' (Spanish *y*), and are the most common means of NP coordination across the corpus. Any given speaker or text source will tend to use one of these to the exclusion of the other two, although some sources use more than one in the same text. They are then, in a sense, interchangeable, although it is not entirely clear whether they are reflexes of a single form, or if they have different etymological origins and morphosyntactic compositions. A textual example of each is given in (16.7a-16.7c). Another related conjunction, *essenhan*, is used for 'or', as in (16.7d). What all of these forms have in common is that they behave in one way or another like predicates, and therefore do not really constitute NP coordinators. For some speakers in the corpus, *nahan* itself can also be used in the same way, as in (16.7e), but this is much rarer in the corpus.

(16.7) a. xama kóneg **kenyenhan** xama néten
xama koneg kenyenhan xama neten
one below AND one above
'... one below and one above.'

Schoolbook Grade 1

b. Tekkek axta exchahayam **kenhan** yaphopé
ø-tek-kek =axta exchahayam kenhan yaphope
F-come.out-DECL =TC:PST north.wind AND cloud
'Then came the north wind and clouds'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. apkelyaqhakkásegkek axta globos **tén han** banderas
apk-el-yaqhak-kas-egk-ek =axta globos tenhan banderas
M-DIST-press-VAL-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST balloon AND flag

'We hung up balloons and flags'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

d. kexa axta'a axchek **essenhan** axto'ok xeyk
kexa axta'a =exchek essenhan axto'-ok =xeyk
TC:DUB night =TC:HOD or morning-INTS =TC:HOD
'Maybe it was last night or early this morning'

EDP enx009 18:26

e. seykekxa énmaga aktek **nahan** nento
sey-k-ekxa' énmaga a-ktek nahan nen-t-o
carry-TI-DUP.NM:PV gun F.POSS-seed AND 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV
'[they were] carrying ammunition and food'

NNE190 05:21

Two of these possibilities, orthographic *kenyenhan* and *ténhan* are unambiguously composed of a predicate item, *keñe* or *tén* followed by the *han* clitic. Both *keñe* and *tén* are used without *han* to mean something like 'it is afterwards', and both can be used with a nominalized verb complement to act as a sequential operator, as in the examples in (16.8). *Keñe* is most likely a grammaticalized perfective form of the verb *-eñam-* 'to proceed from'[3] (see §15.2.1 for examples of its use without *han*). *Tén* is a little less clear in its meaning and etymology, but several consultants and the Rojas and Curtis Dictionary suggest it is a contraction of *natámen* 'afterwards'[4], which is itself a very common means of linkage in Enxet Sur (see §16.3.2).

(16.8) *Ten and Keñe acting as sequential operators with nominalized verb complements*

a. wahaxyegkegkesekxak sa' seyánte nápakha escuela, **tén sa' eyxyok makham**
wa-haxyegk-egk-es-ekx-ak =sa' sey-ánt-e nápakha
1SG.IRR-circle-COMPL-VAL-DUP-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1SG.PART-mount-NM:PV side.M
escuela // tén =sa' e-yxy-ok makham
school // then =TC:FUT 1SG.IRR-return-INTS.NM:PO still
'I'm going to do donuts around the school in my car, *then I'll come back again*'

b. móleysaxchek sa' antawaksek, **tén sa' agwatnek**
mól-eys-axch-ek =sa' an-tawak-s-ek // tén
NEG.1PL.IRR.DIST-hide-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-compete-NM:PO // then
=sa' ag-watn-ek
=TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-burn-NM:PO

[3]The initial *k-* conforms to patterns of lexicalization and pronominal prefix loss in perfective form nominalizations (§4.3), and the final *-e* is one of the possible endings for perfective verbs (§3.4.3).

[4]Phonologically, this tracks with reductive processes in the language: the unstressed *na-* is lost, and the *-VmV* sequence is reduced to a single long vowel whose quality is determined by flanking consonants (§2.4.5).

'We will play with all we got [literally 'we won't withhold in our playing'], *and then we will win*'

c. **tén axta** ektéma apwáxok se'e

tén =axta ek-tém-a ap-wáxok =se'e
then =TC:PST F.PART-be.TI-NM:IP M.POSS-innermost =PROX

'*and then he said to himself this...*', literally 'the speaking of his innermost followed thusly'

What many of the examples in (16.8) also show is that *ten* and *keñe* host TAME clitics, and thus it is apparent that when either of these items host the *han* coordinator clitic, they do so in the same way that verbal predicates do, as in the examples in (16.1) above.

Occasionally, in some sources, *ten* or *keñe* host TAME clitics in contexts which have the appearance of NP coordination, as in (16.9).

(16.9) a. yetlókok axta aptegye ekha ekyánmaga veinte mil slpextétamo sirios apkeleñama m'a Bet-rehob tén han ma'a Sobá, ***keñe axta*** *han mil énxet'ák ma'a wesse' apwányam Maacá axta apagkok*

keñe =axta =han mil enxet'-ak =ma'a wesse'
then =TC:PST =AND thousand man-PL =DMSTR leader
ap-wany-am Maaca =axta apagkok
M.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV Maakah =TC:PST M.POSS

'Then they hired twenty thousand Syrian soldiers from Beth Rehob and Zobah, *and one thousand men belonging to the king of Maakah*'

TA 2 Samuel 10 6

b. apkeltamhók han xép elmések ma'a tres mil selyaqye aktek élmope, **keñe han** apqánet apáwa nentaxno

apk-el-tamh-ok =han xep el-mes-ek =ma'a tres
M-DIST-be.about-INTS.DECL =AND 2SG.M M.IRR.DIST-give-NM:PO =DMSTR three
mil selyaqye a-aktek el-mop-e // **keñe** =**han**
thousand money F.POSS-seed F.PART.DIST-white-NM:PV // then =AND
apq-anet a-pawa nen-taxn-o
M-two F.POSS-cloth 1PL.PART-enter-NM:PV

'You will give them a talent of silver and two sets of clothes'

TA 2 Kings 5 22

Even when *tenhan* or *kenyenhan* occur without these overt indicators of an independent PREDICATE, it is clear that they should be analyzed as distinct PREDICATES and not simple NP coordinators. The superficial [A co B] structures they create only occur at the right edge of utterances, and cannot ever be in positions which are unambigously dependent positions (see §5.1.3), meaning the [A *tenhan* B] strings cannot occur in positions which unambiguously place them "inside" of another clause. This means they cannot serve as focus elements or as part of a complex nominal PREDICATE, and a construction

like (16.10) is not possible. Rather, as seen in (16.5a), one noun can be fronted ahead of the verb but the "coordinated" NP stays behind. Such a construction hardly passes for coordination of dependent NPs.

(16.10) ****Mendoza tenhan Fidel** axta aptókagkok xa fideo nak

Mendoza	tenhan	Fidel	=axta	ap-tók-agkok	=xa	fideo	=nak
Mendoza	AND	Fidel	=TC:PST	M-eat-COMPL.DECL	=DMSTR	noodle	=TC:VIS

'It was Mendoza and Fidel that ate the noodles'

Whatsapp notes

The next two forms in use for apparent NP coordination are *kenhan* and simple *nahan*. Unlike *kenyenhan* or *tenhan*, these two forms are not compostional and cannot be broken up, and they cannot host TAME clitics. This means that, although *keñe* and *tén* are lexical predicates, *nahan* and *kenhan* are not. There is, however, a case to be made that most occurrences of their use are also analyzable as self-contained clauses, with null predicates followed by *nahan*/*kenhan* as "second position" clitics.

Examples in the available corpus of the use of *nahan* as an NP coordinator come almost exclusively from a single source, NNE190, a recording of a speaker named Elías Gómez telling a story about his experience during the Chaco War. Mr. Gómez was an adolescent during the Chaco War of 1932-35, and passed away a few years ago. He grew up in Makxawaya, and moved to the community of Armonía, just north of El Estribo, when it was founded in the 1980's — his linguistic background, then, is not much different from others in the corpus, although he is one of the oldest speakers. However, Mr. Gómez uses *nahan* in ways that are both common across the corpus, and in ways not found elsewhere. Given how much variation exists in the use of *nahan* and derivatives, there is no reason to think of his constructions as being particular "outliers" or unusual "idiosyncrasies", but rather within the normal variation of the use of this formative.

First, there is the basic use of *nahan* as a second position PREDICATE particle for nominal PREDICATES, as in (16.11a). Here, the speaker is giving a list of nouns which are semantically argument to the nominalized verb *xekmóssama* 'he showed them', but they are clearly structured as nominal predicates — followed rather than preceded by the *nahan* clitic. This use of *nahan* with NPs is common across the corpus, and is really the only way that *nahan* follows a noun in any other source. It cannot really in any way be considered a kind of NP coordination. This is also of a different character than the use of *nahan* in (16.11b), where it appears as a coordinator in an apparent [A co B co C] construction. Importantly, however, in this instance, the three nouns being coordinated are not actually embedded within a clause. This type of coordination in (16.11b) is not seen elsewhere in the corpus.

(16.11) *Uses of nahan with NPs in NNE190*

a. taqmelchessama soldado naqteyenma, xekmóssama yegmen **nahan**, axpogha **anhan**, weyke ápetek **nahan**

taqmelch-ess-ama soldado naq-teyen-ma // xekmóss-ama yegmen
good-VAL-NM:PV soldier DIST-sleep-NM:PV // show-NM:PV water
=nahan // axpogha =anhan // weyke a-apetek =nahan
=AND // spring =AND // cow F.POSS-meat =AND

'He watched the soldiers while they slept, he showed them [where to get] water, and the springwater, and cow meat'

NNE190 07:24

b. yetneyk ñat tres énxet ma'a, Nánaw'a, **Lengua nahan Maka nahan ... Nivaclé** kaxwok kelwesey

yetneyk =ñat tres énxet =ma'a // Nánaw'a // Lengua =nahan Maka
EXIST =TC:RPST three man =DMSTR // Nanaw'a // Lengua =AND Maka
=nahan // Nivaclé kaxwo-ok kel-wesey
=AND // Nivaclé now-DECL DIST-called

'There were three peoples there, at Nanaw'a, Enxet and Maká and... Nivaclé, that's what they are called now'

NNE190 11:40

Another feature of *nahan* coordination in NNE190 which is not seen elsewhere is an apparent "doubling" of the coordinator. In (16.12a), the utterance *nepyeyseksa énxet nahan waley anhan* 'among the Enxet and the Paraguayans' appears to be coordinating *énxet* and *waley* as semantic arguments of *nepyeyseksa* 'amongst', yet has the coordinator *nahan* after both nouns. However, on the model of utterances like that in (16.11a), we could see the NPs as sytactically distinct predicates — *énxet nahan* 'it's also the Enxet' and *waley anhan* 'it's also the Paraguayans'. Similar repeated uses of *nahan* occur in places where there is no particular reason to assume two NPs are structurally coordinate in a dependent position, as in (16.12b). In general, this speaker seems to put *nahan* in places where others would not, and in repetitive ways, like (16.12c), where it takes *hakte* 'because' as a host (not seen elsewhere and generally deemed ungrammatical) and is used again after the nominal predicate *nanok chókxa anhan* 'It was their old territory'. In at least one instance, the speaker seems to put it both before and after a nominal predicate in (16.12d)

(16.12) *Doubling up on nahan*

a. tepchek amya'a kaxwok nepyeyseksa **énxet nahan waley anhan**, apmeyhek yágwaley aptahak amya'a

tep-chek amya'a kaxwok nepyeyseka énxet =nahan waley =anhan
emerge-DECL story new M.among Enxet =AND Paraguayan //
// ap-meyhek yágwaley ap-tah-ak amya'a
M-strong Bolivian M-be/say-DECL story

'Rumors emerged among the Enxet and the Paraguayans, the news said that the Bolivians were very strong'

NNE190 08:06

b. teyepek Nánaw'a anhan ko'o anhan nenlegawok ma'a Makxawé

teyepek Nánaw'a =anhan ko'o =anhan nen-leg-awok =ma'a
far Nanaw'a =AND 1SG =AND 1PL-hear-INTS.DECL =DMSTR
Makxawé
Makxawaya

'Nanaw'a was really far away, me too, we heard it there in Makxawaya'

NNE190 05:01

c. meyakxo Sewhen ma'a, Pilcomayo, hakte anhan nanok chókxa anhan

mey-akx-o Sewhen =ma'a // Pilcomayo // hakte =anhan
head.to-DUP-NM:IP Nivaclé =DMSTR // Pilcomayo // because =AND
nano-k chókxa =anhan
old-DECL territory =AND

'The Nivaclé went back there, to the Pilcomayo, because it was their old territory'

NNE190 12:31

d. kelaneykxo ámay, yetneyk aptamheykha, wokma'ak soldado m'a Makxawé, **nahan soldado Paraguayo anhan**

kel-aney-kx-o ámay // yetneyk ap-tamh-eykha // wokma'ak
DIST-make-DUP-NM:IP road // EXIST M.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV // boy
soldado =m'a Makxawé // nahan soldado Paraguayo =anhan
soldier =DMSTR Makxawaya // AND solder Paraguayan =AND

'They prepared the roads, there was a lot of work for them, the Enxet boys who were soldiers there at Makxawaya, and the Paraguayan soldiers as well'

NNE190 06:44

Furthermore, it is in NNE190 that we see the only unambiguous examples of the coordination of dependent NPs. In (16.13), *táta* 'my father' and *pók* are the semantic arguments of the verb *apppaxqeykha*, and given that the AND clitic is in the *anhan* form, clearly phonologically cliticized to *táta*, there is no way to argue that *anhan pók* is a separate clause like 'it was his friends also'. Such constructions are not seen outside of this one source.

(16.13) appaxqeykha **táta anhan pók**

ap-paxq-eykha táta =anhan pók
M.PART-mix-AMB.NM:PV my.father =AND M.other

'My father and his friends mixed in [with the soldiers]

NNE190 04:44

Kenhan is the coordinator of choice in the *Aptaxessama Axta Egmók Apwanyam León Chávez* text, an original Enxet Sur text, and is in use in EDP enx047-048, recordings with Teófilo Gómez, and older man likely born in the late 1920s. It seems to have largely fallen out of fashion with younger speakers. One of the first set of recordings I made during my fieldwork was a series of recordings of Aníbal López reading the *Aptaxessama Axta Egmók*

Apwanyam León Chávez text, which he authored, and he read every instance of *kenhan* as *ténhan* — [k] to [t] is not a common phonological change in Enxet. In the primary texts where it occurs, we see it in a similar position as *ténhan* or *kenyenhan* above, at the right edge of phrases, never in any position clearly indicative of a dependent NP.

(16.14) *Kenhan with right-edge coordinands*

a. Tásek hekñat amyep, xámok hekñat pehéye, sappo, **kenhan** latsehe, **kenhan** mók aksok.

tás-ek =hek =ñat amyep // xámok =hek =ñat pehéye //
good-DECL =TC:REP =TC:RPST plantation // many =TC:REP =TC:PST potato //
sappo // kenhan latsehe // kenhan mók aksok
manioc // AND corn // AND F.other thing

'The plantations were good, there was lots of potatoes, manioc, and corn, and other things

López Ramírez (1996)

b. yetneyk axta aptéyak **kenhan** aksok naxma'

yetneyk =axta ap-t-éyak kenhan aksok naxma'
EXIST =TC:PST M.PART-eat-COMPL.NM:PV AND thing woods

'There was food, and things from the woods'

López Ramírez (1996)

c. sẽnmaxnéssesso chá'a taxnam **kenhan** axto'o

seg-en-maxn-ess-ess-o chá'a taxnam kenhan axto'o
1PL.PAT.PART-DIST-ask-VAL-VAL-NM:PV always evening AND morning

'He would pray for us in the evening and in the morning'

EDP enx047 23:03

d. apmenyeyk énagkok ma'a vino **kenhan** pan

ap-menyey-k e-yen-agk-ok =ma'a vino kenhan pan
M.STAT-want-DECL M.IRR-drink-COMPL-NM:PO =DMSTR wine AND bread

EDP enx047 13:20

Kenhan most likely is the *nahan* clitic with the dummy *ke-* that occurs with some other clitics when they are clause or utterance initial, as occurs with the demonstratives and with some TAME clitics (§6.2.2, §7.4). This is morphological evidence that *kenhan* is the beginning of an independent clause and not an internal unit between two coordinated NPs.

16.3 Other interclausal coordinators

Although most coordination or coordination-like linkage in Enxet Sur occurs with *han* or some derivative structure, there are some other interclausal linkage strategies which could reasonably considered types of co-ordination, at least to the same questionable

degree as *han*. The strategies here are a highly heterogenous group, all representing very different means of linkage, and further supporting the assertion made in this chapter that true co-ordination is not a highly realized phenomena in Enxet Sur, and coordinating conjunctions (or subordinating conjunctions for that matter) are not a notable lexical class.

16.3.1 hakte 'because'

The word *hakte* 'because' is probably the closest thing in Enxet Sur to a true coordinating conjunction. It occurs in an [A co B] order, and it does not trigger/require nominalization of following verbs, likely because, unlike any other supposed coordinators (*keñe* 'then', *ténhan* 'and', or *natámen* 'then') it is not a PREDICATE, and is never followed by TAME clitics, adverbs, or demonstratives. Some representative examples of its use are given in (16.15).

(16.15) *Examples of hakte 'because'*

a. *Context: In a story about the old Enxet cowboys who would move cattle from the Chaco to market in the city of Concepción, the speaker talks about how the Enxet cowboys would sell rhea feathers to Paraguayans for extra cash*
aptegya'ak aqsok, **hakte sélyaqye eghak**, apyanmagkasso xátnapwa', hakte méko axta waley keso Náwatsam ámay, apwanchek emaktak xápen
ap-tegya'-ak aqsok // hakte sélyaqye eg-h-ak // ap-yanmagkass-o
M-search-DECL this // because money F-sit-SCND // M.PART-pay-NM:PV
xátnapwa' // hakte méko =axta waley keso Náwatsam ámay //
rhea.feath // because *neg.exist* =TC:PST Paraguayan this Concepcíon road //
ap-wanch-ek e-makt-ak xápen
M.STAT-able-DECL M.IRR-shoot-NM:PO rhea
'They'd go buy things, because there was money, when they would buy the rhea feathers... because there were no Paraguayans on the road to Concepción, they could shoot rhea [for their feathers]'
EDP enx047 24:26

b. *Context: Speaker is talking about what it was like when the Enxet Sur first moved to El Estribo*
mogwanchek axta negko'o Lengua Norte appeywa, **hakte háwe axta neghóxama negko'o Lengua Norte**
mog-wanch-ek =axta negko'o Lengua Norte ap-peywa //
NEG.1PL.STAT-able-DECL =TC:PST 1PL Enlhet Norte M.PART-words //
hakte háwe =axta neg-hóxama negko'o Lengua Norte
because NEG =TC:PST 1PL-neighbor 1PL Enlhet Norte
'We couldn't speak Enlhet Norte then, because the Enlhet Norte were not our neighbors [before coming here]'
EDP enx028 02:56

c. *Context: In a story, shamans are looking for the wandering soul of a young shaman-in-training who was been killed in the woods*
maxta eyke kamak apwanmagko **hakte yetneyk ketsék apkelyetmeykha**

m =axta =eyke ka-mak ap-wanmagk-o hakte yetneyk
NEG =TC:PST =AST F.IRR-have-SCND M.PART-silent-NM:PV because EXIST
ketsék apkel-yetm-eykha
F.few M.PART.DIST-pour.liquid-AMB.NM:PV

'But they didn't find his wandering soul (lit. 'his silence') because he had only trained (lit. 'filled potions') a little bit' (*Enxet shamans strengthen their their -wanmagko, the spirit that walks in the spirit world, by making potions of plants and other items to gain control over them*)

EDP enx006 08:41

Although this 'because' usage seems to be the primary sense of *hakte*, some uses in the corpus suggest a broader linking semantics, as in (16.16), where there are not clear cause and effect semantics. This would not be particularly surprising — if only a single true coordinating conjunction exists in the language, we might expect it to have a semantic range which extends beyond 'because'. However, most examples like this come from one entry in the corpus — EDP enx039 — which is a church sermon, and I suspect some of the unusual features of this speaker's use of *hakte* are a preaching affect more than a solid indicator of variable semantic values.

(16.16) yaqwayam kalchetmok egwáxok énamakkok, **hakte yetneyk axta ko'o xama áma' séltennaseykha**, ná etnegwomho aqsa exma, nempeywa axagkok

yaqwayam ka-lch-etm-ok eg-wáxok é-namakkok //
for F.IRR-DIST-search-NM:PO 1PL.POSS-innermost 1SG.POSS-other.PL //
hakte yetneyk =axta ko'o xama áma'
because EXIST =TC:PST 1SG one my.grandmother
sél-tenn-as-eykha // ná e-tneg-w-om-ho aqsa
1SG.PAT.PART.DIST-tell-VAL-AMB.NM:PV // PRHB M.IRR-be/say-ARR-TERM-INTS just
exma // nempeywa a-xagkok
ambient // our.words F.POSS-house

'It's something for us to think about, my friends, *because there's what my grandmother would always say to me*, 'Don't make a ruckus in the church!"

EDP enx039 28:09

Although there is no readily apparent etymological source for *hakte*, it is likely a fairly recent innovation in Enxet Sur. In other EE languages, non-cognate conjunctions like Enenlhet *ka songke'* 'because' are always followed by imperfective form verbs (Unruh et al., 2003, p. 225), and no cognate to *hakte* is seen across the EE family, even in closely related Enlhet Norte (Unruh and Kalisch, 1997).

16.3.2 Natámen 'therefore, afterwards'

Aside from asemantic[5] filler words like *ná*, *wa'*, or *xé*, which might be translated into Spanish as *pues* or *entonces* 'well...', the most common interclausal filler expression is

[5]Such items probably do have some notable discourse function, but not one that is significant enough for speakers to have a particular metalinguistic awareness about it.

natámen 'after it', which can operate truly as a filler expression (16.17), or can actually perform a more explicit linking function to order events chronologically, as in (16.18).

(16.17) *Natámen as a filler word*

a. ekmakta'ak axta ko'o énmaga, **natámen**, payhok ma'a teyp
ek-makta'-ak =axta ko'o énmaga // natámen // payh-ok =ma'a
1SG-shoot-DECL =TC:PST 1SG gun // F.after // spread-INTS.DECL =DMSTR
teyp
M.other.side
'I shot it with my gun, so, it was there on the other side'
EDP enx025 02:13

b. *Context: Speaker is talking about the predictions of early Anglican missionaries that Paraguayans would invade the territory of the Enxet*
kaxwo hẽlwanakma', **natámen**, ekwet'ak xa waley nélpaxqamaxche' nak negko'o
kaxwo hẽl-wanak-m-a' // natámen // ek-wet'-ak
now 1PL.PAT.IRR.DIST-forget-TERM-NM:PO // F.after // 1SG-see-DECL
=xa waley nél-paxq-amaxche' =nak negko'o
=DMSTR Paraguayan 1PL.PART.DIST-mix-MID.NM:PV =TC:VIS 1PL
'Now we forget about it, but then, I see the Paraguayans we've intermingled with'
EDP enx047 02:36

(16.18) *Natámen as a sequential operator*

a. élmagke' , apxega táta , **natámen ma'a** , sélyemyeykxa' ko'o wegqa' neptámen táta
él-m-ag-ke' // ap-xeg-a táta // natámen
1SG.PAT.DIST-have-COMPL-DECL // M.PART-go-NM:IP my.father // F.after
=ma'a // sél-yemy-eykxa' ko'o wegq-a' neptámen
=DMSTR // 1SG.PART.DIST-follow-DUP.NM:PV 1SG long-DECL M.after
táta
my.father
'They grabbed me, and my father left, then, I followed after my father for a long time'
NNE190 05:42

b. nenténchek axta, xama axta'a Náwatsam, **natámen ma'a** apkelmeyakxeyk énxet'ák Náwatsam
nen-tén-chek =axta // xama axta'a Náwatsam // natámen =ma'a
1PL-sleep-DECL =TC:PST // one night Concepción // F.after =DMSTR
apk-el-mey-akx-eyk énxet-'ák Náwatsam
M-DIST-head.to-DUP-DECL man-PL Concepción
'We slept for one night in Concepción, after the men headed into [the center of] Concepción'

EDP enx047 24:16

Natámen, however, is a positional noun (§9.2.1), literally meaning 'in its wake, footprints', and its use as a linker is only a semantic function of what is syntactically a nominal predicate. As shown in (16.19), it can be followed by TAME clitics, adverbs, and demonstratives, all indicating its status as an independent predicate.

(16.19) *Natamen with clausal indicators*

a. ekeso ektémakxa ñat nentamheykha negko'o nano', **natámen makham**, negmakxeyk makham mók nentamheykha

ekeso ek-tém-akxa =ñat nen-tamh-eykha negko'o nano'
this F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB =TC:RPST 1PL.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV 1PL old.time
// natámen makham // neg-m-akx-eyk makham mók
// F.after still // 1PL-have-DUP-DECL still F.other
nen-tamh-eykha
1PL.PART-work-AMB.NM:PV

'This was what our work was like back then, *and still after that*, we would do other work'

EDP enx047 33:57

b. natámen, **natámen xa**, yáma ekha aptémakxa, na, appaqhetchessek axta pók

natámen // natámen =xa // yáma ek-h-a ap-tém-akxa
F.after // F.after =DMSTR // almost F.PART-sit-NM:PV M.PART-be.TI-NM:OB
// na // ap-paqhet-ches-sek =axta pók
// so // M-chat-VAL-DECL =TC:PST M.other

'then, *after that*, the one who had only a little experience, well, he spoke to his friend'

EDP enx006 01:56

c. natámen, **natámen axta**, yáma élsaye kelpáweyk axta nátetkók aphakxa

natámen // natámen =axta // yáma él-say-e
F.after // F.after =TC:PST // almost F.PART.DIST-sky.light-NM:PV
kel-páw-eyk =axta nátetkók ap-h-akxa
F.DIST-noise-DECL =TC:PST little.bird M.PART-sit-NM:OB

'then, *after that*, when it was almost dawn, the little birds started chirping in their nests'

EDP enx006 03:09

Therefore, although *hakte* (§16.3.1) and *natámen* can both occur before initial, declarative form verbs, *hakte* acts like a true conjunction because it never occurs as a PREDICATE and has no semantic value aside from being a conjunction, whereas *natámen* occurs before initial, declarative form verbs only as a result of its independent, paratactic PREDICATE status.

16.3.3 Interclausal relationships indicated through TAME

Enxet Sur TAME clitics fill a number of functions which in other languages might be accomplished through interclausal conjunctions. Counterfactuals, conditionals, or cause-and-effect relationships between clauses are often expressed cross-linguistically with subordinating or coordinating conjunctions, but Enxet Sur accomplishes many of these semantic relationships through the use of various epistemic mood markers with clauses that are structurally independent.

For example, the TAME clitic *eyke*, labeled the 'assertive', often functions like English *but* or Spanish *pero*, in that it attaches to propositions which run counter to expectations based on previous content within the discourse, as in (16.20). More examples are given in the full description of *eyke* in §6.2.6. However, this function as a contrastive or counterfactual conjunction is derived from its broader semantics as an assertive marker, indicating that the speaker has a high certainty of the truth value of the statement or greater epistemic access to the topic at hand than their interlocutor. *Eyke* need not occur as part of a two-part "coordinate" structure.

(16.20) *Context: Speaker says the Enxet Sur did not understand the Enlhet Norte language when they first arrived at the El Estribo colony, then says...*
kaxwo eyke egketchek keltámeyagke' ektémakxa apkelpeywa Lengua Norte

kaxwo =eyke eg-ketchek kel-támey-agk-e' ek-tém-akxa
now =TC:ASR 1PL.POSS-child F.DIST-learn-COMPL-DECL F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB
apkel-peywa Lengua Norte
M.PART.DIST-words Enlhet Norte

'But now, our children learn how to speak Enlhet Norte'

EDP enx028 03:06

Another TAME clitic, the conditional *agkok* (see §6.2.6 for more) is generally used in contexts where there is a degree of semantic or pragmatic dependence of one clause upon another, as it is one of the common strategies for creating a conditional expression, as in (16.21). Structurally, however, clauses with *agkok* have no indication of subordination, using fully declarative verbs. Although it almost always occurs as part of a pragmatically dependent pair of clauses, there are a few observed instances of its use in fully independent, isolated utterances, as in described in §6.2.6. Although more data is needed on these fully independent uses of *agkok*, it is cross-linguistically fairly common for conditional markers to have a broader epistemic modal value, and therefore not act strictly as subordinating items.

(16.21) yetneyk negko'o machete **tásek agkok áwa'**, negko'o machete nenleyak yókxoho planta

yetneyk negko'o machete // tás-ek =agkok á-wa' // negko'o machete
EXIST 1PL machete // good-DECL =TC:COND F.POSS-leaf // 1PL machete
nen-ley-ak yókxoho planta
1PL-release-SCND all plant

'We have a machete, if the leaves are good, we use the machete to take up the whole plant'

EDP enx041 14:01

Clause initial null anaphors, either as PREDICATES or focus elements (§5.2.4), are often used to establish semantic relationships between clauses, and this generally leads to clause initial TAME in a position that might be mistaken for a conjunction. A common example of the routinized use of this construction type to relate interclausal relationships is a null predicate or null focus construction with the dubitative clitic *la'a* to express cause-and-effect relationships. For example, in (16.22), the first clause posits a proposition 'we went home', and the dubitative *la'a* acts essentially as its own self-contained null PREDICATE clause meaning 'it presumably is for that reason' with a separate clause *mólwakto axta* 'it was our not coming here'.

(16.22) neltaqhegwa'ak axta, **la'a mólwakto axta**

nel-taqheg-wa'-ak =axta // la'a mól-wak-t-o
1PL.DIST-return-ARR-DECL =TC:PST // TC:DUB NEG.1PL.IRR.DIST-arrive-CISL-NM:IP
=axta
=TC:PST

'We went home, that's why we didn't come back here'

Rojas and Curtis (2017)

16.3.4 Independent pronouns with xa

Finally, there is a phenomenon whereby the independent pronouns host a coordinator-like formative *=xa*, which for some pronouns changes their stress characteristics.

It is likely that this is simply an allomorph of *nahan*, given that there is some kind of relationship in a number of lexical items between [n], [h], and [ɬ], as described in §2.4.8. It would therefore be some kind of idiosyncratic morphophonological process specific to the relationship between these two categories of function words, but the phonological alternation is not particularly out of place in Enxet Sur. The only time that *han* or one of its allomorphs ever occurs after one of the independent pronouns is when the pronoun is in a clause initial position, either as predicate or in an initial focus position, which gives credibility to the idea that there is allomorphy at work. However, there are no wider morphophonological principles in Enxet Sur to which I can appeal which would explain why pronouns followed by *han* reduce in this way when they are dependents of the predicate but not when the pronoun *is* the predicate. Further investigation is warranted, however, since it may lead to some breakthroughs in understanding suprasegmental phonology, phonological domains, and the prominence system in the language.

I also include this phenomena as distinct from the more general uses of *han* because it is possible that the 'also, as well' semantic value of *han* may be more closely associated with the pronoun than the predicate in such cases. However, given that their is no alternation between pronoun=*han* and pronoun=*xa* in comparable grammatical positions, this scope-like phenomenon would be more about the speaker decision to use both the pronoun and the conjunctive *han* simultaneously.

16.4 Directions for further research

There are a great number of coordination or coordination-like strategies in Enxet Sur, and across speakers and data types in the available corpus, there is a huge range of variation. For this reason, it seems fair to call coordination in Enxet Sur an "unstable" phenomenon. As I have mentioned a few times in this chapter, I believe that the paratactic linkage strategies are the core, ancestral pattern, and that the instability and great variation we see is the product of speakers and communities adapting the coordination patterns of language they are in contact with (Guaraní and Spanish) to their own syntax.

Coordination strategies are deserving of large scale documentation within Enxet Sur and larger Enlhet Enenlhet, and should be approached from a diachronic, variationist, and possibly sociolinguistic perspective. As I mentioned in the chapter on simple clause structure, the appearance that some very basic syntactic processes are accomplished paratactically in Enxet Sur, but could be moving towards a more hypotactic arrangement, is interesting for many reasons, especially because it can provide insight into how such syntactic structures form. Mainstream linguistics often takes simply structures like coordination as a given, and in most major language families, they are probably so old that we cannot see how they might have emerged from something else. However, if we have a view of language as an emergent, self-organizing system, as opposed to one in which some syntactic phenomena are fundamental primitives, then we have to assume that some languages might exist without such syntactic structures, and that in the lens of language contact, we can see how languages adopt syntactic structures on the model of other languages but within the context of their own syntax.

Part VII

Appendix

Appendix A

Glossary of Foreign or Unfamiliar terms

This appendix defines terms and names found throughout this dissertation which refer to culturally specific concepts with which the reader may not be familiar. This includes a description of place names, simplified translations of complex Enxet concepts, and foods/tools/practices which are common in Paraguay or the Chaco but may be unfamiliar to those with little knowledge of this region.

Term	**Description**
innermost	ES *eg-wáxok*, related noun; although /waxok/ is literally just 'inside', when applied to humans and some other animate beings it refers to a type of emotional or experiential agent of the person (at least discursively, see Kidd 2000b); it is glossed here as 'innermost', in keeping with the traditions in anglophone ethnographic literature on EE peoples (Grubb, Loewen, Kidd)
Makxawaya	ES *Makxawé* (from **émhakxa/énmakxa waye* 'where the *waye* trees stand'); known regionally as the English Mission (*mision ingles*), as it was one of the earliest and most populous of the Anglican Missions to the Enxet
Máneg	see Wegke Néten
rhea	*Rhea americana*; *ñandu* in Guaraní or *avestruz* in Spanish; a large ratite bird similar to an ostrich or emu which is common in the Chaco and an animal of great cultural importance to Enxet Sur people, who use its meat, skin, and feathers for a wide range of purposes, both practical and religious.
tajamar	ES *yámmáxek*, literally 'like a hole'; Sometimes translated as "dyke" in English, the Spanish word *tajamar* is used in the Chaco to refer to the large surface reservoirs of water that are dug for irrigation purposes and to maintain water supplies during a drought; these were first used locally by Mennonite settlers, although they are now common in indigenous communities

tamayawhan	ES, from *ta-m-a yawhan* 'eats honey' [see XX on diachronic nominalization]; The tamayawhan is referred to as a type of demon (SP *demonio*) that lives in the forest and is very aggressive and deadly; they are created when a menstruating woman eats an excess of sweet foods, primarily honey, hence the name
tereré	A preparation of yerba mate using only cold water, as opposed to the hot-water preparation which is called mate. In Enxet communities as in most of Paraguay, its consumption is frequent throughout the day and is considered basic hospitality when hosting guests
Transchaco	SP *Ruta Transchaco* or *Ruta Nueve (9)*; This is the main paved road which cuts across the Paraguayan Chaco from southeast in Villa Hayes to the northwest and the border with Bolivia. Originally built to support agro-business in the Mennonite colonies, it is now a fundamental part of the life of those Enxet Sur and other indigenous communities which sit adjacent to it, including the communities of El Estribo and La Herencia.
Weygke Néten	ES literally 'pot above', also called *máneg*; One of the three primary traditional dances common to Enlhet-Enenlhet peoples. This is the largest and most communal of the three, in which a single drummer beats a water drum and sings in the middle of a circle of dancers who lock arms and dance rhythmically with the drums
Yánmána	One of the three primary traditional dances common to Enlhet-Enenlhet peoples. This is the women's dance, where women rhythmically beat long poles with bundles of deer hoof rattles and follow the lead of a single lead singer.
yerba mate	Aerial parts (leaves and stems) of *Ilex paraguarensis* used in a drink common to much of the South American cone. Its consumption in the Chaco is apparently a relatively recent introduction (20th century), although Enxet people claim to have previously casually consumed other types of plants in a similar manner (called *pánaqte áwa*).
yohoxma	ES 'shaman', SP *chaman*, typically with person marking (*apy-ohoxma*), possible EE-internal loan word (Kalisch, 2012), from /yah/ 'control' + /exma/ 'environment', so literally 'controls his environment/surroundings'; The simplified *yohoxma* is used in the English gloss throughout the dissertation; The ES word is preferable to 'shaman' or 'medicine man' since it lacks misleading or stereotypical connotations that either of those words might carry

Appendix B

Xama apketkok apkennapmap Tamayawhan: A boy battles a demon

This is a transcription[1] and annotation of a traditional story, told by Aníval López Ramirez of Palo Santo, El Estribo [EDP enx006], passed down to him from his grandparents. In the story, two young men go out into the woods to hunt, and one leaves unannounced in the middle of the night to go off alone and find water to drink. His partner, upon waking, finds his friend being eaten by a Tamayawhan, a type of demon or monster that lives in the woods. The boy then fights an onslaught of Tamayawhan demons, who emerge from the earth and sky. When the boy is ultimately and miraculously successful in his fight with the demons, he is distraught at the thought of returning home to inform his friend's family of his death. As the family of his dead friend cries, the boy fears he will be blamed for the death, until a yohóxma (shaman) uses his abilities to talk with the ghost of the slain boy and confirm the other's innocence. The moral, ultimately, is a reminder that the woods are a very dangerous place, and that one should always travel with friends. Even shamans work in teams of two, knowing that dangerous situations should never be confronted alone.

(B.1) kaxwo ag-eyx-hok =sa ek-tém-akxa cuento ap-agkok
now 1PL.IRR-listen-INTS.NM:PO =TC:FUT F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB story M-POSS
énxet ap-kel-wesey énxet sur
person M-DIST-name Enxet Sur
'Now we will listen to a story of the people called Enxet Sur'

(B.2) apq-ánet apk-etkok apk-ennap-map ... xáma apk-etkok
M-two M-small M.PART-kill.many-NM:PV.MID.M ... one M-small
akk-ennap-map tamayawhan
M.PART-kill.many-NM:PV.MID.M tamayawhan
'Two boys fight with a tamayawhan'

[1] Tras

(B.3) xáma ekhem =axta apk-el-paqmét-ak apk-etkok yaqwayam e-tn-ehek
one day =TC:PST M-DIST-chat-SCND M-small in.order.to M.IRR-be-NM:PO
el-nempaqwom-ág-kok
M.IRR.DIST-hunt-COMPL-DECL
'one day, the boys met to go hunting '

(B.4) apk-el-xeg-kek =axta =anhan apq-ánet
M-DIST-go-DECL =TC:PST =AND M-two
'and the two went '

(B.5) amigo apagkok
friend M.POSS
'his friend'

(B.6) apk-el-xeg-kek =axta
M-DIST-go-DECL =TC:PST
'they went'

(B.7) natámen apk-el-héw-eyk =axta apk-el-wet'-ak yamyawhena, aqsok
then M-DIST-go.hunt-DECL =TC:PST M-DIST-see-DECL honey/bee thing
nawha-'ak, ap-xatm-eg-kek =axta =m'a yempehek apagkok
F.wilf-PL M-fill-COMPL-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR skin M.POSS
'so they went and found honey, wild animals, and put them in their (animal hide) bags'

(B.8) natámen ap-wet'-agw-okm-ek =axta xáma neyseks-ók naxma'
then M-see-ARR-AN-DECL =TC:PST one F.amongst-INTS woods
'and so they encountered, in the middle of the forest '

(B.9) xáma ságe étkok ek-yaqy-e
one lake F.small F.PART-round-NM:PV
'a small round lake'

(B.10) el laguna
the lake
the lake'

(B.11) ap-tah-ak =axta chá'a ap-paqhet-ches-a pók tásek ko'onek
M-be-DECL =TC:PST always M.PART-chat-VAL-NM:IP M.other F.good I.THINK

an-x-ek =se'e
1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO PROX
'the companion said "I think it's good to sit here"

(B.12) yaqwayam =enxoho =l'a ag-yen-ek negko'o yegmen
in.order.to =CONJ =DUB 1PL-drink-NM:PO 1PL water
"so that maybe we can drink some water"

(B.13) ap-wet'-agw-okm-ek =axta yegmen na ... ek-taqmel-a =agko'
M-see-ARR-AN-DECL TC:PST water SO ... F.PART-good-NM:IP F.DEG
'They found water, very clean water'

(B.14) meyke áteg
without water.cabbage
'without water cabbage'

(B.15) ch-axña'-awok =axta yegmen
F-clear-INTS.DECL =TC:PST water
'the water was very clear'

(B.16) ek-yaqy-e ságe naxma'
F.PART-round-NM:PV lake woods
'a round lake in the woods'

(B.17) ø-xén-chek =axta ap-wáxok e-l-án-ag-kok
F-show-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-innermost M.IRR-DIST-attend.to-COMPL-NM:PO
yaqwayam e-naq-tén-ek
in.order.to M.IRR-PL-sleep-NM:PO
'they thought about preparing a bed to sleep'

(B.18) ap-naq-ten-chek =axta axta'a
M-PL-sleep-DECL =TC:PST night
'they slept through the night'

(B.19) tásek =axta sekxo' apk-el-wey-nch-ámeykha
F.good TC:PST first M-DIST-arrive-COMPL-AMB.NM:PV
at first, their wandering about was good'

(B.20) natámen
then
'then'

(B.21) ap-tah-ak =axta apch-áney-a pók na...
M-be-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-put.forward-NM:IP M.other so
'his companion said'

(B.22) yáma a-sam-chek ko'onek =se'e nél-w-akx-a hakte
ALMOST F.STAT-bad-DECL I.THINK =PROX 1PL.DIST.PART-arrive-DUP-NM:IP because
yát-ap-yohóxma =axta xáma
SIM-M-shaman =TC:PST one
'I think it's not so good that we've come here, because we are not well trained as shamans'

(B.23) háwe =eykhe ek-wán-yam ap-tem-e ap-yohóxma
NEG =FRUST F.PART-GROW-AN-NM:PV M.PART-be.TI-NM:PV M-shaman
'unfortunately, their shamanic power was not so great'

(B.24) k-ets-ek =axta poder apagkok ap-m-op-wan-a
F-small-DECL =TC:PST power M.POSS M.PART-VBZ-M.STAT-able-NM:IP
'they only had a little power'

(B.25) natámen ap-tah-ak =axta apch-áney-a méko =axta
then M-be-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-put.forward-NM:IP NEG.EXIST =TC:PST
=eyke méko =axta =m'a pók
=TC:ASR NEG.EXIST =TC:PST =DMSTR M.other
'then his companion said "but there's no one else"'

(B.26) m=axta e-tney-k háwe =axta yohóxma'
NEG=TC:PST M.IRR-be-NM:PO NEG =TC:PST shaman
'that they weren't shamans'

(B.27) yohóxma apk-etkok
shaman M.STAT-small
'junior shamans'

(B.28) yát-ap-yohóxma nél-tem-e negko'o
SIM-M-shaman 1PL.DIST.PART-be.PART-NM:PV 1PL
'we call them 'like a shaman'

(B.29) natámen ... natámen =xa
then ... then =DMSTR
so, so then'

(B.30) yáma ek-h-a ap-tém-akxa na ap-paqhet-ches-sek =axta
ALMOST F.PART-sit-NM:IP M.PART-be.TI-NM:OB SO M.PART-chat-VAL-DECL =TC:PST
pók
M.other
'they were almost settled when one said to the other'

(B.31) hé-xatekh-es =sa' ap-mak-a =enxoho yegmen
1SG.PAT.IRR-wake.up-VAL =TC:FUT M-want-NM:IP =CONJ water
"wake me up if you want water"

(B.32) n-e-mye-kxa =aqsa ap-xakko' m-ag-ya'asag-kek
NEG-M.IRR-head.to-DUP =JUST M.STAT-alone NEG-1PL.IRR-know-SCND
"just don't go anywhere alone, we don't know..."

(B.33) m-ag-ya'áseg-kok =se'e lugar nél-w-akx-a
NEG-1PL.IRR-know-SCND =PROXplace 1PL.DIST.PART-arrive-DUP-NM:IP 1PL
negko'o

"we don't know this place we've come to"

(B.34) ap-mak-a =enxoho yegmen he-xátekh-aks-ek =sa'
M.PART-want-NM:IP =CONJ water 1SG.PAT.IRR-wake.up-VAL-NM:PO =TC:FUT
yaqwayam an-te-m-hek eg-qánet
in.order.to 1PL
"if you want water, wake me up so that we can go as two'

(B.35) ap-te-m-ék =axta =anhan =ma'a pók hoy a-l-tenn-aks-ek
M-be-TI-DECL =TC:PST =AND =DMSTR M.other yes 1SG.IRR-DIST-tell-VAL-NM:PO
=sa'
=TC:FUT
'his companion said "yup, I'll tell you"

(B.36) natámen axta'a eyseks-ok =axta =kexaha ap-xatakh-a pók
then night among-INTS =TC:PST =DUB M.PART-wake.up-NM:IP M.other
'then sometime in the middle of the night his companion awoke'

(B.37) ap-xatakh-a pók natámen m-e-l-tenn-ás-ak =ma'a
M.PART-wake.up-NM:IP M.other then NEG-M.IRR-DIST-tell-VAL-SCND =DMSTR

pók ap-mey-akx-o =m'a ságe
M.other M.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP =DMSTR lake
'his friend awoke and he didn't tell his friend he was going to the lake'

(B.38) ap-yah-ágwey-kx-o =eykhe =l'a yegmen
M.PART-search.water-DUP-NM:IP =FRUST =DUB water
'and he went into the water to drink'

(B.39) natámen yáma él-say-e
then ALMOST F.DIST.PART-daylight-NM:PV
'so it was almost dawn'

(B.40) las tres =kexa ap-leg'-ak =axta
the three =DUB M-hear-DECL =TC:PST
around 3, he heard'

(B.41) ek-páwey-n-cha'-a qamok á-wa'
F.PART-make.noise-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP rush F.POSS-leaf
'the rustling of the qamok leaves'

(B.42) na.. yohok =nahan apk-etam-a pók
so quick =AND M.PART-search-NM:IP M.other
so... he quickly went to look for his friend'

(B.43) ap-wet'-ak méko pók =ma'a ap-ten-akxa =exchek
M-see-DECL NEG.EXIST M.other =DMSTR M.PART-sleep-NM:OB =TC:HOD
'he saw that his friend was not there where he had been sleeping'

(B.44) yohok =han ek-xen-a ap-wáxok na tamayawhan =kexa
quick =AND F.PART-show-NM:IP M.POSS-innermost so tamayawhan =DUB
ch-aqh-ak
F-kill-DECL
'immediately he thought 'maybe a tamayawhan (type of demon) killed him"

(B.45) a-léx-ek =sa' ka-tyap-ok ekhem essenhan
1SG.IRR-wait-NM:PO =TC:FUT F.IRR-emerge-NM:PO or dawn
éssaka a-tyáneg-w-ok ek-tahak-xa
1SG.IRR-check.on-ARR-INTS.NM:PO F.PART-be/say-NM:OB 1SG.PART-friend
sek-xegexma

'I will wait until sunrise or dawn to see how my companion is'

(B.46) axta ap-tah-ak =xa ap-ketkok =nak
TC:PST M-be-SCND =DMSTR M-small =TC:VIS
'so thought the boy'

(B.47) natámen, natámen =axta
then then =TC:PST
'so, so then'

(B.48) yáma él-say-e k-el-páw-eyk =axta nát-etkók
ALMOST F.DIST.PART-daylight-NM:PV F-DIST-MAKE.NOISE-DECL =TC:PST bird-small
ap-h-akxa
M.PART-sit-NM:OB
'almost at dawn, the little birds sang in their nests'

(B.49) yáma ek-teyap-ma ekhem neg-yekpelch-émo =l'a
ALMOST F.PART-go.out-NM:PV sun 1PL.PART-recognize-INTS.NM:PV =DUB
eg-mók
1PL.POSS-other
'when the sun had barely come up, in the time when we can recognize people'

(B.50) ap-meyá-kx-eyk =axta =m'a ságe étkok
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR lake F.SMALL
'he went to the little lake'

(B.51) ap-wet'-ak =axta ap-menek
M-see-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-foot
'he saw his footprints'

(B.52) ek-meyá-kx-o =ma'a kañe ságe
F.PART-head.to-DUP-NM:IP =DMSTR inside lake
'heading into the lake'

(B.53) natámen ap-taxn-eyk=axta k-ets-ék kañe' qamók
then M-enter-DECL =TC:PST F-small-DECL inside rush
'then he entered just into the rush'

(B.54) ap-yaphag-w-okm-ek =axta ey-axñ-e yegmen
M-emerge-ARR-AN =TC:PST F.PART-clear-NM:PV
'and came out into a clearing on the water (surface water, no reeds)'

(B.55) apk-enmex-ók =axta =m'a ek-payhó-kxa
M-stand.opposite-INTS.DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR F.PART-spread.out-NM:OB
él-tekpag-akxa ap-pexchak-kok
F.DIST.PART-hit-NM:OB M.POSS-bone-PL
'he saw to the other side where there was a pile of bones'

(B.56) ek-taw-a pók tamayawhan
F.PART-eat-NM:IP M.other tamayawhan
'and the tamayawhan was eating his friend'

(B.57) yahamok =axta =anhan e-enmex-akm-oho hawók =axta
quickly =TC:PST =AND F.PART-stand.opposite-AN-INTS.NM:IP F.same =TC:PST
mók neg-wet-e eg-mók
F.other 1PL.PART-see-NM:PV 1PL.POSS-other
'immediately, he recognized that it was his friend'

(B.58) natámen ø-páw-as-sek =axta yegmen ek-ya'aw-a
then F-make.noise-VAL-DECL =TC:PST water F-arrive.purpose-NM:IP
=anhan pók =ma'a apk-enmag-kaxa
=AND M.other =DMSTR M.PART-go.toward-NM:OB
'then it [the tamayawhan] splashed through the water coming towards the boy, where he stood'

(B.59) apk-eny-eyk =axta =xa xáma wókma'ák
M-run-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR one boy
"the boy ran'

(B.60) ap-meya-kx-eyk =axta néten xápop
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST above earth
'he went up to a hill'

(B.61) yaqwayam =enxoho =l'a e-nnap-akp-ok
in.order.to =CONJ =DUB M.IRR-kill.many-MID.M-NM:PO
'in order to fight'

(B.62) apk-el-áney-kx-eyk =axta héwa tén yágke yaqwayam
M-DIST-prepare-DUP-DECL =TC:PST spear then BOW in.order.to
e-nnap-akp-ok
M.IRR-kill.many-MID.M-NM:PO
'he prepared a bow and arrow for battle'

(B.63) ø-w-okm-ek =axta =m'a ø-tahany-eykx-eyk =axta =m'a
f-arrive-an-decl =tc:pst =dmstr f-come.over-dup-decl tc:pst =dmstr
ap-meya-kx-exa
m.part-head.to-dup-nm:ob
'the tamayawhan came upon where he had come to'

(B.64) apk-ennap-eykpek =axta
m-kill.many-mid.m.decl =tc:pst
'and they fought'

(B.65) natámen apk-el-ló-kas-sek =axta ap-yamp-e
then m-dist-angry-val-decl =tc:pst m.part-tired-nm:pv
apk-el-ló-kas-sek apk-ennam-a
m-dist-angry-val-decl m.part-breathe-nm:pv
'then he rested, he caught his breath'

(B.66) ap-h-eyk =axta yámet a-whak
m-sit-decl =tc:pst tree f.stat-root
'he sat at the base of a tree'

(B.67) apk-el-haxn-eyk =axta makham mók
m-dist-wait-decl =tc:pst still m.other
'he waited for the tamayawhan'

(B.68) hawok =axta makham tamayawhan en-tép-ak =axta makham tamayawhan
same =tc:pst still tamayawhan f-exit-scnd =tc:pst still tamayawhan
=ma'a
=dmstr
'another tamayawhan came out '

(B.69) e-eñam-akxa' =exchek =ma'a mók
f.part-procede.from-nm:ob =tc:hod =dmstr m.-other
'from where the first one came out '

(B.70) natámen apch-aqh-a makham ø-w-okm-ek =axta a-anet
then m.part-kill-nm:ip still f-arrive-an-decl =tc:pst f.stat-two
apk-ennap-ma tén
m.part-kill.many-nm:pv then
'then he killed it, coming to two of them he had battled, and...'

(B.71) natámen =ma'a
then =DMSTR
'then'

(B.72) apk-el-haxn-a
M.PART-DIST-wait-NM:IP
'he waited again'

(B.73) eyke e-eny-ekt-o
TC:ASR F.PART-run-CISL-NM:IP
'another came'

(B.74) ek-tey-ekm-o makham néten
F.PART-fall-AN-NM:IP still above
'falling from the sky'

(B.75) ø-tey-ekm-ek =axta xáma makham tamayawhan
F-fall-AN-DECL =TC:PST one still tamayawhan
'another tamayahwan came down from the sky'

(B.76) apk-ennáp-eykpek =axta makham ek-w-okm-oho
M-kill.many-MID.M.DECL =TC:PST still F.PART-arrive-AN-INTS.NM:IP
apch-aqh-a
M.PART-kill-NM:IP
'he fought again until he killed it'

(B.77) apk-el-haxn-eyk =axta makham mók
M-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:PST still M.-other
'he waited for more still'

(B.78) hawok =axta =anhan e-eñam-a néten
same =TC:PST =AND F.PART-procede.from-NM:IP above
'the same again from the sky'

(B.79) natámen k-etsék =axta k-el-ló-kok =axta chá'a
then F-small =TC:PST F-DIST-angry-DECL =TC:PST always
apk-ennam-a
M.PART-breathe-NM:IP
'then he briefly caught his breath'

(B.80) k-etsék =axta makham natámen ø-yaphag-w-ak =axta
F-small =TC:PST still F.after F-emerge-ARR-DECL =TC:PST
k-el-yeheg-wa'-ak =axta xapop ap-h-akxa
F-DIST-arrive.purpose-ARR-DECL =TC:PST earth M.PART-sit-NM:OB
'just a little, then one emerged, it came to the ground where he stood'

(B.81) eyke apk-ennap-ekp-o makham =ma'a
TC:ASR M.PART-kill.many-M.PART-NM:IP still =DMSTR
'but he fought still'

(B.82) naqsok =axta =anhan apch-aqh-a makham
true =TC:PST =AND M.PART-kill-NM:IP still
'certainly, he killed another one'

(B.83) ø-w-okm-ek =axta cinco apk-ennap-ma tamayawhan
F-arrive-AN-DECL =TC:PST five M.PART-kill.many-NM:PV tamayawhan
'he had killed five tamayawhan'

(B.84) eyke ek-tah-a ap-wáxok a-l-eyx-ek =sa'
TC:ASR F.PART-be-NM:IP M.POSS-innermost 1SG.IRR-DIST-wait-NM:PO =TC:FUT
'but he thought 'I will wait"

(B.85) ka-l-yeheg-w-at-ak eya ek-taqmel-a
F.IRR-DIST-arrive.purpose-ARR-CISL-NM:PO now F.PART-good-NM:IP
m-e-nnap-ekp-o =m'a
NEG-M.IRR-kill.many-MID.M-NM:IP =DMSTR
'they didn't come back, fortunately, he did not fight more'

(B.86) ø-más-sek =axta apk-ennap-ekp-o hakte
F-deplete-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-kill.many-MID.M-NM:IP because
'the fighting ended because...'

(B.87) apk-el-haxn-eyk =axta ka-l-yeheg-w-ok =ma'a
M-DIST-wait-DECL =TC:PST F.IRR-DIST-arrive.purpose-ARR-INTS.NM:PO =DMSTR
xapop tén apk-el-yetxay-a =m'a kañe xapop
ground then M.PART-DIST-pierce-=DMSTR inside ground
'he waited for more to emerge from the earth, so that he could stab them back into the earth'

(B.88) natámen =xa apk-etkok ná k-el-chetam-chek =axta ap-wáxok
then =DMSTR M-small SO F-DIST-search-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-innermost
'so then, the boy, he pondered'

(B.89) haxko' =exa a-tn-ehek sek-xegexma
how =DUB 1SG.IRR-be-NM:PO 1SG-friend
'what will I do about my friend'

(B.90) w-án-exch-ek =sa' =eyke =l'a w-aqh-ak
1SG.IRR-think-MID-NM:PO =TC:FUT =TC:ASR =DUB 1SG.IRR-kill-NM:PO
'I will be thought to have killed him'

(B.91) axta ap-tah-ak ap-peywa =xa apk-etkok =nak
TC:PST M-be-SCND M.PART-speak.NM:PV =DMSTR M-small =TC:VIS
'so said the boy'

(B.92) natámen ø-xen-chek =axta ap-wáxok e-yaqten-ek é-pakyek
then F-show-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-innermost M.IRR-cut-NM:PO F.POSS-tail
yaqwayam e-s-akx-ak e-xekmós-ek ap-hóxama
in.order.to M.IRR-carry-DUP-NM:PO M.IRR-demonstrate-NM:PO M.POSS-village
'so he though to cut his tail to take and show to his village'

(B.93) m =axta =eyke ka-peyw-ok ap-xeg-a
NEG =TC:PST =TC:ASR F.IRR-direct-nm:po M.PART-go-NM:IP
'but he hadn't come directly'

(B.94) ap-meya-kx-eyk =axta chám'a ek-h-ag-kaxa a-pák
M-head.to-DUP-DECL =TC:PST DMSTR F.PART-sit-COMPL-NM:OB F.POSS-remains
tamayawhan apk-ennap-ma
tamayawhan M.PART-kill.many-NM:PV
'he went back to where the body of the tamayawhan he had fought was'

(B.95) natámen =axta, natámen =axta ap-wet'-ak
then TC:PST then =TC:PST M-see-DECL
'then, then he saw'

(B.96) ek-tem-és-ses-sakx-a chá'a m-egka-peyw-o ap-xeg-a
F.PART-be.TI-VAL-VAL-DUP-NM:PV always NEG-F.IRR-direct-NM:IP M.PART-go-NM:IP
'how he had gone all over the place, and lost his way'

(B.97) ap-yenyó-kek =axta é-pakyek tén
M-throw-DECL =TC:PST 1SG.POSS-tail then
'he threw away the tail and'

(B.98) ap-meneykmas-eyn-cha'-a
M.PART-sing-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP
'he started singing'

(B.99) eyke ek-taqmel-a =axta ap-w-eyk-ekx-a =m'a
TC:ASR F.PART-good-NM:IP =TC:PST M.PART-arrive-TI-DUP-NM:PV =DMSTR
ap-xagkok
M.POSS-house
'he then was able to return home'

(B.100) hakte cháxa aqsok =nak =ma'a kelyekhama =agko'
because DMSTR thing =TC:VIS =DMSTR demon =F.INTS
'because this thing is a serious demon'

(B.101) a-wan-chek =eyke hen-t-ók
F.STAT-able-DECL =TC:ASR 1PL.PAT.IRR-eat-NM:PO
'it can eat us'

(B.102) ek-h-a ek-mo-wán-a méko =agkok negko'o
F.PART-sit-NM:IP F.PART-VBZ-able-NM:IP NEG.EXIST =IF 1PL
nen-t-ém-akxa a-wán-chek heg-aqh-ek
1PL.PART-be.TI-NM:OB F.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.PAT.IRR-kill-NM:PO
'it is powerful, if we don't do like this, it can kill us'

(B.103) natámen, ap-pal-ches-sek =axta yempehek yamyawhena =m'a
then M-fall-VAL-DECL =TC:PST skin honey/bee =DMSTR
ap-xegexma aqsok nawha-'ak apk-exak-kek =axta
M-friend thing F.wild-PL M-give-DECL =TC:PST
'then, he threw away the things that had been but in the bag'

(B.104) apk-el-s-ant-ek =axta =m'a héwa ap-agkok yágke
M-DIST-carry-CISL-DECL =TC:PST =DMSTR spear M-POSS bow
'he carried back his bow and arrow'

(B.105) ap-mey-an-t-o =m'a ná-tegma
M.PART-head.to-COMPL-CISL-NM:IP =TC:PST LOC-house
'and headed to the village'

(B.106) ap-wet-akp-ek =axta ap-w-ákx-o ap-xakko'
M-see-MID.M-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-arrive-DUP-NM:IP M.STAT-alone
'he was seen returning alone'

(B.107) natámen ap-táwa =axta =xa ap-xegexma ek-tah-a
then M.POSS-spouse =TC:PST =DMSTR M-friend F.PART-be-NM:IP
ey-áney-a haxko' ko'o e-táwa' // ya
F.PART-put.forward-NM:IP where 1SG 1SG.POSS-spouse Q M.IRR-arrive-CISL-SCND
'e-w'-akt-a'
// TC:Q M.IRR-arrive-CISL-SCND
'then the wife of his friend said "where is my husband? Did he not return?"

(B.108) m =axta y-átegmowag-kok wánxa a-wanhek =axta ap-wón-ama
NEG =TC:PST M.IRR-answer-NM:PO only F.STAT-large =TC:PST M.PART-cry-NM:PV
'he didn't respond, he just cried'

(B.109) ap-wón-eyk =axta ek-wán-yam
M-cry-DECL =TC:PST F.PART-grow-AN.NM:PV
'he cried a lot'

(B.110) m =axta e-makk-ok e-l-tenn-aha sekxo' ek-tah-akxa
NEG =TC:PST M.IRR-want-SCND M.IRR-DIST-tell-AMB.NM:PO first F.PART-be-NM:OB
'at first he didn't want to say what had happened'

(B.111) apk-el-wey-nch-ám-eykha
M.PART-DIST-arrive-COMPL-TI-AMB.NM:PV
'during their going about'

(B.112) natámen,
then
'then...'

(B.113) apk-el-tenn-áha =axta
M-DIST-tell-AMB.DECL =TC:PST
'he spoke'

(B.114) ek-w-akt-o =m'a ek-yenney-kekx-a ap-wáxok
F.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP =DMSTR F.PART-strong-DUP-NM:IP M.POSS-innermost
'when the strength of his spirit returned'

(B.115) méko ap-tah-ak =ma'a sek-xegexma =axta, tamayawhan en-t-ak
NEG.EXIST M-be-SCND =DMSTR 1SG-friend TC:PST tamayawhan F-eat-SCND
'my friend did nothing, a tamayawhan ate him'

(B.116) a-wanhek ko'o se-nnáp-om-axch-e'
F.STAT-large 1SG 1SG.PART-kill.many-MID-NM:PV
'I fought a lot'

(B.117) axta ap-tah-ak apch-áney-a
TC:PST M-be-SCND M.PART-put.forward-NM:IP
'he said'

(B.118) ap-táwa =axta =xa ap-xegexma =nak
M.POSS-spouse =TC:PST =DMSTR M-friend =TC:VIS
'to his friend's wife'

(B.119) ø-tek-kek =axta él-lekxagw-éykha ap-námakkok
F-exit-DECL =TC:PST F.DIST.PART-weep-AMB.NM:PV M.POSS-other.PL
'his family began crying'

(B.120) apk-el-tenn-ey-n-cha'-a =xa ap-ketkok, hawe ko'o
M.PART-DIST-tell-TI-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP =DMSTR M-small NEG 1SG
sey-aqh-e wánxa, tamayawhan =axta ch-aqh-ak
1SG.PART-kill-NM:PV only tamayawhan =TC:PST F-kill-SCND
'the boy explained himself, it wasn't I that killed him, it was the tamayawhan'

(B.121) chaxa ek-tém-akxa =axta ap-h-eyk-eg-kaxa énxet nano'
DMSTR F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB =TC:PST M.PART-sit-TI-COMPL-NM:OB Enxet OLD
'that was the old custom of the Enxet'

(B.122) natámen ap-paqmet-chek =axta ap-wán-yam ap-tah-a
then M-chat-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-grow-AN.NM:PV M.PART-be-NM:IP
naqsok =xa ap-tah-akxa =nak ap-peywa ek-wet'-ak
true =DMSTR M.PART-be-NM:OB =TC:VIS M-make.noise.NM:PV 1SG-see-DECL
=xeyk ko'o ek-w-akt-o ap-hagák
=TC:HOD 1SG F.PART-arrive-CISL-NM:IP M.POSS-ghost
'then an old man spoke, he said "it's true what he says", I've seen the boy's spirit return'

(B.123) neg-h-ag-kaxa negko'o
1PL.PART-sit-COMPL-NM:OB 1PL
'to our camp'

(B.124) ek-wet'-ak =han ek-tah-akxa apk-ennap-omap
1SG-see-DECL =AND F.PART-be-NM:OB M.PART-kill.many-M.MID.NM:PV
=ma'a
=DMSTR=AND
'and I saw how he fought'

(B.125) naxma'
woods
'in the woods'

(B.126) axta ap-tah-ak xáma ap-wán-yam
TC:PST M-be-SCND one M.PART-grow-AN.NM:PV
'so said the old man'

(B.127) ap-teme ap-yohóxma'
M.PART-be.NM:PV M-shaman
'he was a yohoxma'

(B.128) keñe =axta =xa apk-etkok =nak, na, apk-etkok =nak
after =TC:PST =DMSTR M-small =TC:VIS SO M-small =TC:VIS
'afterwards the boy...'

(B.129) ø-yentex-ek =axta ap-wáxok
F-heavy-DECL =TC:PST M.POSS-innermost
'his heart was heavy'

(B.130) apk-el-wa'-ak =axta kel-yohóxma yaqwayam
M.PART-DIST-arrive-DECL =TC:PST PL-shaman in.order.to
e-l-án-a'
M.IRR-DIST-attend.to-NM:PO
'the yohoxma came to investigate'

(B.131) hakte hawe aqsok ek-taqmel-a
because NEG thing F.PART-good-NM:IP
'because it was a bad situation'

(B.132) m =axta =eyke ka-m-ak ap-wanmag-ko hakte yetneyk
NEG =TC:PST =TC:ASR F.IRR-have-SCND M.PART-silence-NM:PV because EXIST
k-etsék apk-el-yetm-eykha
F-little M.PART-DIST-pour.liquid-AMB.NM:PV
'but his spirit was not captured because he had only a little shamanic power'

(B.133) yát-ap-yohóxma nél-teme negko'o
SIM-M-shaman 1PL.DIST.PART-be.NM:PV 1PL
' we call this a "semi-shaman"

(B.134) natámen, keñe =axta
then after =TC:PST
'then, afterwards'

(B.135) keñe =axta apk-el-meneykmas-eyn-cha'-a apkelwányam
after =TC:PST M.PART-DIST-sing-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP
'afterwards, the old men sang'

(B.136) ap-mas-sés-ses-a é-lapw-ayam =nahan
M.PART-diminish-VAL-VAL-NM:IP F.PART-miss-AN.NM:PV =AND
ek-tamh-eykha ap-wáxok
F.PART-worry-AMB.NM:PV M.POSS-innermost
'calming the boys sadness and worrying'

(B.137) chaxa apk-el-tém-akxa =axta énxet nano' kel-yohóxma'
DMSTR M.PART-DIST-be.TI-NM:OB =TC:PST Enxet old PL-shaman
'that was the way of the shamans of old'

(B.138) háwe =axta ap-h-eykha =apagko' yetneyk =axta =ma'a
NEG =TC:PST M-sit-AMB.NM:PV =M.INTS EXIST =TC:PST =DMSTR
apk-el-tém-akxa
M.PART-DIST-be.TI-NM:OB
'they were not de valde, they had their customs'

(B.139) hakte peligroso =axta negko'o neg-h-eyk-eyn-cha'-a keso
because dangerous =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART-sit-TI-COMPL-AMB-NM:IP PROX
Chaco
Chaco
'because it was dangerous for us living in the Chaco'

(B.140) na, aqsok nawha-'ak ek-l-ó naxma =nak yetneyk =ma'a
so thing wild.F-PL F.PART-angry-NM:PV woods =TC:VIS EXIST =DMSTR
ek-tém-akxa
F.PART-be.TI-NM:OB
'like, ferocious wild animals in the woods, there were customs for this'

(B.141) a-wan-chek, eg-wan-chek negko'o an-tahany-ohok aqsok
F.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL 1PL.IRR-go.over-INTS.NM:PO thing
ek-l-ó
F.PART-angry-NM:PV
'we can come across dangerous things'

(B.142) chaxa kel-xekmos-sama =axta apk-etkok
DMSTR F.DIST-demonstrate-NM:PV =TC:PST M-small
apk-el-yetm-ékha
M.PART-DIST-pour.liquid-AMB.NM:PV
'that was taught to the young ones training to be yohoxma'

(B.143) keso historia =nak na ap-xeyen-ma =axta ko'o abuelo nahan
PROX story =TC:VIS SO M.PART-show-NM:PV =TC:PST 1SG grandfather AND
abuela tén =han táta =axta
grandmother then =AND my.father =TC:PST
'this is a story that was told to me by my grandfather, grandmother, and father'

(B.144) apk-el-tenn-eykha
M-DIST-tell-AMB.NM:PV
'they told it'

Appendix C

Néleñamakxa negko'o Makxawé: When we came from Makxawaya

This is a transcription and annotation of part of a story told by Cirílo Benítez about the founding of the village of San Carlos where he lives [EDP enx028]. In 1983 several groups of Enxet families left the overcrowded Makxawaya mission community to found villages in the newly acquired lands of the El Estribo community, and Cirílo was among the first to come with leader Simón Recalde to settle the village of San Carlos. In this account, Cirílo describes the rough conditions faced by the first settlers, as well as the ongoing challenges of living on less-desirable land in a region outside of the traditional Enxet Sur territory to the east that Cirílo and his ancestors were more familiar with. Despite the ongoing challenges, Cirílo expresses some contentment that the Enxet Sur population in El Estribo has grown so rapidly.

(C.1) nen-xeg-akm-ek =axta negko'o nél-eñam-a makxawé
1PL-go-TERM-DECL =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART.DIST-come.from-NM:PV Makxawaya
'We went to a new place from Makxawaya'

(C.2) veinticinco de diciembre
25 of December
'on the 25th of December'

(C.3) nen-xeg-akm-ek =axta negko'o nel-eñam-a makxawé
1PL-go-TERM-DECL =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART.DIST-come.from-NM:PV Makxawaya
'We went to a new place from Makxawaya'

(C.4) nen-mey-an-t-ek =axta
1PL-go-COMPL-CISL-DECL =TC:PST
'we came here'

(C.5) axnagkok neg-ókxa yaqwayam an-x-ek
F.new 1PL.PART-territory for 1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO
'to our new land to live'

(C.6) ek-wesey kaxwok El Estribo
F.PART-called now El Estribo
'it's now called El Estribo'

(C.7) naqso-ok nen-tek-kek =axta negko'o Makxawé
true-DECL 1PL-emerge-DECL =TC:PST 1PL Makxawaya
'so, we left Makxawaya'

(C.8) xama camion nada
one road nothing
'there was no road'

(C.9) sók-m-ek =axta tegma
carry-TERM-DECL =TC:PST house
we brought [things to make] houses'

(C.10) póte // kélyenmaga
axe // sheet.metal
'axes, sheet metal'

(C.11) ek-tém-akxa =axta nen-xeg-ayam negko'o
F.PART-be/say.TI-NM:OB =TC:PST 1PL.PART-go-TERM.NM:PV 1PL
'That's how we came'

(C.12) a-wanh-ek =axta mameye náxet ámay
F.STAT-large-DECL =TC:PST rain F.middle road
'there was a lot of rain in the road'

(C.13) nen-tén-chek =axta negko'o náxet ámay
1PL-sleep-DECL =TC:PST 1PL F.middle road
'we slept in the road'

(C.14) payho oculto
place church
'where the church is now'

(C.15) yetneyk =axta camion nekha ruta
EXIST =TC.PST truck F.side road
'there was a path on the side of the main road'

(C.16) a-wanh-ek =axta nél-h-am-axche' páye tén =han
F.STAT-large-DECL =TC:PST 1PL.PART.DIST-sit-TI-MID.NM:PV mosquito then =AND
mók aqsok
F.other thing
'we were plagued by mosquitoes and other things'

(C.17) kaxwo =eyke keso kaxwo =nak
now =TC:ASR this now =TC:VIS
'but now, this present time'

(C.18) sek-wan-yam kaxwo ek-t-em-eyk kaxwo 73 año
1SG.PART-grow-TERM.NM:PV now 1SG-be/say-TI-DECL now 73 year
'I'm old now, I am now 73 years old'

(C.19) sek-h-a makham =se'e El Estribo =nak
1SG.PART-sit-NM:PV still =PROX El Estribo =TC:VIS
'I still live here in El EStribo'

(C.20) yentexek =axta nen-xeg-ayam
heavy =TC:PST 1PL.PART-go-TERM.NM:PV
'Coming here was hard'

(C.21) ek-wa'-ak =axta ko'o payho el estribo
1SG-arrive-DECL =TC:PST 1SG place El Estribo
'I arrived at the site of El Estribo'

(C.22) yetneyk =axta xama familia // xama hatte'
EXIST =TC:PST one family // one my.child
'I had a family, one child'

(C.23) na sek-wa'-a ko'o
so 1SG.PART-arrive-NM:IP 1sg
'when I arrived'

(C.24) neg-h-a =axta centro =nak
1PL.PART-sit-NM:PV =TC:PST centro =tc:vis
'we lived in the Centro'

(C.25) yaqwayam ól-yés-ha xápop egagkok
for 1PL.IRR.DIST-choose-AMB.NM:PO earth 1PL.POSS
'so that we could choose our land'

(C.26) yaqwayam an-xaw-ak xápop egagkok =axta =m'a
for 1PL.IRR-distribute-NM:PO earth 1PL.POSS =TC:PST =DMSTR
'So that we could distribute the land'

(C.27) xama ekhem =axta ap-paqmet-eyncha'-a Simon Recalde
one day =TC:PST M.PART-chat-AMB.NM:IP Simon Recalde
'one day, Simon Recalde was speaking'

(C.28) lider egagkok =axta negko'o =xa énxet =nak
leader 1pl.poss =TC:PST 1pl =dmstr man =tc:vis
'This man was our leader'

(C.29) ap-tah-ak =axta ap-peywa ó-xpaqn-ek =sa' kaxwo'
M-be/say-DECL =TC:PST M.PART-words 1PL.IRR-dispers-NM:PO =TC:FUT now
'He said, let's split up now'

(C.30) ól-yés-ha =sa' negko'o xapop egagkok
1PL.IRR.DIST-choose-AMB.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL earth 1PL.POSS
'let's choose our land'

(C.31) yaqwánxa an-x-ek
for.NM:OB 1PL.IRR-sit-NM:PO
'where we will live'

(C.32) an-te-mey-kha =sa' ag-axñ-eks-ek =sa'
1PL.IRR-be/say-TI-AMB.NM:PO =TC:FUT 1PL.IRR-clear-VAL-NM:PO 1PL.POSS-house-PL
en-xan-ák negko'o
1PL
'let's prepare and clear off space for our houses'

(C.33) axta ap-tah-ak seg-áney-a
TC:PST m-be/say-DECL 1PL.PAT.PART-tell-NM:IP
'he said to us'

(C.34) negko'o Simon Recalde
1PL Simon Recalde
'us, Simon Recalde'

(C.35) hakte háwe =axta negko'o neg-ókxa =so
because NEG =TC:PST 1PL 1PL.PART-territory =PROX
'because this was not our land'

(C.36) payho neg-ókxa negko'o =m'a Makxawé
place 1PL.PART-territory 1PL =DMSTR Makxawaya
'our country was at Makxawaya'

(C.37) mog-wanch-ek =axta negko'o Lengua Norte ap-peywa
NEG.1PL.STAT-able-DECL =PST 1PL Enlhet Norte M.PART-words
'we couldn't speak Lengua Norte'

(C.38) hakte háwe =axta neg-hóxama negko'o Lengua Norte
because NEG =TC:PST 1PL.POSS-neighbor 1PL Enlhet Norte
'because the Enlhet Norte had not been our neighbors'

(C.39) kaxwo =eyke eg-ketchek kel-támey-ag-ke' ek-tém-akxa
now =TC:ASR 1PL.POSS-child DIST-learn-COMPL-DECL F.PART-be/say-NM:OB
apkel-peywa Lengua Norte
M.PART.DIST-words Enlhet Norte
'but now our children are accustomed to speaking Enlhet Norte'

(C.40) ekeso k-eñam-ak neg-h-eyk makham
this F-come.from-SCND 1PL-sit-DECL still
'this is because we live here still'

(C.41) wánxa k-etsek neg-legey-k-egk-oho
only F-few 1PL.PART-sense-TI-COMPL-INTS.NM:PV
'we only suffer a little'

(C.42) ko'ónek en-tah-ak 32 años kaxwo neg-h-a keso el estribo
I.THINK F-be/say-DECL 32 year now 1PL-sit-NM:PV this El Estribo =TC:VIS
=nak

'I believe it's 32 years now we've lived here in El Estribo'

(C.43) hakte
because

'because'

(C.44) wegkek-kek año neg-h-eykha negko'o
go.far-DECL year 1PL-sit-AMB.NM:PV 1PL

'Our time living here has gone by'

(C.45) pero tás-ek =eyke makham neg-h-eykha
but good-DECL =TC:ASR still 1PL-sit-AMB.NM:PV

'but our lives are still good'

(C.46) k-ekteg-kek =nahan en-tawán-'ák
F-grow.many-DECL =and 1PL.POSS-grandchild-PL

'and our grandchildren have grown up'

(C.47) wánxa aqsa negko'o kaxwo =nak
only just 1PL now =TC:VIS

'but it's just us now'

(C.48) yetneyk nél-legey-keg-k-oho negko'o meyke yegmen
EXIST 1PL.PART-sense-TI-COMPL-INTS.NM:PV 1PL NEG.EXIST.NM:PV water

'we sufferred without water'

(C.49) meyke nen-t-o
NEG.EXIST.NM:PV 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV

'without food'

(C.50) meyke na-amyep
NEG.EXIST.NM:PV LOC-plantation

'without farmland'

(C.51) keso yókxexma El Estribo yetneyk lugar arenoso
this country El Estribo EXIST place sandy

'here in El Estribo there is just sandy country'

(C.52) yagkammex =agko' keso yókxexma
sandy.area =TC:F.DEG this country

'this country is all salty, sandy soil'

(C.53) mog-wan-chek ag-ken-ekx-ak negko'o verdura
NEG.1PL.STAT-able-DECL 1PL.IRR-plant-DUP-NM:PO 1PL vegetable

'we can't plant vegetables'

(C.54) samáne // yansamáne // peheye
watermelon // melon // potato
'watermelon, melons, potatoes'

(C.55) hakte áteh-ek xapop
because hot-DECL earth
'because the earth is hot'

(C.56) átehek xapop keso yókxexma
hot-DECL earth this country
'the ground is hot in his country'

(C.57) ekeso k-eñam-ak negko'o méko na-amyep
this F-come.from-SCND 1PL NEG.EXIST LOC-plantation
'for this reason there's no farmland'

(C.58) méko neg-ken-ey-kekx-a keso año =nak hakte yentexek
NEG.EXIST 1PL.PART-plant-TI-DUP-NM:PV this year =TC:VIS because heavy
'there's no planting the year because it's tough'

(C.59) yentexek neg-h-eykha negko'o
heavy 1PL.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV 1PL
'our lives are tough'

(C.60) méko nen-t-o
NEG.EXIST 1PL.PART-eat-NM:PV
'we don't have food'

(C.61) méko yegmen yaqwayam ag-yen-agk-ok negko'o
NEG.EXIST water for 1PL.IRR-drink-COMPL-NM:PO 1PL
'we have no water to drink'

(C.62) wánxa neg-m-eyk chá'a yegmen k-etsék máxek e-etkok
only 1PL-have-DECL always water F-few hole F-little
'we always just have a little water from the tajamar'

(C.63) yaqwayam ag-yaw-a' am-pekken-ek kañe walta
for 1PL.IRR-arrive.reason-NM:PO 1PL.IRR-place-NM:PO inside jug
'that we can get and put in containers'

(C.64) ekeso k-eñam-ak
this F-come.from-SCND
'for this reason'

(C.65) kaxwo =nak yentexek neg-h-eykha negko'o
now =TC:VIS heavy 1PL.PART-sit-AMB.NM:PV 1PL
'our lives are tough right now'

(C.66) kaxwok =han ek-wet'-ak ap-xámok énxet
now =AND 1SG-see-DECL M-many person
'and now I see lots of people'

(C.67) keso yókxexma
this country El Estribo exist place sandy
'in this territory'

(C.68) neg-wa'-ak =axta negko'o máxa un million 200 nél-eñam-akxa
1PL-arrive-DECL =TC:PST 1PL like one thousand 200 1PL.PART.DIST-NM:OB
=axta
=TC:PST
'we had come to almost 1,200 [people in Makxawaya] when we came from there'

(C.69) kaxwok =eyke teyp kaxwo ap-xámok =agko' énxet
now =TC:ASR M.other.side now M-many =TC:F.DEG person
'but now, we've exceeded that, there's really a lot of people'

(C.70) apkel-w-e keso lugar =nak =se'e
M.PART.DIST-arrive-NM:PV this place =TC:VIS =PROX
'that have come to this place'

(C.71) neg-wet'-ak =han negko'o kaxwok cháléwasso tegma
1PL-see-PART =AND 1pl now lit.up house
'and we see now fires in the houses'

(C.72) ekeso a-wanh-ek ko'o ek-payh-eyk-ekx-a e-wáxok
this F.STAT-large-DECL 1PL F.PART-spread-TI-DUP-NM:PV 1SG.POSS-innermost
'for this, I am very happy'

Appendix D

Interjections

Enxet Sur has a signifacnt set of interjections with interesting semantic values. Some have functions fairly cross-linguistically common for interjections, while some have very culturally specific meanings. The vast majority do not appear to have any kind of formal relationship to lexical items of other classes, although there may be diachronic or contact sources for any of these. A list of known interjections is given in table D.1.

Importantly, these interjections have no morphosyntactic relationship to clauses or utterances which follow them, even if they commonly co-occur. For example, *chan* almost always co-occurs with a negated verb or the existential negative *méko*. When used, though, it is always adjacent to the grammatical clause, almost always before, and intonationally distinct, as in (E.1).

(D.1) chán! **móteyagweykxak** carro

chán // m-a-wetey-agwey-kx-ak carro
nothing // NEG-1SG.IRR-see-ARR-DUP-SCND cart

'Nothing! I didn't see the cart when I got there'

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Interjection	*Meaning/Function*
aya'	expresses pain
chahas	'I don't know'
chan	'there is none'
chó	'shoo!'
háhay	'what a pity'
haley, ley (breathy voice)	'shoo!' for dogs, maybe Guaraní
hama, hamaway	'shit!' 'hot damn!'(vulgar)
hápopay	'Hot damn!'
hax, haxaxma	said when it's dark
hay	affirmative
héko	'it's really hot!' (object, not environment)
kap	'I'm full' (at end of meal)
kas	used for two point scores in sekkes
kat, qat	'it's really far'
laq, alaq	'gross!'
mes	said to cats, cf. *qames* 'cat'
náne	'don't do it'
paq	used for four point scores in sekkes
pas	onomatpoetic slapping sound
samma, samm	'it stinks'
sek	'smells good'
se'e	'hey you! Che!'
ses	'it's not that'
so	'shoo!' (for chickens)
tok	said for five point scores in sekkes
wa'	'yup, good, look'
xak	said when someone is about to score a goal, cf. *xeyk*
xe	'for real? really?'

Table D.1: Interjections and their functions in Enxet Sur

Appendix E

Names for ethnic groups and bands

As described in the introduction chapter, most of the Enlhet-Enenlhet and other Chaco Indigenous languages and ethnic affiliations recognized in the literature and by the Paraguayan state are somewhat reductive[1], and Indigenous groups in the region have complex histories of political and ethno-linguistic affiliation which have been in a state of slow flux within the historical period and likely well before. As such there are a great number of different names that the Enxet Sur have for various bands and historical affiliations, both within the sphere of groups who identify as 'Enxet Sur', and for other Indigenous ethnicities and parcialities. This table presents all of the documented names that Enxet Sur people have for various bands, ethnic groups, and other kinds of political affiliations.

Enxet Sur name	Ethnic group	Literal Gloss/Notes
Á'ey	Qom (Guaicuruan)	Sušnik (1981, p. 48) gives *Apkecïpke* as a name the Machicui of the Melodía mission used for the (Toba) Qom
Cháhana'	Band of Enxet Sur	Group living in south of Chaco
Chánaha'	Band of Enlhet Norte	—
Chánanáwa	Band of Enlhet Norte	'those from Nanáwa (place in central Chaco region)'
Chánáwátsam	Band of Enxet Sur	'those from by the river'; group from west bank of Paraguay River near Concepción
Chánepyeyam	Band of Enxet Sur or General name for Enxet Sur	'those of the south'
Chánexcheyha	Enlhet Norte	'those from the North'

[1] This is not a critique — simplification is useful for understanding, it just needs to be recognized as such.

Chátaxnegwánxekhem	Enlhet Norte	'those from where the sun enters (west)'
Chówáxok	Band of Angaité	likely 'those of the *wáxa* (*Ruprechtia triflora*) tree', with the plural form *wáxok*
Chónawáxok	see Chówáxok	this form uses the *na-* locative prefix
Chátewes	Band of Angaité	'those of the black algorrobo', bands centralized around algorrobo groves, a major food staple
Enles	English, British	clear loan; most of the Makxawaya missionaries were British
Énxet nápowhak	Ayoreo	'people in the wild'; likely a modern term referring just to the 'uncontacted' Ayoreo living in reserves in Alto Paraguay
Kelyátekto énxet	Guaná	'yellow people'
Kelwenaqte énxet	Maká	'tall people'
Kelyakmok	Band generally integrated with the Sanapaná	Kelyakmok are likely the group that some historical sources referred to as *Sapuquí* or *Sapukí*
Kelyexwewe	Enenlhet or band thereof	clear verbal derivation but meaning unclear, not a productive verb stem in modern Enxet Sur
Kenmékpeyem	Ayoreo	something like 'takes the lizards'
Kenmékxápen	Ayoreo	something like 'takes the rhea bird'
Kessápag	Sanapaná	older variant of Sáp'ag; etymology unclear
Legko	Mennonites	etymology unclear
Mássepto	Band of Enxet Sur	'his food is bitter'; named for the cooking of food in bile
Mópesénhek énxet	Group of Enenlhet	'people from *Mópesénhek*', a settlement whose name means 'white tinamou'
Mópeyapto	Band of Enxet Sur	'his food is white'; named for white meat of caiman

Mópyemente'	Band of Enxet Sur	'the untamed ones', apparently term for groups living outside of mission influence
Sáp'ag	Sanapaná	from older Kessáp'ag
Sewhen	Nivaclé (Matacoan)	Also *Suhin* in older transcriptions
Tawóxay	Maká (Matacoan)	Also written as *Toóthli* in older transcriptions; cognate to Nivaclé term *Tôwôlhay*, likely loan word into Enxet as [-ɬay] is Matacoan 'group of people'
Waley	Paraguayans	From earlier *walayo*, a direct borrowing of *paraguayo*; refers primarily to Guaraní speaking criollos, not to any Guaraní speaking indigenous group; can refer to Spanish speaking Paraguayans as well although upper class Spanish-monolinguals are more likely to just be *-mope/blancos* 'white'
Yám Enles	US American, Canadian	'like the English'; many North American anglophone missionaries at Makxawaya
Yám'ay	Enenlhet or a band thereof	apparent nominalization, may mean 'those who are similar'
Yexwassepto	Band of Enxet Sur	'his food is red'

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